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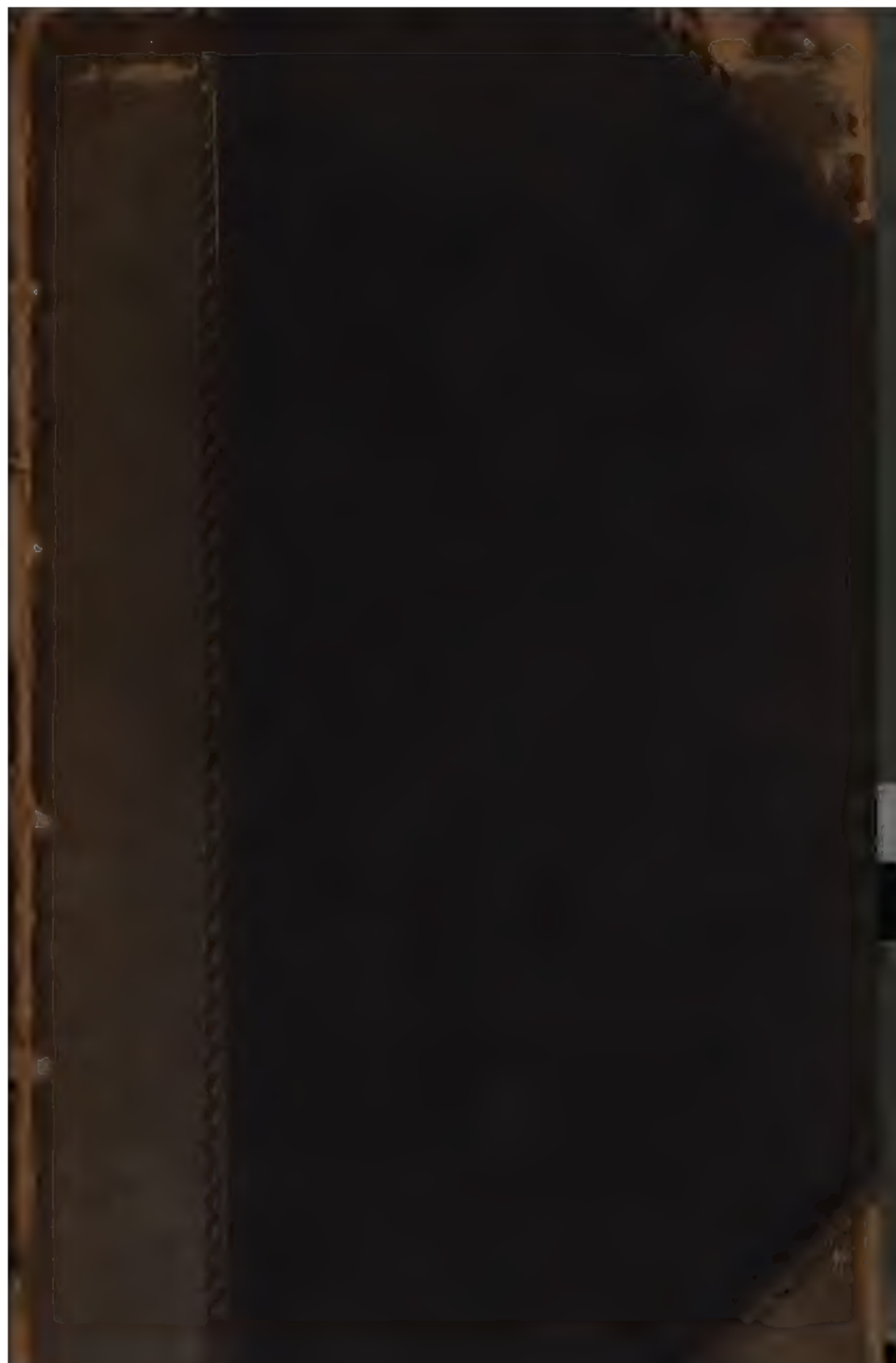
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SELECT ORATIONS

OF

CICERO:

WITH AN

ENGLISH COMMENTARY,

AND

HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND LEGAL INDEXES.

BY

CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D.

JAY-PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, AND RECTOR OF
THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL,

THOROUGHLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED,

BY

GEORGE B. WHEELER, A.B.,

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE present edition of Dr. Anthon's Cicero has undergone a careful revision; I have lessened very considerably the amount of actual translation, and have excluded all references to books which were not generally accessible; or those, the chief point of which was already included in the notes. I have filled up the space thus gained by adding those observations, &c., the absence of which I considered a deficiency in the book. The amount of these additions may be at once ascertained, as all are included within brackets, thus []. Yet in very many instances I have altered the Doctor's language when it appeared to be too high-flown or turgid; to mark all such alterations would have been endless trouble, and would serve no useful purpose. I have persuaded the publisher to add to this Edition two Orations; that in Defence of Milo, and the Second Philippic; for the selected and original notes on these Orations I am solely responsible. I ought to add that, throughout, I have corrected the text to accordance with that of Orelli, except where I thought him to be in error. For all deviations from the common reading the reasons will be found in the foot-notes.

G. B. WHEELER, A.B.

28, Trin. Coll. Dublin, 1853.

DR. ANTHON'S PREFACE.

IN forming the text of the present work, the editor has taken Ernesti's for his basis, but without any slavish adherence to the opinions and decisions of that distinguished commentator. Wherever a reading presented itself, calculated in the editor's opinion to throw more light on the meaning of Cicero than the received lection could impart, he has not hesitated to adopt it; and he flatters himself, that the result of his labours, in this department, will prove acceptable to all who are qualified to pass an opinion upon his efforts.

The commentary, it will be perceived, is far from being a scanty one. If there be any author that stands in need of full and copious illustration, it undoubtedly is Cicero, in the orations which have come down to us. The train of thought must be continually laid open to the young scholar, to enable him to appreciate, in their full force and beauty, these brilliant memorials of other days; and the allusions, in which the orator is so fond of indulging, must be carefully and fully explained. Unless this be done, the speeches of Cicero become a dead letter, and time is only wasted in their perusal.

The editor is induced to make these remarks, from the conviction, that the system of commenting, which he has pursued throughout the present work, will, as in the case of his previous efforts, be condemned by some on the ground of its affording too much aid to the learner. The truth is, however, the editor had no alternative left him. If there be any one cause, which has tended more powerfully than the rest to bring classical studies into disrepute among us, it is the utter incompetency of many of those who profess to be classical instructors. It is very natural that such preceptors should be strongly averse to bestowing too much assistance on their pupils; and perhaps it is lucky for the latter that such a state of things should exist; but certainly, for our common country, it is high time that some change should be effected, and that if the learner cannot obtain from oral instruction the information which ought to be afforded him, he may procure it at least from the notes of his text-book. We may be very sure of one thing, that the style of classical instruction which prevails at the present day in so many of our colleges and seminaries of learning, of translating merely the language of an ancient author, without any attempts whatever at illustration or analysis, will never produce any fruits either of sound learning or intellectual improvement.

PROLEGOMENA.

I. ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

THE genuineness of the fourth oration against Catiline has been disputed since the time of Hooke; it remained for the scepticism of late years to doubt the authenticity of the second and third. Wolf, Clude, and Ahrens have severally stated their belief that those orations are fictitious, and composed by some rhetorician in the time of Augustus, or shortly after Cicero's death. To their opinion Orelli has lately given his assent; we hope to show on very insufficient grounds.

1. We have the express authority of Cicero himself for their authenticity. He writes as follows: (*ad Attic. ii. 1, 5,*) "*Oratunculæ autem et quas postulas et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quæ nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis exercitati, te etiam delectant. Fuit enim mihi commodum, quod in eis orationibus, quæ Philippicæ nominantur, enituerat civis ille tuus Demosthenes et quod se ab hoc refractariolo judiciali dicendi genere abjunxerat, ut σεμνότερός τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος videretur, curare, ut meæ quoque essent orationes, quæ CONSULARES nominarentur. Quarum una est in Senatu Kal. Jan.; altera ad populum de lege agraria; tertia de Othone, quarta pro Rabirio; quinta de proscriptorum filiis; sexta, cum provinciam in contione deposui; septima qua Catilinam emisi; octava quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges involgarunt; decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus; sunt præterea duæ breves, quasi ἀποσπασμάτια legis agrariæ. Hoc totum σῶμα curabo ut habeas. Et quoniam te cum scripta, tum res meæ delectant; iisdem ex libris perspicies et quæ gesserim et quæ dixerim; aut ne poposcisses; ego enim tibi me non offerebam.*"

Now the position laid down by Orelli is, "that if we admit this testimony, either the whole four orations are to be acknowledged as Cicero's, or that we must suppose the three genuine orations (ii. iii. iv.) alluded to by Cicero, to have perished, and three supposititious compositions to have been put in their place." The latter supposition he pronounces to be untenable, indeed it is scarcely possible that, under any circumstances, a copyist would have erased the three genuine orations, and have written out the false, or that no copies of Cicero's own compositions would have been preserved even in juxtaposition with the false.

As the other hypothesis, that all four are true or all four false, would oppose Orelli's theory, since he acknowledges the first as Cicero's, he has recourse to a bold expedient. *He supposes the passage quoted above (Ad Att. 11, 1) to be written by the same forger, who composed the three false orations, and purposely inserted among Cicero's letters, to induce a belief of their authenticity !*

Such an hypothesis, if unsupported, would at once deserve to be rejected. Let us see what internal evidence Orelli brings forward to induce us to reject this passage.

α. The style, he says, is altogether at variance with that of Cicero, *e. g.* *Refractariolum judiciale dicendi genus ; a dicendi genere se abjungere.—Oratio, qua Catilinam emisi ; Allobroges involgarunt.* In these few words we have three ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. And a fourth ungrammatical phrase *emisi* for *egredi ex urbe jussi* ; to the verb *emisi* at least there should be added, says Orelli, *ex urbe*.

To this we answer, that the occurrence of words, which, owing to the loss of the great mass of Latin literature, are to us ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, is no proof whatever against the genuineness of the compositions they occur in. The style of epistolary correspondence, is far different from that of works specially intended for the public eye, and the most casual reader of Cicero's letters will perceive, that in those letters he was fond of indulging in unusual words and phrases. Besides, Orelli puts the point unfairly, there are not three ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, strictly, in the passage, *a dicendi genere se abjungere* is similar to *ubi plus mali quam boni reperio, id totum abjudico ex oratione, &c.* the verb *involgare* is found in Aulus Gellius, *N. Att.* iii. 11. As to the phrase *qua emisi Catilinam*, Orelli forgot that it is but a quotation

in part from the beginning of the second Cat. Orat., and that in a citation of that kind the full phrase is not required. Perhaps the precise passage alluded to is Cat. ii. 2, "*quod tam capitale hostem non comprehenderim potius, quam emisserim.*"

2. Another objection is derived from these words, *iisdem ex libris perspicies, et quæ gesserim et quæ dixerim*. "Since Atticus wrote a history of Cicero's consulship, it would indeed be a work of supererogation for Cicero to inform him of his exploits." All depends on the time Atticus wrote his history, if antecedently to the date of this letter, the objection is valid; but if subsequently, what could be more natural than for Atticus, intending to write the history of Cicero's consulship, to write to him for a copy of his speeches, and for information regarding his acts?

3. To whom then does Orelli attribute their composition? To no other than M. Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman and scribe. And Orelli's chief ground for this is, that by no other person could the passage above cited have been inserted in the letter. He thinks that when Tiro imagined the glory of his patron would be increased if he had delivered four orations against Catiline, as he had delivered three against the agrarian law—he endeavoured to imitate his master's style, and miserably failed. If we ask for the proofs of failure, Orelli tells us that the scribe tortured himself in vain, in arranging the followers of Catiline into no less than six classes (ii. 8). Yet any one conversant with the minute subdivisions frequently met with in Cicero's philosophical works, will not wonder if on some occasion he introduced the same into his oratory. But, independently of this, Cicero's object was to impress the people with the real character of the conspirators, and seeing that men of all ranks and stations were involved in it, to take each class separately, and hold them up to the abhorrence of the multitude, while he showed that each party separately was powerless, and each influenced merely by selfish motives.

4. Orelli brings forward another argument to prove that, these orations were written by a "*scriba*," *fatemur aliquoties erga libertinos ac scribas, e quorum genere ipse erat, amorem ostentavit*. Now Cicero mentions the zeal of the scribes but in a single passage, and consequently, if his argument

be good for anything, it extends only to the oration in which it occurs.

5. "But Sallust (says Orelli) mentions only one oration of Cicero, and therefore either did not know that any other orations existed, or knowing them, rejected them as false." The statement is true that Sallust mentions but one, it is also true that he had occasion to mention but one. The historian did feel called upon to notice the indignant outburst of withering eloquence poured upon the head of the traitor, who had dared, by his intrusion, to violate the sanctity of the senate, but he was not required to follow Cicero to the popular assembly, and give Cicero's version of the narrative, which forms the subject of his own history. Even in describing the proceedings in the senate (chap. 50) Sallust treats the subject most briefly, contenting himself with giving the speeches of Cato and Cæsar, as they were the acknowledged leaders of the aristocratical and democratical parties.

6. It will be seen from what is above written, that Orelli considers the whole question mainly to depend upon the admission or rejection of *that passage* in the letters to Atticus. Now there might be some ground for supposing that interpolated if it were isolated, but the fact is that numberless allusions to the Catiline orations occur in other letters, which we cannot suppose to be all interpolated, *e. g.* *Ad Att.* i. 14. *Quid multa? Totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, de flamma, de ferro, nosti illas ληκύθους valde graviter pertexuit.*" Comp. with this, the opening of the second Catiline: *L. Catilinam—vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem.* Again, (same epistle.) "*Concursabant barbatuli juvenes, totus ille grex Catilinæ.*" Compare *Cat.* ii. x. 22, *de (Catilinæ) amplexu, quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes, aut bene barbato videtis.* But allusions not only to the purport, but also to the phraseology of these speeches will be found in *Ad Att.* i. 16, 9; *pro Sulla*, 29, 81; *Phil.* ii. 7, 16; *Orat.* 37, 129. In *Pison*, 2, 5; *pro Sestio*, 3, 8, *seqq.* Compare the extract given beneath, from the letter *ad Att.* 12, 21, 1.

7. The question regarding the authenticity of the fourth oration rests on other and far different grounds, for the writer of this oration has represented the circumstances as

if, when on the nones of December 691, Silanus and Cæsar had expressed their sentiments in the senate, and when many were yielding to the opinion of Cæsar; that then before either Ti. Nero, or M. Cato had spoken, Cicero had held this oration, in which he compares the sentiments of Silanus and Cæsar, and with wonderful art proves the former to be preferable. Now to this view the narrative of Sallust is wholly opposed, c. 50. *Consul convocato senatu REFERT*, (this is all Sallust allows to Cicero), *quid de iis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Tum D. Junius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de iis qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat.* Then C. Cæsar spoke (c. 51.) When he had ended, the senators variously expressed their concurrence with one or other. Next came the remarkable speech of Ti. Nero, with whom even Silanus was inclined to agree, influenced by Cæsar's speech, (c. 50.) To Nero succeeded Cato, whose speech we have in full, (*Sall.* c. 52,) and in accordance with whose opinion the decree of the senate was made. Now in all this we hear no more of Cicero than the simple fact that he proposed the question *quid de iis fieri placeat*, &c., and if after the speeches of Silanus and Cæsar, Cicero had delivered so long an oration, how can we account for the silence of Sallust regarding it, especially as he seems to have given the history of these proceedings with accuracy as to the orators engaged? Moreover, Cicero himself shows that he had delivered no speech after Silanus and Cæsar (*Att.* xii. 21, A.U.C. 709.) *Legi Bruti epistolam eamque tibi remisi sane non prudenter rescriptam ad ea, quæ requisieras. Sed ipse viderit. Quamquam illud turpiter ignorat: Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerunt præter Cæsarem; et cum ipsius Cæsaris tam severa fuerit, qui tum Prætoris loco dixerit, consularium putat leniores fuisse, Catuli, Servilii, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gellii, Volcatii, Figulæ, Cottæ, L. Cæsaris, C. Pisonis, etiam M. Glabronis, Silani, Murenæ designatorum Consulum. Cur ergo in sententiam Catonis? Quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehenderat, ille autem hic laudat, quod rettulerim, non quod patefecerim, quod cohortatus sim, quod denique, ante, quam consulerent, ipse judicaverim. Quæ*

omnia, qui Cato laudibus extulerat in cælum perscribendaque censuerat, idcirco in ejus sententiam est facta discessio. Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserat, "optimum consulem." Quis enim jejunius dixit inimicus."

From this angry letter it appears, that Brutus had supposed, with Sallust, that the whole part which Cicero took in the proceedings was merely the proposition of the question *de his*, &c. But from it this also is clear, that Cicero, prior or simultaneously with proposing the question, had laid open the whole conspiracy (*patefecerim*), had exhorted the senators to severity (*cohortatus*), nay, had himself given his sentence on the matter (*judicaverim*), but all prior to his consulting the senate, (i. e. asking the individual opinion of each, *ante quam consulerent*). This being the case, how could Cicero compare the opinions of Silanus and Cæsar, which he had not yet heard? For if he had spoken twice on the same motion, assuredly he would have stated this in the above letter. The pseudo-Cicero then, in writing this speech under the great orator's name, saw that he could not well represent it as delivered after Cato's, which was applauded by the whole senate (*Sall. c. 53*), since after such a speech, the comparatively temporizing address which follows would have been altogether out of place. He therefore represents Cicero as speaking after Silanus and Cæsar, and as making a motion similar to that of Cato, but this is shown above to be false.

The above is chiefly the argument of Ahrens, which has been unnoticed even by Madvig; but long before Ahrens, Hooke had seen that this oration was spurious, his arguments may be comprised (at least the chief of them) in the following summary.

Plutarch reports that what Cicero said, after Cæsar spoke, was in support of Cæsar's opinion. Seven years after Cicero's consulship, neither Brutus nor Atticus knew anything of that fourth oration, which was probably composed on occasion of Brutus's having given more honour to Cato, in relating the debate about Catiline, than Cicero thought was consistent with his own glory.

That this masterpiece of oratory and political skill (!) was never spoken, one may reasonably conclude from the following considerations:—

1. He tells the house that there are two opinions before

them, whereas in reality there was but one; for Silanus, and all those who had assented to what he at first advised (among whom was the consul's * brother Quintus), had gone over to Cæsar's opinion.

2. He represents Cæsar as voting for every other way of punishment except death, which not being true, but directly contrary to what Cæsar had advised, it is not likely the orator, while Cæsar was present, would impute it to him. For instance, Cæsar did not advise to have the criminals beaten with rods, but speaks of that punishment as no less illegal, without a hearing and judgment of the whole people, than death itself.

3. He represents Cæsar as having voted for perpetual imprisonment, which his words, in the speech given us by Sallust, do not import: neither could a vote of the senate deprive the people of their right of judging the prisoners, and determining their fate.

Add to this, that Cæsar (according to Plutarch's repeated testimony) moved for the close confinement of the prisoners only till Catiline should be defeated and crushed, and more ample information of the conspiracy could be taken at leisure. And Appian says expressly, that the imprisonment proposed by Cæsar was only till the war should be ended, and the criminals could be brought to trial.

4. Cicero's answer to Cæsar, concerning Caius Gracchus's law, which forbade the punishing citizens, uncondemned by the people, with death, is quite ludicrous. "Enemies (says the orator) are no citizens; therefore the prisoners, having been declared enemies by the senate, have no title to the benefit of that law." Would he have talked thus, Cæsar present?

5. He affirms, that Caius Gracchus had suffered death by order of the people: a notorious falsity, and contradictory to what he had said in his first speech against Catiline. But, had it been true, would the orator thence infer, that the people were dissatisfied with the law in question? Or would he infer from the people's having sentenced Caius Gracchus to death, that the senate might legally inflict on a citizen the same punishment? Can we suppose such discourse from Cicero in full senate?

* Suet. in Cæs. 14.

6. He refutes, beforehand, Cato's argument for putting the prisoners to death without trial, by saying, that the people were not wanting in their zeal and duty on this occasion ; that the whole body of the people were assembled for the defence of the senate ; that the whole Roman people were of one and the same mind. If so, there could be no ground to apprehend a rescue, nor therefore any necessity of sentencing the prisoners to immediate death.

II. WHETHER CRASSUS AND CÆSAR WERE CONNECTED WITH THE CONSPIRACY.

[It has often been a question, whether Crassus and Cæsar were participators in the conspiracy of Catiline or not. The chief passages bearing on the subject are the following :—

SALL. *Catil.* 17. *Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse.*

IBID 48. *Ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia,—plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, &c.*

IBID. *Ipsam Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi totam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.*

IBID 49. *Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque prætio Ciceronem impellere potuerunt, uti per Allobroges aut per alium indicem C. Cæsar falso nominaretur.*

DIO CASS. 37, 35, διῆλθε μὲν οὖν λόγος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράστος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμήνυσεν οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν, &c.

PLUTARCH, CÆSAR, chap. 7, οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλον (Catulus) ῥιτιῶντο Κικέρωνα φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίαν λαβὴν παρασχόντος. Λέντλῳ (Lentulus) καὶ Κεθήγῳ εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρῆρχε τι θάρσους καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἄδηλός ἐστιν, &c.

PLUTARCH, CRASSUS, chap. 13. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίαν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην ἤψατο μὲν τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσῆλθεν ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνωμοσίας, οὐδεὶς δ' ἐπίστευσεν. Ὅμως δὲ ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινι λόγῳ φανερός ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προσ-

τρίβόμενος. 'Αλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῶν τελευτήν. 'Εν δὲ τῷ περὶ ὑπατείας ὁ Κικέρων νύκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ζητουμένην, ὡς ἤδη βεβαιοῦντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν. This should be corrected into περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα αἰτιωμένην, since it is hardly credible, that Cicero after the ides of March 710, would have published an oration, in which besides Cæsar, Crassus also should be named as a participator in Catiline's conspiracy. It seems to me probable, that that speech which Plutarch mentions, like the last three Catiline orations, is to be classed among the spurious speeches which were written by the rhetoricians after Cicero's death, and published under his name. A capital material for a thesis, no doubt, would be the subject. '*C. Cæsar et M. Crassus Catilinarii clandestini.*'—ORELLI.] Catulus had been defeated by Cæsar in his canvas for the pontificate. Against Piso Cæsar had brought an action, (*Sall.* 49), both vowed vengeance, and hence it is probably true that they urged Cicero to include Cæsar among the conspirators; but Cicero felt he could not dare to punish Cæsar capitally even if he were guilty; and that if he were once accused, the punishment of the other conspirators should be regulated by his. After all, what possible motive could Cæsar have had for joining in the conspiracy, he was not the man to fight under Catiline's standard, and he was too wise to jeopardize his progressing fortunes by uniting them with so reckless an attempt?—MERIVALE.

III.

Extract from Cicero's Speech for Murena, chap. 24, 25.

Sed tamen, Servi, quam te securim putas injecisse petitioni tuæ, cum tu populum Romanum in eum metum adduxisti, ut pertimesceret, ne consul Catilina fieret, dum tu accusationem comparares, deposita atque abjecta petitione? Etiam te inquirere videbant, tristem ipsum, mæstos amicos; observationes, testificationes, seductiones testium, secessionem subscriptorum animadvertabant: quibus rebus certe ipsi candidatorum vultos obscuriores videri solent: Catilinam interea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum choro juventutis, vallatum indicibus atque sicariis, inflatum cum spe militum, tum collegæ mei, quemadmodum dicebat ipse, promissis; circumfluentem colonorum Arretinorum et Fesulanorum exercitu; quam turbam, dissimillimo ex genere,

distinguebant homines percussi Sullani temporis calamitate. Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris : oculi sceleris : sermo, arrogantiae : sic ut ei jam exploratus et domi conditus consulatus videretur. Murenam contemnebat : Sulpicium accusatorem suum numerabat, non competitorem : ei vim denuntiabat : rei publicae minabatur.

25. Quibus rebus qui timor bonis omnibus injectus sit, quantaque desperatio rei publicae, si ille factus esset, nolite a me commoneri velle : vosmet ipsi vobiscum recordamini. Meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gladiatoris voces percrebuissem, quas habuisse in concione domestica dicebatur, cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negasset inveniri posse, nisi eum, qui ipse miser esset : integrorum et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non oportere : quare qui consumpta replere, erepta recuperare vellent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet ; minime timidum, et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum, qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum. Tum igitur, his rebus auditis, meministis fieri senatusconsultum, referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in senatu agere possemus. Itaque postridie, frequenti senatu, Catilinam excitavi, atque eum de his rebus jussi, si quid vellet, quae ad me allatae essent, dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, duo corpora esse rei publicae, unum debile, infirmo capite : alterum firmum, sine capite : huic, cum ita de se meritum esset caput, se vivo, non defuturum. Congemuit senatus frequens, neque tamen satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit. Nam partim ideo fortes in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant : partim, quia timebant. Tum erupit e senatu, triumphans gaudio, quem omnino vivum illinc exire non oportuerat : praesertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine paucis diebus ante, Catoni, fortissimo viro, iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti, respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed ruina restincturum.

IV.

Extract from Arnold's Later Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 332.

The conspiracy of Catiline, as described by Sallust and Cicero, **is** considered by some persons to contain many improbabilities. It **is** incredible, they say, that a man like Catiline, unconnected with **the** regular popular party, should have seriously hoped to effect a revolution, nor can it be believed that any of the nobility should **have** submitted themselves to the guidance of such a leader. Even if **he** had succeeded in setting fire to the city and destroying the principal senators, the praetor of the nearest province would presently **have** marched against him, and would have crushed him with little difficulty. But they who argue thus, forget that Catiline was a Patrician of noble family, that he had been praetor ; and that he was considered by Cicero as his most dangerous competitor for the consulship, when

a candidate for that office. He had been known in Sulla's pros as a man who scrupled at nothing ; and there was a large Rome to whom such a character was the greatest recommendation who would gladly follow any one who possessed it. That party was inconsiderable in point of political power is true, and accordingly hoped to effect their designs by fire and assassination than by open force. But if Catiline could have once made master of the city, no one can doubt but that he would have a majority in the comitia ready, either from fear or sympathy projects to elect him consul or dictator ; and when thus invested with the title of a legal magistrate, and in possession of the seal of the government, he would have probably persuaded, a very great part of the city to remain neutral, while his own active supporters, the whole young nobility, the needy plebeians, the discontented Italian and the restless veterans of Sulla's armies, would have enabled him to defy the efforts of any neighbouring prætor who might have been disposed to attack him. He might have held the government as Cinna and Carbo had done ; and although Pompey might have imitated successfully the conduct of Sulla, in returning from his revenge the cause of the aristocracy, yet the chance of saving him was not so hopeless as to dismay a set of desperate conspirators, who in their calculations, would have been well contented, if the probability of their failure was only a little greater than that of success.

CHRONOLOGY

OF

CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

686.¹ A.U.C. 68. B.C.

L. Cecilius Metellus.—P. Marcus, Rex. Consuls.

Catiline obtains prætorship.

687. A.U.C. 67. B.C.

Calpurnius Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio, Consuls.

Catiline harasses his province, Africa.

688. A.U.C. 66. B.C.

L. Volcatius Tullus, M. Æmilius Lepidus, Consuls.

Catiline canvasses for the consulship.—Is accused of ex (*repetundarum*) by P. Clodius. Tullus holds a public court to decide whether Catiline should be allowed to stand. P. Aufidius and P. Sulla, consuls elect, are accused of corruption and Catiline withdraws from the contest. (*Post paullo pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra lictoribus dies profiteri nequierat.*) Catiline, uniting with Autronius and Cneius Piso, forms his first conspiracy.

689. A.U.C. 65. B.C.

L. Manlius Torquatus, L. Aurelius Cotta, Consuls.

On the kalends of January Catiline designs to slay the new consuls, Torquatus and Cotta, who had been chosen in the room of Aufidius and Piso. This being discovered (*ea re cognita*, SALL.) they defer their execution until February, intending then to put to death not the consuls, but the leading senators, (*plerisque senatoribus*.) Catiline gave the signal before the appointed time, and his intention was frustrated. (*Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus per-*

¹ Some editors make the year of Catiline's prætorship to be 687, deducting one from each of the succeeding years. This depends on the question whether our Saviour's birth should be counted as occurring in the year of Rome, 753, or 754. The latter is the calculation usually adopted.

foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.—SALL. chap. xviii.)

Clodius carries on his prosecution against Catiline, who escapes condemnation by bribing Clodius and his judges. He then prepares to sue for the consulship for the year 691. Piso is sent with an army into Spain.

690. A.U.C. 64. B.C.

L. Julius Cæsar, C. Marcius Figulus, Consuls.

On the kalends of June Catiline convenes his associates in the second conspiracy. The chief conspirators are thus enumerated by Sallust.

SENATORS.—P. Lentulus Sura.¹

P. Autronius.

L. Cassius Longinus.

C. Cethegus.

P. Sulla.²

Servius Sulla.²

L. Vargunteius.

Q. Annius.

M. Porcius Læca.

L. Bestia.

Q. Curius.

KNIGHTS.—M. Fulvius Nobilior.

L. Statilius.

P. Gabinius Capito.

C. Cornelius.

Ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius, consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia.—SALL. chap. xvii.³

¹ This person was the highest in rank among the conspirators, he had been consul, B.C. 71, but the censors had passed over his name, and hence he lost his seat in the senate. To regain this, he had to go through all the grades of office anew, and at the time of the conspiracy was prætor.

² These were nephews of the dictator, Sulla.

³ The inducements held out by Catiline were.

I. An abolition of debts.

II. Proscription of the wealthy.

III. That all offices should be distributed among his associates.

"Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque libido victorum ferit." Chap. xxi.

The incidental circumstances, which favoured the conspiracy, are briefly given by SALLUST, ch. xvi. *"His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod es alienum, per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani militis, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundæ rei publicæ concilium cepit."*

Candidates for consulship, for 691.

L. Sergius Catilina (conspirator).
 P. Sulpicius Galba.
 C. Antonius Hybrida (conspirator), elected.
 C. Licinius Sacerdos.
 Q. Cornificius.
 L. Cassius Longinus (conspirator).
 M. Tullius Cicero (elected).
 Sextus Aufidius.
 C. Aquilius Gallus.
 M. Cæsonius.
 M. Lollius Palicanus.

The fact that Antonius was elected merely by a small majority over Catiline, and that Cicero at one time intended to coalesce with Catiline himself, shows that the power of the conspirators among the constituency was formidable.

Catiline is rejected, and immediately after is accused by Lucullus of murder (*inter sicarios accusatus*).¹

691. A.U.C. 63. B.C.

M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius Hybrida, Consuls.

Among the conspirators actually in office this year, we find one consul, Antonius, gained over by Cicero, (*pactione provinciae*). One prætor, C. Lentulus Sura, and among the tribunes up to the 10th December, P. Servilius Rullus, T. Albius Labienus, L. Cæcilius, Manlius Lentinus, and after the 10th, Q. Metellus Nepos, L. Calpurnius Bestia, and among the quæstors, P. Vatinius, Sext. Atilius Serranus.

Candidates for consulship, 692.

L. Sergius Catilina.
 L. Licinius Murena (elected).
 Servius Sulpicius.
 D. Junius Silanus (elected).

Piso is slain in Spain.

20th October—xiii. kal. Novemb.—Cicero lays before the senate all he had discovered regarding the conspiracy. A decree passed that the consular elections should not be held next day.

21st October—xii. kal. Novemb.—Crassus, at midnight, brings to Cicero letters threatening danger to the state. The senate is convened in the Temple of Concord. Cicero interrogates Catiline before the assembly, regarding his designs. The senate decrees *VIDERENT CONSULES, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*.²

22nd October—xi. kal. Novemb.—Silanus and Murena are elected consuls for 692.

¹ *Inter sicarios*, that is, he was arraigned among the *sicarii*, or assassins, who had taken advantage of the proscription of Sulla to murder their private foes.

² With respect to the discrepancy between Sallust, who represents this decree subsequent to the consular elections, see note on *Cat.* 1. 2 *vicissimum diem*.

23d October—x. kal. Novemb.—Catiline is accused under the *lex Plautia de vi*, by Lucius Paulus.

27th October—vi. kal. Novemb.—Mallius takes up arms in Etruria.¹

28th October—v. kal. Novemb.—A day is appointed by Catiline for the murder of the leading senators. (*Cat.* 1, 3.)

1st November—kal. Novemb.—Catiline endeavours to seize Præneste by a night assault.

6th November—viii. id. Novemb.—Catiline convenes his confederates at the house of M. Lecca, (i. e. on the night between the 6th and 7th November).

7th November—vii. id. Novemb.—Vargunteius and Cornelius present themselves at Cicero's gate, in order to assassinate him, but are refused admittance.

8th November—vi. id. Novemb.—Cicero convenes the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and delivers the FIRST CATILINARIAN ORATION. Catiline was present. *Postremo dissimulandi causa, et quasi sui expurgandi, sicuti iurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius, consul, sive præsentiæ ejus timens, seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicæ, quam postea scriptam edidit.*—SALL.

On that night Catiline departs from Rome.

9th November—v. kal. Novemb.—The second Catiline oration, delivered from the rostra to the people.

20th November, or thereabouts—xii. kal. Decemb.—By a third decree of the senate Catiline and Mallius are declared public enemies.

Cicero defends Murena, consul elect, from the charge of bribery.

About the end of November.—The conspirators, meeting at the house of Sempronia, confide their designs to the ambassadors of the Allobroges.

Autronius makes for Etruria, and Cassius departs from Rome.

3rd December—iii. non. Decemb.—On the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December the ambassadors of the Allobroges, &c. are seized upon the Mulvian bridge.² On the 3rd the conspirators are brought into the senate house, and interrogated in presence of the Allobroges. By a fourth decree, the conspirators are consigned to custody (*libera custodia*), and a thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) is decreed in honor of Cicero.

The third Catilinarian oration, delivered at evening from the rostra to the people.

4th December—Prid. non. Decemb.—Rewards are decreed to those who should give information regarding the conspiracy.³

¹ This Mallius had been one of the centurions of Sulla. (DIO. CASS. xxxvii. 30.)

² The seizure of the letters, &c. must have relieved Cicero from great embarrassment; until he had obtained these, he had no legal proof of the conspiracy. His agent, Curio, was a conspirator himself, and the testimony of an informer is always looked on with suspicion; besides, to bring him forward now would prevent his being of service to Cicero in discovering the after designs of Catiline's party.

³ That the disaffection was deep-rooted is proved by the fact, that

5th December—Non. Decemb.—Fourth speech of Cicero against Catiline, delivered in the Temple of Concord. The senate decrees that the last punishment should be inflicted on the conspirators. At the breaking up of the senate the life of Cæsar is threatened by the knights. Five conspirators are put to death.

692. A.U.C. 62. B.C.

D. J. Silanus, L. Licinius Murena, Consuls.

On the first of January Cicero inveighs against the tribune Metellus Nepos.

January 5th—iii. non. January.—Battle of Pistoria, defeat and death of Catiline. The other conspirators in Cisalpine Gaul are crushed by Metellus Celer.

Some time afterwards, Cassius Lecca, Servius Sylla, Vargunteius, Cornelius, and Autronius are tried under the *Lex Plautia de vi*, and exiled. P. Sylla also is arraigned, but defended by Cicero and acquitted.

not a man appeared to take advantage of this offer and claim the reward. "*Namque duobus senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat.*" (SALL. xxxvi.)

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³ That the disaffection was deep-rooted is proved by the fact, that

expectations, my own and my father's friend, although I can never hope to attain to that lofty superiority which has been reached by the eminent individual whose name you have just mentioned.—Let us proceed, now, my dear Doctor, to Cicero.

Dr. B. Marcus Tullius Cicero was born in the 103rd year before the Christian era, at Arpinum, a Latin city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship, and the privilege, consequently of voting at the comitia. The birth-year of Cicero was also that of Pompey, who was a few months his junior;¹ while Arpinum, the orator's natal place, was likewise famous for having produced the celebrated Marius, the well-known opponent of Sylla, and the deliverer at the same time and scourge of his country.

H. Was it not Pompey who made some allusion to this circumstance, Doctor, of Arpinum's having produced both a Cicero and a Marius?

Dr. B. It was. He took occasion once to remark, in a public speech, that Rome was under the strongest obligations to this municipium, because two citizens had come forth from it, who had each in his turn preserved Italy from ruin.² And Valerius Maximus makes a similar remark.

H. I remember his words: "*Conspiciæ felicitatis Arpinum unicum, sive literarum gloriosissimum contemtorem, sive abundantissimum fontem intueri velis.*"³

Dr. B. Yes, that used to be a favourite quotation with Russell, of Magdalen. The *contemptor literarum* is Marius, the *fons abundantissimus*, Cicero.—Our orator was of a family, which, though it had never borne any of the great offices of the republic, was yet very ancient and honourable:⁴ of principal distinction and nobility in that part of Italy in which it resided, and of equestrian rank from its first admission to the freedom of Rome. It appears, that the father of Cicero, having his ambition probably excited by the successful career of his fellow townsman Marius, was the first who thought of obtaining some degree of lustre for his family, by bestowing a careful education on his two sons Marcus and Quintus, and one which might enable them to enjoy the highest offices in the gift of the Roman people.

H. But how could they procure this education at Arpinum?

Dr. B. They obtained it at Rome, in the dwelling of Caius Aculeo, their maternal uncle, and an eminent lawyer of the day; and their cousins, the young Aculeos, were educated with them, according to a method approved of by Crassus, the celebrated orator, and by the very instructors whom he himself had employed.⁵ The language and literature

¹ Cicero was born on the 3rd of January, (*Ep. ad Att.* 7, 5,) and Pompey on the last of September following. *PIGH. Ann. Plin.* 37, 2.

² *Cic. de Leg.* 2, 3.

³ *VAL. MAX.* 2, 2, 4.

⁴ "Hæc est mea, et hujus fratris mei germana patria: hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus; hic sacra, hic genus, hic majorum multa vestigia." *Cic. de Leg.* 2, 2, 3.

⁵ "Cumque nos cum consobrinis nostris, Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus, quæ Crasso placerent, et ab iis doctoribus, quibus ille uteretur, erudiremur." *De Or.* 2, 1.

Greece formed, of course, a prominent part of their early and in this they were carefully instructed by the poet Archias, who came to reside at Rome when Cicero was only five years of age, whose fostering care the latter beautifully alludes in the mention in which he defends the poet's citizenship.

Do you not think, Doctor, that he rates somewhat too highly the poet Archias? Dodgson, of Christ-Church, one of Dean Ingham's scholars, insists that the poet was only an individual of second-rate talents.

Why, I am inclined to think so myself. But vanity, you say, was the great failing in Cicero's character; and Archias, most certainly, in the true spirit of his country and his age, had ministered largely to the personal feelings of the Roman orator, as to enable him to win in the eyes of the latter to a more than ordinary return of language of praise. Be this, however, as it may, we cannot but acknowledge the kind feeling so strongly displayed in his spirited eulogium on the character and abilities of his early preceptor. But let us

Cicero is said to have attracted, at an early period, the attention of the two greatest orators of their day, Licinius Crassus and Marcus Antonius, who did not disdain to interest themselves in behalf of a youth so conspicuous for zeal and the early development of talent. He had already given a proof of this ability by his poem of Pontius, in which he is said to have composed while still almost a boy, which existed as late as the time of Plutarch.¹

But, Doctor, you surely would not consider Cicero's poetry a standard by which to estimate his intellectual excellence.

I am well aware, my young friend, of the difference of opinion which exists in relation to the poetry of Cicero; and that it is very much the fashion with modern scholars to deny him any merit in this line of writing. He has been often ridiculed on account of an unflattering satire that occurred in a poem which he composed on the subject of consulship; and I have no doubt you can quote it for me.

"fortunatam natam me consule Romam."

Right. You remember probably the sarcasm of Juvenal,² who had uttered every thing in this way, he would have been cut down by the swords of Antony's followers; and also Quintilian's language, who censures the line as an example of defective versification;³ and, I confess, see the justice of condemning a writer for a failure in the art of poetry; and it appears to me, that, if our modern bards were subjected by this ordeal, a large number, who have obtained very honorable quarters on Parnassus, would be compelled to descend to earth. Voltaire, in the preface to his *Catilina*, places Cicero by the side of the best poets of his time, and thinks he may even dispute the laurels with Lucretius himself.⁴

¹ *Vit. Cic.* 2.

² 10, 123, *seq.*

³ *Or.* 9, 4, 41.

⁴ "que peu de personnes savent, c'est que Cicéron était encore un jeune poète d'un siècle où la belle poésie commençait à naître. Il méritait la réputation de Lucrèce. Y-a-t-il rien de plus beau que

H. Allow me to ask, Doctor Barton, whether you would consider Voltaire as a very strong authority in the present case.

Dr. B. I know what you mean by your question, Henry. The work which my friend Dr. Wynter, of St. John's College, recommended you to read, has given you a very low opinion of Voltaire's general accuracy; and I confess, that, in matters of real scholarship, his authority is of no weight whatever. As a poet, however, he may be allowed to give us his opinion respecting a brother poet, and may be considered a much safer guide in matters of taste than where learning and research are demanded.

H. Perhaps, Doctor, some light may be thrown upon this subject by the estimation in which Cicero's poetry was held among his contemporaries.

Dr. B. Strange as it may appear to you, Cicero's contemporaries all thought that his poem entitled *Marius*, an extract from which appears in the treatise on *Divination*,² and on which, by the bye, Voltaire's opinion is founded, was a production that had the fairest chance of descending to posterity. Indeed, the alliance between oratory and the poetic art is so strict, that it is difficult to excel in one, without having at the same time some disposition for the other. Both demand, in fact the very same qualities, an ardent imagination, a fertile invention, and grandeur and elevation of style. Thus, for example, the genius of Demosthenes was essentially tragic, and he appears as much of a poet as an orator, in some of those strains of continued eloquence, which no human effort has yet surpassed, and which have covered his name with one undying blaze of glory. We must bear in mind, too, that, in Cicero's days, the ancient rusticity of the Latin muse was only beginning to assume a more polished exterior, and to familiarize itself insensibly with harmony of numbers and the other embellishments of art. The perfection, however, to which poetry was carried after the death of Cicero, having absolutely excluded all mediocrity, it need not surprise us that he retained so little reputation in a species of writing which he found in so uncultivated and almost barbarous a state. Our judgments of things are formed in this world solely by comparison. Cicero passes with many for a bad poet, because he does not enjoy the same rank as Virgil and Horace, Tibullus and Ovid: and this manner of judging him seems to have originated at the court of Augustus, where, to throw ridicule on the character of a patriot like Cicero, was sure to be received with favour by him who sat upon the throne.

H. I find a good deal of truth in your remarks, my dear Doctor, and will give the subject, one day, my attentive consideration; meanwhile allow me to ask what portions we have remaining of Cicero's poetry.

Dr. B. But few. There are fragments of his translation, into Latin hexameters, of the *Phœnomena* of Aratus; the extract already mentioned from his poem entitled *Marius*, and another from that on the subject of his consulship, together with a few scattered lines from other

ces vers que nous sont restés de son poème sur *Marius*, et qui font tant regretter la perte de cet ouvrage?"

¹ Lettres de quelques Juifs, à M. de Voltaire. 3 tom. 12mo.

² *Cic. de Div.* 1, 47.

performances.¹—But I am afraid I have indulged too much in the garrulity of age on this particular topic; let us return to the more immediate history of the Roman orator. It was the custom, in those days, for young persons of good families, after they had assumed the manly gown, to attach themselves to some distinguished member of the senate, whom they accompanied to all places of public resort, the forum in particular, and from whose example they learned to occupy themselves with the affairs of the republic or those of private individuals. The senator, to whom Cicero had been recommended, was the celebrated lawyer, Quintus Mutius Scaevola,² surnamed the Augur, by way of distinction from one of his relatives who was Pontifex Maximus. How much he profited by the society and the wisdom of this excellent man, is acknowledged by him in grateful terms, in the beginning of the dialogue on the subject of friendship.

H. Did the study of jurisprudence form at this time his sole employment?

Dr. B. It did not. The great object which he had in view rendered it absolutely necessary for him to obtain a perfect acquaintance with the various writers who adorned the literature of Greece; and this course of reading formed, during the whole of his life, his favourite relaxation after the labours of the senate and the bar, and his chief consolation amid the political convulsions of the republic. Among the Greeks, who, at this period, gave instruction at Rome in their national literature, besides his old preceptor Archias, was Phædrus the Epicurean, and he was in particular the first Greek philosopher whose lectures were attended by the youthful Cicero.

H. I have heard it said also, Doctor, that Cicero in early life performed military service. Is the statement a correct one?

Dr. B. It is. Two careers, at this period, presented themselves to those of the Roman youth who were possessed neither of fortune nor family influence; the path of arms, and that of eloquence. Oratorical talents were sure of finding at Rome a thousand opportunities of displaying themselves, either in the defence of friends, or in the accusation of powerful offenders; and they conducted their possessor to honours and public favour as promptly and as effectually as the career of military exploits. Such, however, was the peculiar constitution of the republic, that the ablest general was compelled to cultivate, in some degree, the art of public speaking; and, on the other hand, the most eloquent orator could not remain a stranger to the art of war. Every young man, destined for the movements of the bar, had to commence by making some campaigns abroad, and Cicero made his in the war of the allies, under Cneius Pompeius Strabo, father of the well-known Pompey, and under Sylla, the celebrated competitor of Marius. At the conclusion of this period, the republic was endangered without, by the contest with Mithridates, and within by civil strife. Five years of trouble thus ensued, during which Cicero, whose youth entitled him to the privilege of remaining neutral between the two factions, devoted all his time to rhetoric and philosophy.

H. Under what instructors, Doctor?

¹ Cic. Op. ed Ernesti, vol. 7, p. 1120, seqq.

² Brut. c. 89.

Dr. B. He had now for his preceptors many learned Greeks, whom the war with Mithridates had compelled to abandon their country. The chief of these was Philo,¹ of Larissa, who had been at the head of the Academy at Athens, and who was now a very successful teacher of philosophy in the Roman capital. The ardour with which Cicero embraced the Academic tenets is easily explained by the utility which he was likely to derive from them in the discussions of the forum. Philo, however, was not his only master. The Stoic Diodotus² taught how to wield the arms of dialectic science; and under this rhetorician, who lived and died beneath his roof, Cicero daily exercised himself in extemporaneous declamation. The exercises were in the Greek language, Diodotus probably being not well acquainted with the Latin; but still they were, no doubt, of the greatest advantage to Cicero, in enabling him to enrich his native idiom with the treasures of the Hellenic tongue.

H. I thank you, Doctor Barton, for thus dwelling upon the earlier studies of Cicero. The narrative may serve to animate the youthful aspirants of our own day. How forcibly are we struck by the contrast, when we compare the preparatory toil of a Demosthenes and a Cicero with that of the orators of our own times. Theirs was the heroic age of eloquence, an age destined never to return. The ancient candidate for the prize of oratory devoted his whole faculties to a mastery over the instrument of persuasion. He neglected none of the means of success, however slight or insignificant in appearance. He explored every avenue of the mind, and took possession of all the inlets of delight through the medium of the senses. If he figured as a statesman, the study of eloquence included the whole mental discipline. If he appeared as an advocate, and won the cause, it was to the arts of persuasion he owed the victory.³

Dr. B. True, Henry; but then how different is the training of the modern, whether he appear in the senate or the forum! His path is crowded and encumbered with the materials of almost unlimited extent and variety, which the labours of centuries have accumulated, and which he is required to shape to the ends of judicious speech. He is thrown on a scene of business, and into affairs of complexity, from the moment of his entrance on a public career. He has to combine and arrange a vast number of details, inconsistent with all unity of application. He cannot pursue eloquence as a separate branch of intellectual discipline, and of preparation for the conflicts of life. The ancients, having in their political assemblies no balancing of interests, no complicated adjustments, no compromises of policy, no schemes of concession, gave themselves up to a single point of discussion. They were never diverted from a certain unity of intellectual view by the distractions and divisions which pervade our mixed assemblies. Theirs was a singleness of purpose effected by simplicity of means. What weapons of signal power and proof did not these circumstances lend to the eloquence of antiquity!⁴

¹ Cic. de Or. 3, 28.—Brut. 89.—Ep. ad Fam. 13, 1.—Tusc. Disp. 2, 3.

² Brut. 90.—Ep. ad Fam. 13, 16.—Ep. ad Att. 2, 20.—Acad. 4, 36.

³ *Southern Review*, No. 10, page 325.

⁴ *Ibid.*

H. I perceive the force of your remarks, my dear Doctor, and that the labours and efforts of modern oratory ought to have been rated more highly by me.—But let us proceed with Cicero.

Dr. B. The first oration which Cicero pronounced, at least of those extant, was delivered in the presence of four judges appointed by the prætor, and with the celebrated Hortensius for his opponent. It was in the case of Quintius, and the orator was at that time but twenty-six years of age. The first public or criminal trial on which he spoke, was that of Roscius of Ameria, the succeeding year, when he appeared on the defence, and displayed great courage in attacking, during his speech, a certain Chrysogonus, a favourite slave, to whom Sylla, then in the height of his power, had given freedom, and whom he had permitted to buy the property of the father of Roscius as a forfeiture.

H. This was certainly bold conduct in so young an advocate.

Dr. B. It was indeed. From dread of the power of Sylla, the accused had difficulty in prevailing on any patron to undertake his cause, but Cicero eagerly embraced this opportunity to give a public testimonial of his detestation of oppression and tyranny. The oration, however, was too much in the florid Asiatic manner, which the example of Hortensius had rendered fashionable in the forum. The spirit displayed by Cicero in conducting this defence met with general applause, and was remembered by himself in his old age with a feeling of such delight, that he recommends to his son, as the surest path to true honour, to defend those who are unjustly oppressed, as he himself had done in many causes, but particularly in that of Roscius of Ameria, whom he had protected against Sylla in the height of his authority.¹

H. And did no evil consequences result to the orator from this courageous defence?

Dr. B. None whatever. It must be confessed, indeed, that Cicero quitted Rome soon after this, partly it is said on account of his health, which had suffered by his close application to study, and partly for improvement. Perhaps he deemed it but common prudence to withdraw for a season from the immediate presence of the all-powerful Sylla. He travelled into Greece and Asia Minor, where he spent two years in the assiduous study of philosophy, under the ablest instructors in either country, and where he also acquired, under Grecian masters, the art of commanding his voice, and giving it greater compass and variety than it had hitherto attained.²—The first cause which he pleaded after his return to Rome, was that of Roscius, the celebrated tragedian, which involved a mere matter of civil right, and was of no peculiar interest or importance. All the orations which he delivered during the five following years are lost, of which number were those for Marcus Tullius and Lucius Varenus, which Priscian mentions as being extant in his time.

H. I perceive, too, that even the speech for Roscius, the actor, is not complete, since the ill-omened words, "*Desiderantur non pauca*," are appended to it.

Dr. B. They are indeed words of evil import, but we shall have pre-

¹ Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 279.

² Brutus, 91.—Dunlop, ubi supra.

sently to speak of losses far more serious and deplorable. Let us go on meanwhile with the biography of our orator.—Cicero had attained the quaestorship at the age of thirty, an office forming the first step in the ascent to consular honours. His election was most honourable to him, as he was chosen by the unanimous suffrages of the tribes, and stood first on the list of competitors.¹ The provinces of the quaestors being always distributed by lot, the island of Sicily fell to the share of Cicero,² where he displayed so much prudence and sagacity, so much activity in the discharge of his official duties, and, what was most rare in those times, so much integrity and disinterestedness, as to excite the admiration of all the Sicilians.

H. Was it not during his government in this island that he discovered the tomb of the mathematician Archimedes?

Dr. B. It was, Henry. Before he left Sicily, at the close of his quaestorship, he made the tour of the island, to see whatever it contained that was worthy the attention of a liberal and cultivated mind. On reaching Syracuse, his first request was, to be shown the tomb of Archimedes; but neither magistrates nor people could indicate its position, and Cicero himself was the first to discover it, by the sphere and cylinder engraved on the marble, and by a half-defaced inscription,³—You sigh, Henry.

H. I am thinking, Doctor, of the proud boast of him who engaged to move the universe, if a foothold were afforded him, and of the neglected tomb where that same individual, after little more than a century, was slumbering forgotten in his narrow resting-place.

Dr. B. True, but his name has never died, and it was this very immortality that led the Roman quaestor to his neglected grave.—At the age of thirty-seven, Cicero obtained the office of aedile. Before entering on the functions of this magistracy, a glorious opportunity was afforded for the display of his eloquence, in the prosecution against Verres, the praetor of Sicily, accused by the inhabitants of that island of many flagrant acts of injustice, rapine, and cruelty, while he exercised among them the functions of the praetorship. Applications for redress, however, in cases of this kind, rarely brought any relief to the oppressed nations, bowed down beneath the tyranny of Rome. The decision in such cases depended upon judges generally implicated themselves in similar enormities, and better calculated therefore to afford impunity to the guilty than relief to the aggrieved. This undue influence received additional weight in the case of Verres from the high rank and connexions of the culprit. Unappalled, however, by these difficulties, Cicero entered boldly on the management of the prosecution. He had been solicited to undertake the case by a petition from all the towns of Sicily, except Syracuse and Messina, both of which had been occasionally allowed by the plunderer to share the spoils of the province.¹ The issue was completely successful; and after the opening speech of Cicero, and the depositions of the witnesses,

¹ "Me cum quaestorem in primis—cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat." *Or. in Pis.* 1.—Compare *Brut.* 92.

² "Me quaestorem Siciliensis excepit annus." *Brut.* 92.

³ *Tusc. Quæst.* 5, 3.

Verres, driven to despair, submitted, without awaiting his sentence, to a voluntary exile.

H. But what is this oration against Cæcilius, which, I find here, on opening my Cicero, has been placed at the head of the orations against Verres, and why is it called "*Divinatio*?"

Dr. B. There was one Cæcilius, a mere creature of Verres, who had been his quæstor in Sicily, and who pretended to have received certain personal injuries from him, and to have a very intimate knowledge of all his crimes. He claimed, on these grounds, to be appointed accuser, in preference to Cicero, intending of course to manage the prosecution in such a way that Verres might easily escape.

H. An ingenious contrivance certainly.

Dr. B. Yes; but it emanated from Hortensius, who was counsel for the accused. The rival claims, therefore, of Cæcilius and Cicero had first to be decided, and this mode of deciding was technically termed "*Divinatio*," because, as there were no facts in the case, the judges, without the aid of witnesses, divined as it were, what was proper to be done.¹

H. But, Doctor, did you mean to be understood as saying, that only one of the orations against Verres was ever pronounced?

Dr. B. I did. Of the six speeches against this individual, only one was actually delivered. The remaining five, which he intended to pronounce after the proof was completed, were subsequently published in the same shape, as if Verres had actually stood his trial and made a regular defence. Of these, the most interesting is that "*De Signis*," where an account is given of the statues, and paintings, and works of art, which Verres plundered; while the finest is undoubtedly that "*De Suppliciis*," which is full of striking passages and the most vehement pathos.²

H. These orations, however, Doctor, must sound very oddly in some parts to a modern ear.

Dr. B. They do, indeed, Henry, I can assure you. Thus, in the beginning of the second oration, Cicero speaks of a report having been spread that Verres was to abandon his defence, but that here he sat braving his accusers and judges with his characteristic impudence. The effect of this is very amusing, when we recollect that Verres had absconded before one word of all this could be pronounced.³

H. Still, Doctor, it is very comfortable, for us ordinary mortals, to know that so much of the brilliant eloquence of Cicero was carefully elaborated and wrought out in private, before the occasion arrived for its being flashed forth upon a dazzled auditory. The more I am allowed to look behind the curtain, and to survey from a nearer point of view the workshops of great minds, the more I am inclined to think that "sublimity," or, as we ought more correctly to render it, "elevation of style," is in reality a very mechanical kind of operation.

Dr. B. Yes; my old friend Parr thought that *sublimis* came from *super limum*,⁴ but I rather think *sub lima* the more rational etymology, and

¹ Ascon. in Or. contra Cæcil.

² Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 283, seqq.

³ Id. ibid.

⁴ Parriana, by E. H. Barker, vol. 2, p. 475.

that the finest passages in the literature of every nation are precisely those which have been most carefully subjected to the private application of the file.—But to return. At the expiration of the two years which were required by law to intervene between the ædileship and the office of prætor, Cicero was elected to this latter station.¹ It was while invested with this magistracy, that he advocated with all his eloquence, against the views of the senate, to whom he was sincerely attached, and against the true interests of the republic, his cherished idol, the famous bill of the tribune of Manlius, which granted to Pompey, for enabling him to terminate the Mithridatic war, a power that seemed incompatible with public freedom.

H. I have never liked the character of Pompey, and it would delight me, Doctor, if your sentiments respecting him were to prove in accordance with my own. Do tell me what you think of the man.

Dr. B. Sallust paints his character in a very few words: "*Oris probi, animo inverecondo*," meaning to imply, that his probity was more upon his tongue than in his heart. Pompey, in fact, respected virtue sufficiently not to offer it any open outrage or insult, but he never loved it enough to sacrifice to it in secret. Hence arose that profound dissimulation, in which he always enveloped himself, and that system, so well supported by him, of never wishing apparently to become possessed of any object, except by his own merit, while in reality he was grasping at, and bearing off every thing by dint of private intrigue. If he was inferior, however, to Cæsar in military talents, he was always superior to him in the comparative purity of his morals, and in the moderation of his sentiments. Cæsar wished to be the master of the world, Pompey only the first citizen of the republic. He was constant in his friendships, a moderate enemy, and peaceable citizen, as long as he had no rival to fear. Intrepid in conflict, he was always generous after victory: and hence he gave to Mithridates a splendid funeral, and burnt all the correspondence between Sertorius and the chief men of Rome.—To return to the point from which your question called me off, Cicero, at the period alluded to, was midway in his career of public honours; the consulship was before him, and the hope of attaining to this darling prize of his ambition, through the influence of Pompey, must have exercised some degree of control over the movements of the orator. At all events, the Romans of that day gave him little credit for sincerity in his extravagant eulogiums upon that favourite commander.

H. To what foreign province, Doctor, was Cicero sent on the expiration of his prætorship?

Dr. B. He would not accept of any government,² but remained at Rome, where he strove more and more in every way to conciliate the favour of the people. He was now preparing to sue for the consulship, the great object of all his hopes; and his whole attention was employed how to obtain it in his proper year, and without a repulse. There were two years necessarily to intervene between the prætorship and consulship; the first of which was usually spent in forming a general in-

¹ Or. pro Leg. Manil. 1.

² Or. pro Muren. 20.

terest, and soliciting as it were in a private manner; the second insuing for it openly, in the proper form and habit of a candidate. The efforts of Cicero were crowned with success, and he was chosen consul with almost the same honours as in his antecedent elections to magistracy. His principal opponent was Catiline.

H. And his colleague in office, Antonius. Was it not so?

Dr. B. Yes; the same Antonius, who was in secret league with the party of Catiline, and had to be bought off by Cicero with the opulent province of Macedonia.¹

H. I will not occupy your time, Doctor, by any questions relative to the conspiracy of Catiline; of that daring movement I have obtained an accurate idea from the pages of Sallust. I will merely request of you to give me a brief sketch of the subsequent life of Cicero, and then pass to an examination of his writings.

Dr. B. I think this will be our more advisable course, Henry, as time would fail us were we to endeavour to do full justice to both; and, besides, allusion will occasionally be made to the history of his later years in our remarks on his literary efforts. The extraordinary but well-merited honours conferred upon Cicero for crushing this formidable conspiracy, could not fail to excite against him the opposition of the envious, as well as the jealousy of the more ambitious portion of his fellow-citizens. They took care not to reproach him at first with any act of injustice in his public career, but merely expressed themselves fatigued, and indeed completely worn-out, by his continual eulogiums upon his own patriotic efforts. In the forum, at the meetings of the senate, before the tribunals of justice, nay, even in the private circles which he frequented, the names of Catiline and Lentulus were constantly on his lips. He introduced his own praises into his writings. Almost every treatise of his, composed after this event, contains some allusion to his public services. Even his speeches lost in this way, through the excessive vanity of the man, a large portion of that pleasing and persuasive influence by which they were once characterized. It was like a kind of fatality.

H. When did he first experience the evil effects of this line of conduct? Not surely during his consulship?

Dr. B. When he was about to retire from it. On such occasions, it was usual for the magistrate, who was laying down his office, to make a speech to the assembled people, detailing the various public services which he had rendered during its continuance, and showing that his discharge of the duties of the magistracy had been a faithful and conscientious one. The tribune Metellus interrupted Cicero, when on the point of making such an harangue, and commanded him to be silent. The only alternative left the orator was to swear in a loud voice that he had saved the city from conflagration, and his fellow-citizens from the sword. In this oath the populace joined with one accord, and Cicero was conducted home by them in triumph, amid the mortification of his enemies and the joy of his friends.²

H. A noble triumph, Doctor, and well worthy of the man whom Catulus had styled, in a full senate, the father of his country.

¹ Sallust, B. C. 26.

² *Or. in Pis. 3.—Ep. ad Fam. 5, 2.*

Dr. B. Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, who, three years after, formed the coalition known in history as the first triumvirate, secretly favoured the designs of Cicero's enemies, whose numbers the latter had increased by his unyielding and rigid discharge of duty, and to whom was now to be added the profligate Clodius, that bold and bad man, whose tribuneship was fraught with ruin to the peace and welfare of the deliverer of his country. Ever since the period of his acquittal from the charge of sacrilege, the malignant star of Clodius was in the ascendant, and that of Cicero began to wane. During the progress of the accusation a deadly animosity had grown up between them, and Clodius was not a man to neglect any favourable opportunity of revenge.¹

H. Was not this man a descendant of the haughty race of the Claudii, who had ever shown so little regard for the liberties of the people?

Dr. B. He was; but profligacy and ruin had compelled him to take refuge among the very class on whose rights his patrician forefathers had so repeatedly trampled; and the corrupt and impoverished noble, the head of the Claudian family, voluntarily degraded himself from his rank, and obtained adoption into a plebeian house.

H. But what were his objects?

Dr. B. They were two; to humble the aristocracy and take vengeance upon Cicero.² Being elected to the tribuneship, this pestilent demagogue obtained the passing of a law, making it criminal in any one to have put to death a Roman citizen without a trial before the people, and inflicting the penalty of exile. The blow was aimed at Cicero, who, however, in ordering the punishment of Catiline's accomplices, had only obeyed the mandate of the senate, and the illustrious Roman was compelled to bend to the storm and go into voluntary banishment. Immediately after his departure a law was passed, which exiled him to the distance of 500 miles from Rome, and declared all his property to be confiscated. His villas, accordingly, were pillaged and burnt, his dwelling at Rome was demolished, and a temple to Freedom was erected on its site.

H. But where was the aid which he expected, and ought to have received, from Pompey?

Dr. B. As long as that profound dissembler believed that there was danger lest Cicero might throw himself into Cæsar's hands, he gave him the strongest assurances, confirmed by oaths and the most solemn protestations, that there was no danger, and that he would rather lose his own life, than suffer any harm to approach the person of the orator. But growing cool and reserved, as the plot against Cicero drew towards a crisis, and pretending to believe that the latter had formed designs against his safety, he withdrew to his villa, and abandoned him to his fate.³

H. Why did not Cicero demand a personal interview, and upbraid him with his monstrous duplicity?

Dr. B. He did obtain such an interview; but as for upbraiding the

¹ Quarterly Review, No. 112, p. 354.

² Ibid.

³ Or. pro Dom. 11.

wily hypocrite, he wanted firmness for that. He threw himself at the feet of Pompey, and supplicated for aid. But the answer he received was perfectly in character: Pompey felt himself compelled to act in nothing against the wishes of Cæsar.¹

H. And where were his other friends?

D. B. All zealous for his welfare, but, as might naturally be expected, divided in opinion as to the course which he ought to pursue. Lucullus advised him to remain, and defend himself by force. Cato and Hortensius urged him to yield to the storm; and this advice, coinciding with the opinion of Atticus, and being supported by the fears and entreaties of his own family,² made him resolve to leave the field to his enemies and go into voluntary exile. Withdrawing in the night season, escorted by a numerous train of friends, who, after a day's journey or two, left him with every demonstration of regret, he turned his course towards Sicily, intending to make it his place of refuge, and sure of finding in the bosoms of its inhabitants that grateful affection which had been denied him at home. But when he was come within sight of the island, the Roman prætor sent him word that he must not set foot within it; and what made the shock still more cruel was this, that the magistrate in question had been an old and familiar friend, was under important obligations to Cicero, and belonged to the same party in the state.³

H. But why did the prætor take this step?

Dr. B. Through fear of Clodius, whose enmity he had already experienced, and the weight of whose power he now dreaded to encounter.⁴—Retiring to Greece, Cicero now took refuge in Thessalonica, where the hand of friendship was extended to him by Plancius, then quæstor of Macedonia, and where the prætor Apuleius, though he dared not venture to grant him openly his protection, yet connived at the acts of his quæstor, and took a lively interest in his behalf.⁵ Two months had hardly elapsed before his friend the tribune Ninnius⁶ made a motion in the senate for his recall. Pompey also, roused by the insults of Clodius, whose power was now on the decline, and anxious to retrieve his own credit and ingratiate himself with the senate and people, began to exert himself in his behalf. After a long and stormy interval, after every effort had been made by Clodius and his factious adherents, the cause of justice triumphed, and Cicero was recalled from exile by the unanimous suffrages of the centuries, and to the great joy of a vast majority of his countrymen.⁷

H. I have heard it said, Dr. Barton, that Cicero's conduct, while in exile, was not such as one would consider either manly or spirited.

¹ Ep. ad Att. 10, 4. Plutarch says, that Pompey slipped out of a back door, and would not see him; but it is certain from Cicero's account that he was admitted to an interview.

² Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 31.

³ Ibid. c. 32.

⁴ Or. pro Planc. 40.

⁵ Or. pro Planc. 41.—Post Red. in Sen. 14.

⁶ Or. pro Sext. 31.

⁷ Pro Dom. 33.—Post Red. in Sen. 11.

Dr. B. It was worse. It was actually pusillanimous. He deplored his fall in the most desponding and lamentable terms. He complained of false friends, of an ungrateful country, of the utter ruin of all his worldly prospects. His friends were forced to admonish him sometimes to rouse his courage, and remember his former character. Nay, to such an extent was this feeling carried, that Atticus even wrote him word, of a report having reached the Roman capital, that his affliction had disordered his senses.¹ The truth is, the excessive vanity of the man had received so rude and severe a shock, as almost to unsettle his intellect; and he who had fondly hoped, that his name and services would remain ever fresh and undying in the memory of his countrymen, could hardly believe that he was now an exile and fugitive from the very country he had saved.

H. But his return, Doctor, do tell me of that.

Dr. B. Ah! that was indeed a glorious era in his existence. The account of it is given by Cicero himself. The whole Appian Way, from Brundisium to Rome, appeared but one continued street, lined on both sides with crowds of men, women, and children. Nor was there a prefecture, town, or colony, which did not send deputations to congratulate him on his return. What Cicero himself says, was, as Plutarch remarks, even less than the truth, that all Italy brought him back upon its shoulders. "That one day," observes the orator, "was worth an immortality; when, on my approach towards the city, the senate came out to receive me, followed by the whole number of citizens, as if Rome itself had left its foundations and marched forward to embrace its preserver."²

H. For what length of time had Cicero remained in exile, Doctor Barton?

Dr. B. He was recalled sixteen months after his departure from Rome; but he did not exactly re-enter the city until seventeen had elapsed. The law for his recall from exile was passed on the 4th of August, and the day of his return was the 4th of September.

H. And where was Clodius, Doctor, during the period that elapsed after Cicero's restoration?

Dr. B. Doing every thing in his power to raise fresh tumults against him, and daily committing new outrages, until an end was put to his evil career by the swords of Milo's followers.—Cicero, after his return from exile, devoted himself for several years to the affairs of his numerous clients; and it was during this period that the celebrated trial of Milo took place, for the killing of Clodius, when the orator, intimidated by the display of a military force, and the outcries of the factious, made but a weak and ineffectual defence.

H. Cicero was no very great admirer, I believe, of warlike movements.

Dr. B. Why, when an occasion offered, and he was compelled to act, he conducted himself in a manner far from discreditable. I will cite you an instance. Pompey, in order to check more effectually the practice of bribery, had procured the passing of a law, by which all future

¹ Ep. ad Fam. 14, 4.—Ep. ad Att. 3, 13.

² Or. in Pis. 22.—Post. Red. in Sen. 15.—Pro Sext. 63.

s and prætors were disqualified from holding any province, till five after the expiration of their magistracies ; and, that there might apply of governors during this interval of five years, the senators sular and prætorian rank, who had never held any foreign command, were to divide the vacant provinces among themselves by lot. , in consequence of this, obtained the government of Cilicia,¹ a province which included also Pisidia, Pamphylia, and three districts of together with the island of Cyprus. At the head of two legions defeated the Parthians, who had advanced as far as Antioch ; and turning his arms against the inhabitants of the mountains, an unruly race of banditti, who had never acknowledged the Roman sway, took two of their towns, Erana and Pindenissus, the latter their capital, and which cost him a six weeks' siege, and in testimony of his success was saluted by his soldiers with the title of *Imperator*.² He might have obtained a triumph also, had not the troubled state of Italy at home prevented one from being conferred.

The troubles to which you allude were those no doubt which preceded the commencement of the civil contest. How did he act during their continuance ?

B. In the first outbreking of this memorable war, Cæsar and Pompey were both anxious to gain over a man whose good opinion was as important as Cicero's. The orator regarded the cause of Pompey as that of the republic ; he disapproved of every thing which had been done for the increase of Cæsar's power ; but yet he plainly foresaw, that a collision between these two commanders would end in the ruin of the republican party. Hence the indecision which marked his conduct, and necessarily embroiled him with both. During the space of several months he was debating within himself whether he should follow Pompey and the senate into Epirus, or remain in Italy. At last he decided for the first of these courses, and joined Pompey at Dyrrhachium.³ Scarcely, however, had he taken this step, when he began to repent of it.⁴ He did not present himself at the battle of Pharsalia, his illness, real or pretended, having confined him at Dyrrhachium, where Cato was encamped with fifteen cohorts. When the issue of the battle was known, Cato offered to Cicero, as a personage of consular rank, the command of the forces. He declined, and recommended an accommodation, a step which nearly cost him his life at the hands of Pompey.⁵ Returning upon this abruptly to Italy, he found his country a safe conduct sent unto him by Cæsar, who was then in Egypt, and couched in the most honourable terms.⁶

Ah, it was this that Grant, of New College, showed me yesterday at the Bodleian, in a volume of Fabricius, beginning with the words, "*M. Tullium Ciceronem, ob egregias ejus virtutes,*" &c.⁷—The

¹ Ep. ad Att. 5, 15.—Ibid. 5, 17.

² Ep. ad Fam. 15, 1.—Ibid. 15, 4.

³ Ep. ad Fam. 6, 6.—Or. pro Marcell. 5.

⁴ Ep. ad Fam. 7, 3.—Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 38.

⁵ Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 39.

⁶ Ep. ad Fam. 14, 23.

⁷ G. Fabric. Antiq. Mon. Insig.

career of the orator is now drawing to a close. Doctor, and I will only beg of you to give me a rapid sketch of his history, that we may pass on to his works.

Dr. B. Well then, it shall be a rapid one, as you request.—Cicero, who had waited at Brundisium, for the return of Cæsar, from the beginning of the year to the month of October, was very kindly received by that commander when he reached the shores of Italy. Returning upon this to Rome, he took no part whatever in public affairs, and only broke through the long silence which he had preserved, when rendering thanks to Cæsar for the recall of Marcellus, and defending Ligarius, and king Deiotarus.—The assassination of Cæsar took place on the 15th of March, A.U.C. 710. Although Brutus was on terms of the greatest intimacy with Cicero, he had nevertheless concealed from him the plan of the conspiracy; and yet the moment the dictator fell, raising on high his blood-stained dagger, he congratulated the Roman orator on the restoration of the republic. But the latter soon perceiving, that, instead of a mild and clement master, his country ran the risk of passing under the sway of the ambitious and profligate Antony, availed himself of the privilege of a free legation, and embarked for Greece. The representations of his friends, however, respecting the favourable state of affairs at Rome, induced him to return to Italy, and he re-entered the capital on the last day of August.¹ From this moment to the day of his death, he set himself in opposition to the designs of Mark Antony, against whom he pronounced or published from the 2nd of September, 710, to the 22nd of April, 712, fourteen harangues, known by the name of Philippics. In order to balance the authority of Antony, Cicero favoured with all his influence the young Octavianus, who appeared attached to him, and frequently applied to him for advice. The indifference, however, if not actual contempt, which the senate displayed towards this youthful and aspiring leader, drove him eventually into a union with Antony and Lepidus. Thus the second triumvirate was formed, and one of its conditions was the head of Cicero.

H. And how did Octavianus act?

Dr. B. Historians² inform us that he did not give up Cicero to the swords of Antony's hirelings, without the greatest reluctance, and only after a struggle of two days to preserve him. But all this affection for the orator was probably unreal, and only assumed for the purpose of excusing in some degree his subsequent abandonment of the aged patriot. Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, when the news of the proscription reached him, secret intelligence having been sent him by some of his friends. At first he resolved to sail for Greece, where Brutus was assembling around him the surviving followers of the party of the republic. Contrary winds, however, prevented the execution of this design, and he landed again on the Italian coast, and spent the night near Circeii, in great anxiety and irresolution. On the following day, the importunity of his domestics prevailed upon him to sail for Caieta, where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa.

¹ Ep. ad Att. 16, 7.

² *Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 46.*—*Vell. Paterc. 2, 66.*—*Sueton. Aug. 27.*

he slept soundly for several hours, when his attendants, having of the arrival of a party of soldiers, who were in quest of him, led their aged master towards the shore, through a private part of the woods; but before they could succeed in reaching the ship, the soldiers, headed by a tribune whom Cicero had once defended in a similar cause, overtook the fugitives, and executed the bloody mandate of Antony.¹

And was no effort made to save him on the part of his followers?

B. The attendants, as soon as the soldiers appeared, prepared themselves for action, being resolved to defend their master's life at the risk of their own; but Cicero commanded them to set down the litter in which they were conveying him, and to make no resistance.² When the soldiers approached, surveying them with a look which almost drove them from their bloody purpose, he bade them execute the errand on which they were sent, and extended his neck from the litter to receive the blow. His head and hands were severed from his body, conveyed to Rome, and fixed upon the rostra, the head between the two hands, in obedience to the orders of Antony!

His age, my dear Doctor?

B. Within one month of sixty-four. He was killed on the 7th of November, ten days after the establishment of the triumvirate.³—Shall I proceed to delineate his character, or will you first have a brief sketch of his literary efforts?

The latter, undoubtedly, will be the preferable course, for I shall be better able to appreciate your delineation of the man.

B. I think so myself. Now, open your Cicero, and name to me the several productions of the Roman, as you will find they are arranged there; I will give you a brief account of each. But, remember, only a brief one; the rest is to be supplied from your own reading.

I accept your terms, my dear Doctor, and will do my best to fulfil the part of the agreement.—Now, here we have, first in order, a treatise on Rhetoric, in four books, addressed to Herennius.

B. Which treatise Cicero never wrote. If you ask me the name of the true author, I can only reply, that the matter is involved in utter uncertainty. You will see, by the heading, that some of the learned have ascribed it to Cornificius. This was the opinion of Aldus Manutius, Sigonius, and Muretus, who made the writer to have been Lucius Cornificius, the elder, Cæsar's quæstor during the civil war. Gerardus Vossius, on the other hand, contends for the younger Cornificius. Others attribute the work to Gallio, a rhetorician in the time of Nero. Some are in favour of M. Antonius Gnipho, who was born in Gaul, B.C. 640, studied at Alexandria, and taught rhetoric in the house of his father of Julius Cæsar. But there are difficulties attending all these opinions, especially the last, and the point must be still left open for conjecture. It appears, however, that this work was one of the first treatises on rhetoric ever published in the Latin language, since its

¹ Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 48.

² Liv. Fragm. ap Senec. Suas. 1.

³ Vell. Paterc. 2, 64.—Pigh. Ann. ad A.U.C. 710.

author cites no previous Latin writer, and asserts that he has been first to give Latin names to the figures of Rhetoric. The first and second books are extremely dry; the third, more engaging; and the fourth, which turns upon the three kinds of style suitable for discourse decidedly the best of the whole.¹

H. Next comes a treatise "*De Inventione Rhetorica*."

Dr. B. On that part of rhetoric which relates to invention. The work alluded to by Cicero, in the commencement of his treatise "*De Oratore*," as having been published by him in his youth. It is generally believed to have been written by him when twenty-four years of age, and to have originally contained four books, of which but two remain. Schütz, however, maintains that he never wrote, or at least never published, more than the two books, which we possess. In composing this work, Cicero, as far as an opinion may be ventured, would appear to have had before him notes taken from the prelections of some instructor, whom the anonymous author of the treatise addressed as Herennius had also attended. For a number of passages, in the books "*De Inventione*," coincide in a very marked manner with others in the work to Herennius; unless, indeed, the author of the latter is the preceptor of Cicero.²

H. To the work on invention succeed the three dialogues "*De Oratore*," inscribed to his brother Quintus.

Dr. B. These were written, A.U.C. 698, when Cicero, disgusted with the political dissensions of the capital, had retired during part of the summer to the seclusion of the country. The speakers in these dialogues are the orators Antonius and Crassus, (the latter of whom was attended by the young Sulpicius and Cotta, at that time the two most promising speakers at Rome,) the eminent lawyer Scævola, and Catulus and Julius Cæsar, (grand-uncle to the dictator,) the last two distinguished also for their eloquence, and who joined the party in the interval between the first and second dialogues. The principal part of the conversation, however, is borne by Crassus and Antonius; the former advocating, what was in fact Cicero's own opinion, that almost universal knowledge is essentially requisite to perfection in oratory; the latter, who was a mere practical pleader, maintaining that the various accomplishments insisted upon by Crassus, were totally distinct from the proper office and duties of a public speaker. According to him, eloquence is not an art, because it depends not upon knowledge. Imitation of good models, practice, and minute attention to each particular case, are laid down by him as the true foundation of forensic eloquence; the great objects of an orator being, in the first place, to recommend himself to his clients, and then to prepossess judges in his favour. Crassus, in reply, enters on the embellishments of rhetoric: pronunciation, elocution, harmony of periods, metaphors

¹ An account of the whole controversy may be seen in Dunlop *Rom. Lit.* vol. 2, p. 366, seqq.; and in Baehr, *Gesch. Rom. Lit.* p. 5 seqq.

² *Dunlop, Rom. Lit.* vol. 2, p. 366.—Schoell, *Hist. Lit. Rom.* vol. p. 117.

sentiments, action, and, in short, whatever can impart a finished grace and dignity to a public discourse.¹

H. Excuse my interrupting you, Doctor, but how could Cicero, if he were not present at these conversations, obtain such accurate information of the various topics that were discussed?

Dr. B. He is supposed to have heard them from Cotta; and this fiction is the more convenient, since it enables him to shelter his own opinions under those of two such eminent masters of oratory as Crassus and Antonius.—Cicero entertained a very high opinion of this work, and his friends considered it one of his best. It is peculiarly valuable to us at the present day, as containing every thing of importance in the Greek works on rhetoric, while the copiousness, and ease, and graceful polish of the style are above all commendation.²—What have we next?

H. A dialogue entitled "*Brutus, sive de claris Oratoribus*."

Dr. B. Cicero supposes, that, after his return from Asia, M. Brutus, the same who subsequently conspired against Cæsar, pays him a visit accompanied by Atticus, and that these two request him to resume a conversation which he had previously held with Atticus alone, and in which they had been discoursing of the most eminent orators. Cicero complies, and, after a few slight, but masterly sketches of the most celebrated speakers of Greece, enters upon a full detail of the Roman orators from the earliest periods to his own time. This work is of great value, as regards the history of Roman eloquence, but it is not as interesting as its title would lead you to expect. It contains too many names, and too little is said of each, so that it resembles in some degree, a dry sort of catalogue.³

H. To the "*Brutus*" succeeds the "*Orator*."

Dr. B. In this production, which is addressed to Brutus, and was written at his request, Cicero treats of the qualifications that constitute a perfect orator. It is intended to complete the subjects examined in the dialogues "*De Oratore*." Cicero's perfect orator, you will bear in mind, existed nowhere but in his own imagination.—Come, turn over. What do you find next in order?

H. A treatise entitled "*Topica*," and addressed to C. Trebatius.

Dr. B. It gives an account of the various topics, or common-places, which are the foundation of rhetorical argument. The work is, in fact, an extract from that of Aristotle on the same subject, accompanied by a commentary from the pen of Cicero, the whole being amalgamated into one treatise. It was prepared for the use of Trebatius, the eminent lawyer; and hence Cicero takes his examples chiefly from the Roman civil law, as more intelligible to Trebatius than illustrations drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle.⁴

H. We have then a dialogue, "*De Partitione Oratoria*."

Dr. B. This is a production of rather inferior value. It is a dialogue

¹ Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 353, seqq.

² Dunlop, ubi supra.

³ Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 359.—Schoell, Lit. Rom. vol. 2, p. 120.

⁴ Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 364.

between Cicero and his son, concerning the principles and doctrine of eloquence. It appears to have been written A.U.C. 707, while he was prosecuting the war in Africa.—The work which you are now closing the series of Cicero's rhetorical works, is that entitled *optimo genere Oratorum*," and was originally intended as a prefatory translation which Cicero had made from the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, respecting the crown.

H. May I ask, Doctor, what was Cicero's object in making this translation?

Dr. B. To correct a false impression, at that time very prevalent among his countrymen, that Attic eloquence was limited to a plain and slender mode of expression, distinguished by purity of style and delicacy of taste, but void of all ornament and redundance. He took, therefore, a free translation of the two master-pieces of Attic eloquence; the one being an example of vehement and energetic, the other of pathetic and ornamental oratory.—Now for a rapid survey of the speeches of Cicero. We have already touched upon the *Pro Quintio*, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, and *Pro Roscio Comodo*, and likewise the oration against Cæcilius, and the six against Verres. What find after these?¹

H. The speech delivered in defence of Fonteius.

Dr. B. This was pronounced while Cicero was ædile. It is the defence of an unpopular governor, accused of oppression by the people entrusted to his care. Much however is lost; which is the most to be regretted, as it would have formed an interesting contrast to the speech against Verres.

H. Then comes the oration for Aulus Cæcina.

Dr. B. A mere question of civil right, turning on an edict of a Roman prætor.

H. The oration for the Manilian law follows, but as I have just finished the perusal of this, I will not trouble you for an analysis. The speech for Cluentius succeeds.

Dr. B. And a powerful and splendid production it is, and one of the most correct and forcible of all the judicial orations of Cicero. Cluentius had been accused by an unnatural mother of having poisoned his step-father.

H. Three orations against the Agrarian law of Rullus are in the next order.

Dr. B. The history of the affair is briefly this: Rullus, a tribune of the commons, brought in a law, that the public domains in the provinces should be sold, and that the spoils acquired by Roman commanders in foreign wars should be taken from them, in order that by these two means, a sum of money might be raised for the purchase of lands in Italy, particularly Campania, which lands were to be sold to the commons among the people. Cicero delivered his first oration against the law, (the beginning, however, of which is wanting,) the very day when he entered on the duties of the consulship. His opposition was effectual, and the law was rejected. The tribunes, however, subsequently instilled some suspicions into the minds of the

¹ Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 365.

with regard to Cicero's motives in opposing this project, he found it necessary to deliver the second and third orations on the same topic.¹

H. The oration for Rabirius succeeds.

Dr. B. He was accused of having been concerned in the death of Saturninus, a seditious tribune, who had been slain by a party in the interest of the senate. Thirty-six years had intervened, and the accuser was Labienus, afterwards well known as Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul. Rabirius, notwithstanding the efforts of Cicero, would in all probability have been condemned, had not his friend, the prætor Metellus, taken down the standard from the Janiculum, which dissolved the comitia and broke off the trial. The troubles connected with the affair of Catiline occupied soon after the public attention, and the charge against Rabirius was never revived.

H. Yes, here are the speeches against Catiline, which formed part of my Harrow reading, and the oration for Murena, another old acquaintance of mine comes slowly after. I will not trouble you about these, Doctor Barton, but will thank you to give me some information about the next, the speech in behalf of Flaccus.

Dr. B. This is the same Flaccus of whom you read in Sallust. He was prætor at the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, and aided in the arrest of the Allobroges. Cicero here defends him against a charge of extortion and peculation, brought by various states of Asia Minor, which he had governed as proprætor.

H. An oration for Publius Sylla.

Dr. B. He was related to the dictator, and was accused of having been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. Cicero succeeded in procuring his acquittal. The cause was tried the year after his consulship.

H. Another old favourite of mine, the oration for Archias, which is followed by one entitled, "*Ad Quirites post reditum.*"

Dr. B. If you turn over a little farther, you will find three others, entitled respectively, "*Post reditum in senatu,*" "*Pro Domo sua ad Pontifices,*" and "*De Haruspicum Responsis.*" I am sorry to say that these four orations are now generally regarded as spurious, and as having been composed by the rhetoricians of a later age as exercises in declamation. Cicero did, indeed, deliver four speeches, almost immediately after his return from exile, on subjects similar to these. The first was addressed to the senate, the second to the people, the third to the College of Pontiffs, to obtain restitution of the ground on which his house had stood, and which had been made the site of a temple, and the fourth in answer to a declaration of Clodius, that certain alarming prodigies which had lately appeared, were occasioned by the desecration of this same piece of ground, which the pontiffs had discharged from religious uses. But the four speeches that have come down to us, afford abundant internal evidence of their never having proceeded from Cicero.²

H. Dismissing these, we have next in order the oration for Plan-
cius.

¹ Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 295.

² Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 333.—Schoell, Lit. Rom. vol. 2, p. 104.

Dr. B. This is the Plancius of whom I made mention as having been quæstor of Macedonia when Cicero came thither as an exile. He is here defended by the orator, in return for the kindness shown on that occasion, against a charge of bribery in suing for the office of ædile.

H. Then comes the oration for Sextius.

Dr. B. Here again Cicero requites the services of a friend. Sextius, while tribune, had exerted himself to procure Cicero's recall, and the latter now defends him in an elaborate harangue against a charge of exciting a tumult in the capital.

H. An oration against Vatinius.

Dr. B. This Vatinius was produced on the opposite side in the trial of Sextius, as a witness against him. This gave Cicero an opportunity of interrogating him, and the whole speech is one continued invective, uttered in a series of questions without waiting for a reply. Hence it is sometimes called, not *oratio*, but *interrogatio*.

H. An oration for Cœlius.

Dr. B. Cœlius, a gay and rather dissolute young man, was accused by Clodia, the well-known sister of Clodius, of an attempt to poison her, and of having borrowed money from her to procure the assassination of Dio, the Alexandrian ambassador. This oration, which is highly commended by Middleton¹ for its occasionally playful manner was also a particular favourite with the celebrated Fox.²

H. It is succeeded by a speech, "*De Provinciis consularibus*."

Dr. B. This oration is indeed a remarkable one. It procured for Cæsar a continuance of his government in Gaul, and this last may be regarded as one of the immediate causes of the ruin of the republic. Cicero advocated the continuance of this command without in the least degree penetrating the designs of the ambitious Cæsar, whose only object was to have Gaul as the training-place of his legions until he could turn their arms against his country.

H. The oration for Balbus.

Dr. B. Pompey, by a special law, had granted the freedom of Rome to Balbus, a native of Cadiz, who had performed some important services for him in the war against Sertorius. The validity of Pompey's act was now questioned, but was successfully defended by Cicero.

H. An oration against L. Calpurnius Piso.

Dr. B. Piso had been recalled from his government of Macedonia, in consequence of Cicero's oration on the consular provinces. Taking an early opportunity, he complained before the senate of the treatment he had received, and indulged in an attack on the orator, ridiculing in particular his poetic effusions. Cicero's reply is remarkable for its coarse and bitter invective.

H. What, in the presence of the senate?

Dr. B. Yes, he indulges, before that grave body, in language and allusions that suit only the meridian of a tavern; and this too against a man of family and distinction.—But why do you shake your head?

H. Ah! here is the famous speech against Milo, which was never delivered. What a pity that no one took down the oration which

¹ Life of Cicero, vol. 2, p. 69.—Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 310.

² Correspondence of Wakefield and Fox, p. 85.

actually uttered, that we might have compared its feebleness to the beautiful harangue which has come down to our times.

B. It was taken down in writing, and still existed in the days of us, but must have been, as you remark, far inferior to the one we now have, since the latter was accounted, both by Cicero and by his contemporaries, as the finest effort of his genius.¹

The oration which I find next in order is entitled, "*Pro Rabirio mo.*"

B. He was prosecuted for repayment of a sum which he was said to have received, in conjunction with the proconsul Gabinus, King Ptolemy for having placed him on the throne of Egypt, contrary to the injunctions of the senate. But why that look of reproach?

This oration, which succeeds, I have read of in Plutarch. It is for Ligarius, accused of having borne arms against Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, and of having renewed the war in Africa.

B. Yes, the dictator himself presided at the trial, much prejudiced against Ligarius. But the eloquence of the advocate extorted a verdict in his favor. It was during this oration that Cæsar's countenance is said to have changed, and the papers which he held to have dropped from his hand.²

We have but two remaining before we reach the Philippics, the one for Deiotarus, and that in behalf of Marcellus. With the latter I am so well acquainted to trouble you for any explanation. Of the former I am ignorant.

B. Why, this was a defence of Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, who was charged with an attempt to poison Cæsar, during the stay which he made at his court. The case was heard in the private apartments of Cæsar, and the issue was successful for the accused.

I will not trouble you, my dear Doctor, to explain for me the contents of each of the Philippics. I have read that they were aimed at Antony, that they were so entitled in imitation of the splendid orations of Demosthenes, and that, like the latter, they derive their beauty from the noble expression of just indignation which is so evenly diffused over all. Allow me to ask, however, which one, in your opinion, is entitled to the palm.

B. Undoubtedly the fourteenth, which was delivered after the peace had been received of the total defeat of Antony, before the walls of Modena, by the army under Octavianus and the consuls Agrippa and Pansa. This success was thought to have decided the fate of Antony and the republic, and Cicero gives loose to his patriotic feelings in a flow of the noblest eloquence. This, too, was the last oration that Cicero delivered, for the union of Octavianus and Antony was cemented by his blood.³

And have we now gone through all the orations, Doctor Barton, my friend of Arpinum?

B. All that have come down to us, Henry. Many, however, have

¹ Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. 2, p. 313.

² Plut. *Vit. Cic.* c. 39.

³ Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* vol. 2, p. 327.

M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM
PRIMA,
HABITA IN SENATU.

.

ORATIO PRIMA.

I. ¹Quousque tandem ²abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quamdiu etiam furor ³iste tuus [nos] ⁴eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? ⁵Nihilne te noctur-

¹ *Quousque tandem, &c.* "How far, then, Catiline, wilt thou trifle with our patience? How long, too, will that frantic wickedness of thine baffle our efforts? To what extent will thy unbridled audacity display itself?"—We may suppose the whole senate to have remained, for a time, in the deepest silence, every eye directed towards Catiline; and Cicero, at last, slowly rising from his curule chair, and pointing the finger of indignant scorn at the guilty intruder, to have burst forth into this startling and impassioned exordium.

² *Abutere.* Cicero prefers the softer and more poetic termination *-re*, in the imperfect and future indicative, and present and imperfect subjunctive. In the present indicative he rarely employs it.—*Patientia nostra.* The reference in *nostra* is to himself and the senate generally.

³ *Iste tuus.* The pronoun *iste* is here employed to mark indignant scorn and contempt. It must be observed, with regard to *iste*, that it is, strictly speaking, used, together with its derivatives, in reference to the person addressed. Thus, *iste locus*, "that place where you are;" *ista verba*, "those words which you uttered." (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 41, 4th edition.) When Cicero addressed his antagonist, in any instance, he often used *iste* in accordance with the principle just laid down; and, as he generally used it contumeliously, it acquires a reproachful meaning.

⁴ *Eludet.* A metaphor borrowed from the movements of gladiators, in avoiding a blow from an opponent. (DONAT. *in Ter. Eun.* 1, 1, 10.)—*Quem ad finem.* Equivalent, in Ciceronian Latinity, to *quousque* or *quamdiu*. (ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *finis*.)—*Jactabit.* The student will mark the force of the frequentative. It is equivalent to *insolenter se geret*.

⁵ *Nihilne te, &c.* "Have the guards stationed nightly on the Palatine hill produced no impression upon thee? Have the watches planted throughout the city produced none? None, the consternation of the populace? None, the thronging together of all good citizens?" &c. Literally, "Has the nightly guard of the Palatium in no respect moved thee? In no respect have the watches of the city?" &c.

num præsidium ¹ Palatii, nihil ² urbis vigiliæ, nihil timor populi, nihil ⁴ concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic ⁵ munitissimus habendi senatum locus, nihil ⁶ horum ora vultusque moverunt? ⁷ Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam horum omnium conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid ⁸ proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, O mores? Sena-

¹ *Palatii*. The Palatine was the most central of the seven hills of Rome, stretching into the Forum, and the most important to be guarded in case any public disturbance arose, since a foe, in possession of it, might easily make himself master of the rest of the city. Hence the necessity of its being secured on the present occasion. The Palatine hill was said to be the residence of Romulus, and was, in fact, the first part of the city that was inhabited. Here, in a later age, stood the imperial mansion of Augustus and his successors, and hence the origin of the modern term "palace." [The guard upon the Palatium was formed of Roman knights. Cf. SALL. 49, "*Nonnulli equites Romani cum telis erant circum ædem concordiæ*." Watches were also established throughout the whole city. See SALL. 30. Those who occupied the Palatium commanded the whole city. Romulus τοῦ Παλατίου τεῖχος ὑψηλοτέροις ἐρύμασι ἐτείχισε. DIONYS. p. 114. It was the oldest part of the city.]

² *Urbis vigiliæ*. When there was any alarm or disturbance in the city, or when any suspicion was entertained of public commotion or secret conspiracy, the inferior magistrates (the ædiles, quæstors, and tribunes,) were entrusted by the senate with the care of the public peace, and planted guards and watches in proper places.

³ [*Timor populi*. Cf. SALL. ch. 31. "*Immutata urbis facies erat: ex summa lætitia atque lascivia . . repente omnis tristitia invasit, festinare, trepidare,*" &c.]

⁴ *Concursus*. Several editions have *consensus*, ("the union,") which is also given by Quintilian (9, 3, 30) in citing from this passage. The more spirited reading, however, is undoubtedly *concursus*. See SALL. chap. 31.

⁵ *Munitissimus*. In dangerous emergencies, the senate were usually convened in the temple of some tutelary divinity, and not in a *Curia*, or senate-house. The place selected, on the present occasion, was the temple of Jupiter Stator, at the foot of the Palatine Hill; and it is hence called "*munitissimus locus*," from the circumstance of there being a guard, at the time, on the Palatine. With respect to the true position of the temple of Jupiter Stator, (which some editors very erroneously make to have been in the capitol,) consult LIV. 1, 12. OVID. *Fast.* 6, 794. NARDINI, 6, 12.

⁶ *Horum ora vultusque*. "The looks and countenances of those who are here assembled." *Ora* refers to the looks of aversion directed at Catiline; *vultus* to the expression of their countenances, in which were depicted anxiety and alarm. Muretus refers the words to the aversion manifested by the senators on the entrance of Catiline into the assembly, when all

tus hæc intelligit, consul videt; hic tamen vivit. Vivit?
⁹immo vero etiam in senatum venit: fit ¹⁰publici consilii
 particeps: notat et designat oculis ad cædem unumquemque
 nostrum. Nos autem, ¹¹viri fortes, satisfacere rei publicæ
 videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te,
 Catilina, duci jussu consulis jampridem ¹²oportebat; ¹³in te
 conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machi-

quitted that part of the benches where he had taken his seat. They would rather seem to refer to the deportment of the senate during all the time that he had been present.

⁷ *Patere*. "Lie open to view," i.e. are brought fully to light.—*Constrictam jam horum omnium teneri*. Literally, "is now held firmly grasped in the knowledge of all these," i.e. is now become a matter of firm conviction to all who are here assembled. *Constrictus* is applied to whatever is firmly held in, and can no longer escape our grasp. While the compound term *conscientia* (instead of the simple *scientia*) is employed to denote that many are acquainted with the conspiracy. Compare the explanation of SCHUTZ, (*Index Lat. s. v.*) "*Communis inter complures rei alicujus notitia*."

⁸ *Proxima*. Cicero delivered this oration on the 8th of November. A meeting of the conspirators had taken place on the night of the 6th, at the house of Læca. This is what Cicero calls *nox superior*. The morning of the 7th was the time fixed for his assassination by the two Roman knights. During that day, Cicero caused all the movements of the conspirators to be closely watched, and ascertained also, by his secret agents, all that was done on the night of the 7th. This was the *nox proxima*. Compare chapter 4th, and *Pro Sull. c. 18*. [The *nox superior* is the same as *nox prior*, i. e. as Cicero himself states, *nox ea quæ consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium* (5th Nov.) *Pro Sulla*, 52. ORELL.]

⁹ *Immo vero*. "Nay, indeed." Grævius omits *vero*, but its presence imparts additional strength to the clause. Compare *Ep. ad Att. 12*, 42: "*Ferendus tibi in hoc error; ferendus? immo vero etiam adjuvandus*." And also *Tursellinus de Part. Lat. s. v. Immo*. [*In Senatum*.—Catiline as having been prætor, had the right of entering the senate.]

¹⁰ *Publici consilii particeps*. "A sharer in the public deliberations." Cicero's object is to excite the indignation of the Senate against Catiline for his having come into that assembly, actually to take part in their deliberations.

¹¹ *Viri fortes*. Spoken ironically. "Men full of courage." Cicero charges himself and the senate with cowardice, in not having before this brought Catiline to punishment—*Satisfacere rei publicæ*. "To do our duty to the state."—*Istius*. "Of that wretch." Pointing at Catiline. Compare note 3, page 3.

¹² [*Oportebat*. The imperfect indic. denotes that an act has not been done which should have been done. So *debebat*. *Pro Rosc. § 4*.]

¹³ *In te conferri*, &c. *Jampridem* is implied from the previous clause. "Long since ought that ruin to have been heaped upon thy own head,"

naris. ¹ *An vero vir amplissimus*, ² *P. Scipio*, pontifex maximus, Tib. Gracchum, ³ *mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicæ*, privatus interfecit: ⁴ *Catilinam*, orbem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? ⁵ *Nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo*, quod ⁶ *C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium*, novis rebus studentem, manu

&c. The pronoun *istam* tacitly implies that the ruin in question is the work of Catiline, and this idea is immediately enlarged upon in what follows, *quam tu in nos omnes*, &c.

¹ *An vero*. The primitive meaning of *an* is "or," and, when used interrogatively, the sentence is always elliptical. Thus, *an decertare mecum voluit?* "Did he wish to contend with me?" This, when resolved, is nothing more than, "Am I wrong in my surmise, or did he wish to contend with me?" So, in the present instance, *an vero vir amplissimus*, &c. (which we translate, "Did, in fact, that very illustrious individual," &c.) is, in reality, when fully expressed, "Am I wrong in my assertion, or did, in fact," &c. The same explanation will apply to the Greek *ἤ*, when used as an interrogative particle.

² *P. Scipio*. The reference is to P. Scipio Nasica. He is called *privatus* because the office of *pontifex maximus* was not a magistracy: [since it lasted through life, while all magistracies were annual]: and hence the same person could be pontifex and also consul or prætor. MURETUS, *ad loc.* The term *privatus* may, therefore, be rendered, "although filling no office of magistracy." As regards Scipio Nasica, consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Scipio.—*Gracchum*. Consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Gracchus, and Legal Index, s. v. Sempronia Lex. [The date for the death of Gracchus is A.U.C. 621.]

³ *Mediocriter labefactantem*, &c. "When disturbing only, in a moderate degree, the settled order of things in the state." *Status* is here figuratively employed, in allusion to the posture or attitude of a gladiator in combat. It will be observed, that Cicero designedly extenuates the offence of Tiberius Gracchus, in order that the rigour, with which he was punished, might be contrasted the more strongly with the impunity enjoyed by Catiline. [The three great rogations of Gracchus were, 1. His proposal to give the *civitas* to all the inhabitants of Italy. 2. His agrarian laws. 3. The creation of *Triumviri deducendis coloniis*.—The murder of Gracchus was (according to VELLEIUS, ii. 2,) "*initium in urbe Romæ civilis sanguinis gladiatorumque impunitatis*."]]

⁴ *Catilinam*. The common text has *vero* after *Catilinam*; but since this already occurs with *an*, in the previous part of the sentence, and does not appear in the present passage as cited by Quintilian, (8, 4, 13,) we have rejected it with Manutius, Lambinus, and other editors.

⁵ *Nam illa*, &c. Cicero here assigns a reason for other examples not being cited, in preference to that of Tiberius Gracchus. They were of too remote a date; whereas the movements of Gracchus had occurred at a comparatively recent period.

⁶ *C. Servilius Ahala*. Consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Ahala. He was *magister equitum* to the dictator T. Q. Cincinnatus. Ernesti first gave the true reading *C. Servilius*, for the common lection, *Q. Servilius*.—

sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ⁷ ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. ⁸ Habemus⁹ senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: ¹⁰ non deest reipublicæ consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, ¹¹ consules desumus.

II. DECREVIT ¹² quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul

Sp. Mælium. Mælius was the richest private man in the commonwealth, and more than suspected of aiming at the sovereign power, in consequence of his liberal donations of corn among the lower orders during a season of great scarcity. [He was slain by order of Quintius Cincinnatus, then Dictator.] Consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Mælius—*Novis rebus studentem*. "Aiming at a change in the government," i. e. plotting a revolution.

⁷ *Ista virtus*. "That degree of public virtue," i. e. of true patriotism. *Ista* is here used simply in the sense of *illa*, and the latter pronoun itself would no doubt have been actually employed, had it not occurred just before, in the expression, "*nam illa nimis*," &c.

⁸ *Habemus*. We have rejected *enim* after *habemus*, with Grævius, Ernesti, Schütz, &c., on the authority of some of the best MSS. It appears to have found its way into the text from *habemus enim*, in the next chapter.

⁹ *Senatus consultum*. By which the consuls were enjoined, "*ut viderent ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*." To take measures, that the state should not sustain any injury. A decree of this nature armed the consuls with dictatorial power for the time being, and, by virtue of it, they could put to death whomsoever they pleased, without the formality of a trial. (ADAM'S *Rom. Antiq.* edit. by Boyd, p. 18.) Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 29, and PLUTARCH, *Vit. Cic.* c. 15.) Catiline and his accomplices might have been seized and punished under this decree, but Cicero purposely abstained from such a course, and sought rather to induce them to quit the city.

¹⁰ *Non deest reipublicæ*, &c. "Neither the wisdom nor the sanction of this order is wanting to the republic." [*Reipublicæ* is the dative. Cf. *Ferr.* iii. 89. *Illi exempla non decrunt, reipublicæ salus deerit*. Some editors consider it to be the genitive, but then *rei publicæ consilium*, would be merely the same as *auctoritas hujus ordinis*.] Compare TACITUS, *Germ.* 12. "*Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium et auctoritas, adsunt*."

¹¹ *Consules desumus*. "We consuls are wanting in our duty." [Anthon had inserted a third *nos* before *desumus*, as given by Priscian, lib. 17, p. 1076. But *nos* is rejected by Orelli.] Cicero means, that the consuls have not done their duty in allowing Catiline to go so long unpunished. His object is to intimidate him, and induce him to leave the city.

¹² *Quondam*. A.U.C. 633, B.C. 121. Fifty-eight years before the time when Cicero uttered this. [Ten years intervened between the proceedings of Tiberius and those of Caius Gracchus.]—L. Opimius. He was consul with Fabius Maximus, A.U.C. 633. Consult Hist. Ind.

¹ videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulli intercessit; interfectus est propter ² quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, ³ clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus occisus est cum liberis ⁴ M. Fulvius consularis. Simi senatus consulto, ⁵ C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus, ea permissa res publica: num unum diem postea ⁶ L. Saturninum tribunum plebi, et C. Servilium prætorem mors rei publicæ pœna remorata est? At vero ⁷ nos vicesimum

¹ *Videret, &c.* A decree of this kind was called *decretum ultimum*, or *ultimæ necessitatis*. Consult note 9, page 7. Sometimes both consuls were named in it, at other times only one.

² *Quasdam seditionum suspiciones.* "Certain suspicions of seditious projects." Cicero here purposely uses mild language, as in the instance of the elder Gracchus. (Note page 6.) Consult Hist. Ind.

³ *Clarissimo patre, &c.* The Gracchi had for their father Sempronius Gracchus, who had been once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and had enjoyed a triumph over the Celtiberians. Their maternal grandfather (*Avo*) was the elder Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

⁴ *M. Fulvius.* One of the three commissioners named for carrying into effect the agrarian law, by dividing the public lands. He was the friend of C. Gracchus. Consult Hist. Ind. The eldest son of Fulvius was slain with his father during the affray; the younger after the conflict.

⁵ *C. Mario.* This occurred during the sixth consulship of Marius, A.U.C. 633. The crime of Saturninus and Servilius was seditious and turbulent conduct, and especially the having assassinated C. Memmius, a candidate for the consulship, in the Campus Martius. Consult Hist. Ind., s. v. Saturninus.—The individual, whom Cicero here calls C. Servilius is elsewhere styled C. Servilius Glaucia. Cicero purposely employs the *nomen* merely, as it belonged to a family of distinction, and he adds to it the title of prætor, in order that it may be seen, that neither birth nor official dignity could save him from the prompt vengeance of the laws, which Catiline had for so long a time been braving.

⁶ *L. Saturnini, &c.* [I would render this passage thus: "Whether did death and the penalty exacted by the state, for a single day respite Saturninus, &c.; *unum diem* is the accus. of time.—*Rei publicæ pœna* is used in the same sense as *pœna legum* below, ch. ix., and the meaning of "*to respite*," is no great stretch on the proper signification of *remorari*, which is to "delay," "defer," as *Pro Lege Man.* 14, *hæ res quæ cæteros remorari solent illum non retardarunt*. The verb is used in the sense of respite in *Propert.* 1, 19, 17. *Quamvis te longæ remorentur æta senectæ.*] Anthon adopted the following reading, *num unum diem postea L. Saturnini tribuni plebis, et C. Servilii prætoris mortem rei publicæ pœna remorata est?* which was first suggested, we believe, by Barker. "Did the punishment due to the republic, delay for a day thereafter, the death of L. Saturninus?" &c., i.e. did L

hābescere

jam diem patimur ~~habescere~~ aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatus consultum, verumtamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam ⁸gladium in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatus consulto ⁹confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis: et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. ¹⁰Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio in tantis rei publicæ periculis me non ¹¹dissolutum videri: sed jam ¹²me ipsum inertie

Saturninus, though a tribune of the commons, and C. Servilius, although invested with the prætorship, escape the punishment of death, so justly their due, for a single day after the decree in question had been passed?—Ernesti gives the ordinary reading, but recommends *L. Saturnini, tribuni plebis, et C. Servilii, prætoris*, retaining, however, *mors ac*, and giving to *remorata est* the intransitive meaning, “to delay,” or “linger.”

⁷Nos. “We consuls.” Referring to himself and colleague.—*Vicesimum diem*. It was, in fact, only the 18th day since the senate had decreed that Cicero and Antonius should see that the public received no injury. The orator, however, calls it in round numbers, the 20th. [Respecting this limit of time, *vicesimum jam diem*, Anthon is in error, following the calculation of Asconius. The first day is *ante diem*, xii. Kal. Nov., i.e. October 21; the last is *ante diem*, vi. Id. Nov., i.e. 8th November. From the month of October let us take then twelve days, add to these four days of November, which preceded the nones, then the nones; we have thus seventeen days; add next the 8th day before the ides of November, on the night of which day Catiline met his confederates in the house of Marcus Læca. The succeeding day (the 19th) was the vii. Id. Nov., on that Cicero convened the senate; and on the day succeeding, i. e. the vi. Id. Nov., he delivered this oration. As the ancients considered a day begun as completed so far as reckoning went, or, in other words, counting inclusively, we have the full sum of twenty days. From AHRENS.]

⁸*Gladium*. Omitted in many MSS. and editions; but defended by Ernesti, because *inclusum* precedes.

⁹*Confestim interfectum*, &c. “You ought, Catiline, to have been immediately put to death.” *Convenit* is here the perfect tense. Muretus doubts whether this usage of *convenit* be in accordance with correct Latinity; but many examples might be adduced in confirmation of it. One alone will here suffice: “*Quo nomine mirari convenit eos.*” (VELL. Patroc. 1, 3.)

¹⁰*Cupio*. Render the first *cupio*, “I am desirous, on the one hand,” and the second, “I am anxious, on the other.” If expressed in Greek, the first of these clauses would have μέν, and the second δέ.

¹¹*Dissolutum*. “Culpably negligent,” i. e. too indulgent. Thus Ernesti, s. v. “*Dissolutus, nimis negligens, opponitur severo et justo,*” (Clav. Cic.) and the words of Cicero himself, on another occasion: “*Maluisse Domitium crudelem in animadvertendo, quam in præmittendo dissolutum videri.*” (In Verr. 5, 3).

¹² [I have restored *me ipsum* for Anthon's reading *me ipse*: for Cicero

¹nequitiaeque condemno. Castra sunt in Italia, contra rem publicam, ²in Etruriæ faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulorum hostium numerus: ³eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra mœnia atque adeo in senatu, intestine aliquam quotidie perniciem rei publicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interjussero; credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius orationis boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jampridem factum esse contulit, ⁴certa de causa nondum adducor, ut faciam. Denique interficiam te, cum jam nemo tam improbus, perditus, ⁵tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non

opposes himself to others whom he condemns for inactivity and idleness, § 30.]

¹ *Nequitiaeque*. The term *nequitia* generally denotes "wickedness," "wickedness," "depravity," &c., but is here used in a new sense, for "utter remissness." Compare the language of Cicero, in the eleventh chapter of the present oration: "*num est vehementius aetatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescent*" Here *nequitia* is opposed to *severitas*. [The strict meaning of the word is "impotency."]

² *In Etruriæ faucibus*. "In the mountain defiles of Etruria." Manlius had then near Fæsulæ, in Etruria, an army, which he collected from the veteran soldiers of Sylla, under whom he himself served. [The attempt of Manlius is graphically given in SALL. c. 28. *C. Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare . . . praeparat latrones cujusque generis . . . nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis*. We infer that Manlius was enabled to make this attempt by means of funds supplied by Catiline. *Catiline pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide et tam mutuam, Fæsulæ ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea profuerit belli faciundi*.] Fæsulæ stood at the foot of the Appennines far from what is now the city of Florence, and the camp of Manlius was pitched near a narrow defile leading into Etruria. The word *faucibus* is often employed to denote a mountain pass, defile, strait, leading to some place or region. Compare LIVY, (42, 54,) "*utrum oppida in faucibus sunt, quæ Tempe adeunt*."

³ *Eorum autem imperatorem*. Alluding to Catiline.—[*Atque adeo* "Aye, and even in the senate."—*Credo*. "I firmly believe." I suppose the word to be used ironically.]—*Serius*. "At too late a period."

⁴ *Certa de causa*. "For a certain reason." Cicero is more explicit on this head, at the close of the present oration (c. 12). His fear lest, if Catiline were punished at an early stage of the proceedings before his guilt became fully developed, he might pass with manly indignation as an injured man, since there were not a few in the city, and even in the senate, who believed Catiline innocent, and who would have called Cicero a tyrant if he had put him to death. And then,

factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis præsiidiis ⁶ obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. ETENIM quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœtus nefarios, nec ⁷privata domus parietibus continere vocem conjurationis [tuæ] potest? ⁸si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam ⁹istam mentem: mihi crede: obliviscere cædis atque incendiorum: teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua

even if Catiline himself were capitally punished, the conspiracy would not be crushed, since so many of the guilty participators in it would still remain alive. Cicero's object was to compel Catiline to leave the city, and carry with him all his abandoned confederates; and hence, in order to intimidate and drive him to this course, he speaks immediately after of soon putting him to death: "*Tum denique interficiam te,*" &c.

⁷ *Tam tui similis.* "So like thee in character," i. e. so like thee in utter want of principle. *Similis* and *dissimilis*, generally speaking, are used with a dative of external resemblance: but with a genitive of resemblance in nature or internal constitution. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 270. Kenrick's transl.)

⁸ *Obsessus.* "Beset." From *obsido*, -ere. Cicero had numerous guards on the alert, both from the free towns of Italy and from the capital itself.—*Ne commovere te possis*, &c. A metaphor borrowed from the situation of a combatant, who is hemmed in so closely by his opponent as to be unable "to make any farther movement."

⁹ *Privata domus.* Alluding particularly to the house of Læca.—*Vocem conjurationis.* Cicero obtained full information of the secret meetings and plans of Catiline, through Fulvia and Curius. Grævius and others read *voces* instead of *vocem*, but this destroys the personification in *conjurationis*. If Cicero had written *voces*, he would have put *conjuratorum* in the place of *conjurationis*.

⁸ *Si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia.* "If your secret plans are made manifest, if they all burst forth into public view." *Illustrantur* refers back to *tenebris*, and *erumpunt* to *parietibus*.

⁹ *Istam mentem.* "That detestable purpose of yours." Compare note 3, page 3.—*Mihi crede.* "Take me for your adviser." Rely on what I tell you.—[*Teneris undique.* "You are convicted on all points." Thus Steinmetz: *teneris manifestis in rebus, maleficiis vel, teneris omnibus indiciis.*]—*Quæ etiam mecum*, &c. "And these you may even review along with me." The student will observe that we have rendered *quæ* by *et hæc*. Wherever the connexion is slight between the antecedent and relative, the latter may be resolved into the conjunction

consilia omnia : quæ etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine, me ¹ ante diem duodecimum kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ² ante diem sextum kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciæ satellitem atque administrum tuæ? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verum, ³ id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies?

and demonstrative or personal pronoun. Compare CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 162.

¹ *Ante diem duodecimum*, &c. "On the twelfth day before the kalends of November," i. e. on the 21st of October. This apparently anomalous mode of expression probably arose from a transposition of *ante*. Having once written *ante die duodecimo kalendas*, they would easily be led to change *die* into *diem*, as if it had been governed by *ante*. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 428. *Kenrick's transl.*) [But see note 5, page 13.]

"The practical rule for reducing one of our dates to the Roman calendar is, when the day is between the Kalends and Nones, (unless it be the day before the Nones,) to add one to the number of the Nones, and subtract the number of the given day : e. g. to find the Roman date of the 2nd of June, we have $5+1-2=4$; so that the date required is, *a. d. IV. Non. Jun.* When the day is between the Nones and Ides, a similar course is pursued : e. g. to find the expression for our 10th of August, we have $13+1-10=4$; so that our date is, *a. d. IV. Id. Sext.* (or *Aug.*) But if the day is after the Ides, (unless it be the last day of the month,) we add *two* to the number of days in the month, and subtract the number of the given day : e. g. it is required to find the Roman date of the 22nd December; we have $31+2-22=11$; so that the expression is *a. d. XI. Kal. Jun.* To reduce Roman dates to ours, we reverse the process just described, i. e. subtract the number of the Roman day : e. g. Augustus died *XIV. Kal. Sept.*: to accommodate this to our calendar, we say $31+2-14=19$; so that the date required is the 19th of August. When a date is given as under the old calendar, the proper allowance must be made." IDELER, *Handbuch der Mathematischen*, &c.

The date alluded to in the text requires some explanation. On the 20th October, Cicero gave notice to the senate of the existence of a conspiracy against the state. The consular election was to have been held the next day, the 21st; but the senate, in consequence of the impending danger, put off the comitia, and resolved to meet on that day for the purpose of deliberating more fully on the subject; for otherwise, they could not have done any business on a comitial day. On the 21st, therefore, Cicero, in full house, called upon Catiline to clear himself from the charge alleged against him; whereupon the latter, without denying or excusing it, bluntly replied, "that there were two bodies in the republic," meaning the senate and people, "the one of them infirm with a weak head, the other firm without a head; and that this last had so well deserved of him, that it should never want a head while he lived." This declaration startled the senate, and they immediately decreed that the consuls should see that the republic

Dixi ego idem in senatu, cædem ⁴te optimatum contulisse ⁵in ante diem quintum kalendas Novembres, tum cum multi ⁶principes civitatis Roma, non tam sui conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum ⁷reprimendorum causa, profugerunt. Num infitiri potes; te illo ipso die meis præsiidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu, discessu cæterorum, ⁸nostra tamen,

received no injury. The next day, the postponed comitia took place. and Silanus and Murena were elected consuls for the year 691, Catiline being one of the unsuccessful competitors.

¹ *Ante diem sextum*, &c. "The sixth day before the kalends of November," i. e. the 27th October.

² *Id quod multo magis est admirandum*. Ernesti regards these words as a gloss, but without sufficient reason. It was, in fact, a sufficient matter of surprise and wonder, that Cicero should have been so well informed, as to be able to predict, in the senate, the very day on which Manlius would be in arms.

³ *Te contulisse*. "That you had appointed."—[*Optimatum*, i. e. the aristocracy of wealth composed of plebeians and patricians; they supplanted and usurped the place of the older *Patricii*.]

⁴ *In ante diem quintum*, &c. "For the fifth day before the kalends of November," i. e. had set down the intended massacre *for* that day. The phraseology *ante diem*, &c. has already been noticed, (note 1.) The preposition *in* is here employed to govern the entire clause, and designates the time *for* which the intended action is set down, and *on* which it is to be performed. [In the phrase *ante diem quintum kalendas*, *diem quintum* is the accusative of time. *Kalendas* is governed by *ante*; from the nature of prepositions, and a confusion of the two phrases *diem ante kalendas*, and *diem kalendarum*, *ante* was placed first, and the four words were united, and considered as one substantive, "*ante-diem-quintum-kalendas*;" and hence the use of the preposition *in* to govern the whole is quite legitimate.]

⁵ *Principes civitatis*. "Leading men of the state." By *principes civitatis*, Cicero here means *principes optimatum*. (Compare *Pro Sext.* 45, 48, &c. *Post Red.* 3.) The term *optimates* with Cicero generally designates persons distinguished by rank, or political weight arising from the influence of wealth; see note 4, above. [This flight of the leading men marks an utter disorganization of society, unless we are to suppose this an oratorical flourish of Cicero's; no such circumstance is alluded to by Sallust.]

⁶ *Reprimendorum*. Used here in the sense of *impediendorum*.—*Profugerunt*. Among those who quitted Rome, was M. Licinius Crassus, who had received a letter from Catiline, warning him to depart, which letter he showed to Cicero. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 15.)

⁷ *Nostra qui remansissemus cæde*. "With the blood of those of us that had remained." The elegant construction here employed is deserving of being noted. The relative is made to refer to an antecedent implied in the possessive. Compare TERENCE, (*Andr.* 1, 1, 70,) "*Omnes laudare fortunas meas, qui gnatum habere cum tali ingenio prædium.*"

qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas? Quid? cum tu te ¹ Præneste kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine, illam coloniam meo jussu, ² præsidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego ³ non modo audiam, sed etiam videam, planeque sentiam.

IV. RECOGNOSCE tandem mecum ⁴ noctem illam superiorem: jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem rei publicæ. Dico te priori nocte venisse ⁵ inter falcarios, (non agam obscure,) in M. Læcæ domum: convenisse eodem ⁶ complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? con-

¹ *Præneste*. Neuter accusative singular. [Its modern name is *Palatrina*.] This place was situate in Latium, about twenty-three miles S. E. from Rome. Its citadel is described by Strabo as remarkable for its strength of position, and was therefore an important place for Catiline to seize upon, and for Cicero to endeavour to secure.—*Kalendis ipsis Novembribus*. “On the actual kalends of November,” i. e. on the first day of the month.—*Occupaturum*. Muretus says, that no other writer makes mention of this attempt.

² *Præsidiis*. These *præsidia*, *custodiæ*, and *vigiliæ* were composed of the inhabitants of Præneste, but the whole arrangement was Cicero’s.

³ *Non modo*, &c. [Anthon reads *non modo non audiam, sed etiam non videam*. But it is very common in this construction, for the second *non* to be omitted.] Compare CORTIUS, *ad Plin. Ep. 8, 7*. MURET. *Var. Lect. 10, 7*. As *non* is sometimes expressed, sometimes omitted, Dr. Hunter was led to investigate the principle on which this variety depended, and has laid down the following rules: 1. “When the same circumstance is meant to be denied in both clauses, and when the term expressive of that circumstance is, in the arrangement of the sentence, placed after *ne quidem*, the repetition of *non* after *non modo* seems to be unnecessary.” (As in chap. 10 of this oration: *Nunquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem, nisi nefarium concupisti*.) 2. “When both clauses are negative, denying not a common circumstance, but each clause severally a *separate and distinct* circumstance; in this case a *second negative*, after *non modo*, seems indispensably necessary.” As, in this sentence. For a full discussion of the point see his notes on the second book of *Livy*, pp. 336, *et seq.* [We have followed ORELLI and MSS.]

⁴ *Noctem illam superiorem*. “The transactions of the night before the last.” The night here meant was that of the 6th November, when the meeting was held at the house of Læca. Compare note 3, page 3.—*Priori nocte*. “On that former night.” Referring again to the night of the 6th.

⁵ *Inter falcarios*. “Through the scythe-makers’ street.” This was a *street*, or *district*, of Rome, most probably the former, taking its name from the residence of these artizans. The explanation of Priscian is to make *inter* synonymous with *ad*. “Dico te venisse inter falcarios, id

incam, si negas. Video enim [esse] hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt, nostro in numero, patres conscripti, ⁷ in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeo orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, et de re publica sententiam rogo, et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero! Fuisti igitur apud Læcam illa nocte, Catilina: ⁸ distribuisti partes Italiæ: statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret: delegisti ⁹ quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres: ¹⁰ descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia:

est, in locum ubi sunt falcarii." Livy, somewhat in the same way, uses the term *lignarios*, (35, 41.) "*Porticum extra trigeminam inter lignarios fecerunt*," where Crevier understands *opiflces*.

⁶ *Complures*. Sallust (*Cat.* 17) gives the names of eleven senators who were present on this occasion. Compare *Pro Sulla*, c. 18, seq.—*Convincam*. "I will prove the truth of what I say."

⁷ *In hoc orbis terræ*, &c. "In this the most venerated and august assembly on earth."—*Cogitent*. "Are plotting." The subjunctive mood is used in this construction for the sake of perspicuity, since the indicative would be ambiguous, and would present a double meaning. Thus, *sunt qui cogitant*, means not only, "there are those who plot," but also, "they who plot exist." The subjunctive, therefore, is preferred for the former of these meanings. So, *sunt qui dicant*, *sunt qui legant*, &c. CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. pp. 30 et seq. 4th ed.

⁸ *Distribuisti partes Italiæ*. Sallust (*Cat.* 27) informs us that C. Manlius was sent to Fæsulæ and the adjacent parts of Etruria: Septimius, a native of Camerinum, into the Picene territory; C. Julius, into Apulia.

⁹ *Quos Romæ relinqueres*. According to Sallust (*Cat.* 43), Statilius and Gabinius were to fire the city, and Cethegus to assassinate Cicero. Lentulus was to have had, according to Plutarch, a general superintendence of the whole affair, and was to have spared none in the general massacre, but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize, and hold as hostages for a peace with that commander. For there was a report, about this time, that Pompey was returning with his army from the Mithridatic war. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 18.)

¹⁰ *Descripsisti urbis partes*, &c. Sallust states (*Cat.* 43) that the conspirators were to fire twelve parts of the city at one and the same time. Plutarch, however, informs us that they had divided Rome into hundred parts, and had selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general. Others were to cut off the water, and kill all who went to seek it. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 18.)—"Descripsisti. "Marked out," "arranged." Cf. *Pro Sull.* 18. "*Tum Catilina dies exuendi, tum*

¹ confirmasti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum: dixisti, paullulum tibi esse etiam tum moræ, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt ² duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese ³ illa ipsa nocte, paullo ante lucem, me meo in lectulo interfecturos esse pollicerentur. Hæc ego omnia, vixdum etiam cœtu vestro dimisso, ⁴ comperi: domum meam majoribus præsiidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu mane ad me salutatum miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent; quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse prædixeram.

V. ⁵ QUÆ cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo cœpisti: egre-

cæteris manendi conditio, tum descriptio totam per orbem cædis atque incendiorum constituta est.”]

¹ *Confirmasti.* “You assured them.”—*Dixisti, paullulum, &c.* “You told them that you still, even then, were in some little degree hindered from departing.” Literally, “that there was still, even then, some little cause of delay unto you.”

² *Duo equites Romani.* Sallust (*Cat.* 38) gives the names, C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, but he calls the latter a senator. Vargunteius was probably of equestrian origin. [*“Nulla est diversitas inter Tullium et Sallustium: Tullius enim cum illa loqueretur, Vargunteium, equitem Romanum in senatum cum sexcentis aliis allectum indignum habuit, quem nominaret senatorem.”*—ORELL.]

³ *Illa ipsa nocte, &c.* They were to pay their intended visit early in the morning, a time when the distinguished Romans and higher magistrates held their levees, and when clients used to wait upon their patrons. Compare MARTIAL, (4, 8, 1,) “*Prima salutantes, atque altera conterit hora.*”

⁴ *Comperi.* He obtained his information from Curius through Fulvia. (SALL. *Cat.* 28.)—*Exclusi eos, &c.* Plutarch informs us, that the assassins came as soon as it was light, and, being denied entrance, grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected. He calls them Marcius and Cethegus: but Cicero, Sallust, Appian, and Plutarch, are too much at variance with each other, to enable us to give, with precision, all the minor features of the conspiracy.

⁵ *Quæ quum ita sint.* “Such being the case.” Cicero’s usual form of expression, in reference to things that have been explained by him, and may now be regarded as settled and clear; as, for example, in the present instance, the existence of a treasonable design on the part of Catiline.

⁶ *Illa tua Malliana castra.* (Compare note 2, page 10.)

⁷ *Si minus, quam plurimos.* “If not all, as many as possible.”—*Murus*, strictly speaking, the wall of a city; *mœnia*, battlements or fortifications; *paries*, the wall of a house. (CROMBIE, *Gymn.* vol. i. p. 2.)—*Nobiscum versari diutius.* “To remain any longer among us.” Literally, “to be occupied,” or “engaged, along with us,” &c.

⁸ *Non feram, &c.* “I will not endure, I will not suffer, I will not

dere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem ⁶ illa tua Malliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos: ⁷ si minus, quam plurimos. Purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: ⁸ non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est, ⁹ atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, ¹⁰ tamque infestam rei publicæ pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius ¹¹ in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicæ. Quamdiu mihi, ¹² con-

permit this." The gradation here is worthy of notice. As a man, I will not *endure* thy presence; as a good citizen, I will not *suffer* thee to remain unopposed; as a magistrate, I will not *permit* thee to continue among us.

⁹ *Atque huic ipsi*, &c. "And to Jupiter Stator, in particular, in whose temple we are here assembled." The student will observe the force of *huic* in designating the place. With regard to *ipsi*, it may be remarked, that this pronoun is not, in fact, reflective, but serves emphatically to distinguish that to which it is applied from all others.—*Statori*. Jupiter Stator was so called from his having stopped the flight of the Romans, when hard pressed by the Sabines. In the memorable action which was brought to an end by the heroic conduct of the Sabine females, Romulus and his followers had been driven back to the base of the Palatine hill, when he invoked, in his extremity, the aid of Jupiter, and vowed a temple to him on the spot where he was standing, if that god would stop the disgraceful flight of the Romans. The action took a favourable turn, and a temple was accordingly erected, at the foot of the Palatine, to Jupiter, surnamed, from the circumstance of the case, *Stator*, because he had caused the Romans to *make a stand* (*stare fecit*) in this quarter, against their pursuers. (Liv. 1, 12.) Some editors indulge in the singular error of making the temple of Jupiter Stator to have been in the capitol, thus confounding it with that of Jupiter Capitolinus.—Jupiter Stator is called by Plutarch Στήριος, and by Dio Cassius Ὀρθώσιος.

¹⁰ *Tamque infestam rei publicæ*. "And so fraught with ruin to the republic."—*Toties*. There is something of the exaggeration of oratory in this, since Catiline had only once before conspired against the state, along with Cn. Piso. (SALL. *Cat.* c. 18.) The reference, however, may also be a general one to his activity and wickedness.

¹¹ *In uno homine*. "In the person of a single individual." Cicero means that the public weal is no longer to depend on his own life. Some commentators apply these words less correctly to Catiline.—*Summa salus*. The best MSS. have this order, in place of the common *salus summa*, and so Grævius and others read.

¹² *Consuli designato*. The consuls elect were so called during the interval that elapsed between the period of their election and that of

suli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata diligentia defendi: cum ¹proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in ²campo, et competitores interficere voluisti, compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique quotiescunque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti: quamquam videbam, perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicæ ³esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rem publicam universam petis. Tempia deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

their entrance upon office. These magistrates, from A.U.C. 600, were elected about the end of July or beginning of August, and installed on the first of January. (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 94.) Cicero and Catiline had both been candidates for the consulship, and, when the former succeeded, Catiline endeavoured to murder him in the Campus Martius, and elsewhere, by his private emissaries, ("*omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni.*" SALL. *Cat.* c. 26.)

¹ *Proximis comitiis consularibus.* Referring to the 22d of October, the previous month. (Compare note 1, page 12.) On the day of election here alluded to, Cicero, as Plutarch informs us, put on a coat of mail: the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and displayed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was again rejected, and Silanus and Murena were chosen consuls. (*Vit. Cic.* c. 14.) [Sallust thus alludes to both facts, *Catiline neque petitio, neque insidiæ, quas consuli in campo fecerat, prospere cessere.* The comitia had originally been appointed for the 12th before the kalends of November, but were deferred until the 5th. See on this point, *Murena*, chap. 25.]

² *Campo.* The consular comitia were held in the Campus Martius.—*Competitores.* Silanus and Murena.—*Amicorum præsidio*, &c. Consult note 1.—*Me petisti.* "You aimed a thrust at me." A gladiatorial term. Compare Cicero's language towards the close of chapter 6.—"*Quot ego tuas petitiones,*" &c.

³ *Esse conjunctam.* "Was intimately connected."—*Petis.* "You aim a blow at." Compare note 2.—*Ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.* "You summon to ruin and desolation." Elegantly used instead of the more common phraseology, "*Evertere et solo æquare machinaris.*"

⁴ *Quoniam id, quod primum*, &c. "Since I dare not yet pursue that course which first suggests itself, and is in strict accordance with the principles of this government, and the administration of our forefathers," i. e. inflict capital punishment upon you.—Some commentators refer the expression *hujus imperii* to the consular office, ("and is in strict accordance with the nature of that office which I now fill,") but the other interpretation seems preferable.

3, 'quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii
 4æque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo :
 5id, quod est 6ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem
 7utilius : nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re
 8reliqua conjuratorum manus : sin tu (quod te
 9m hortor,) exieris, 10exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum
 11magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicæ. Quid
 12lina? Num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod
 13a sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul jubet
 14Interrogas me, 15num in exsilium? Non jubeo: sed,
 16nsulis, suadeo.

severitatem. "In point of severity" [the same as *quoad, quod* .]—*Et ad communem, &c.*, "and as regards the common
 inductive of more decided advantage."

reliqua conjuratorum manus. Ernesti thinks *reliqua* too frigid,
 and prefers *aliqua*, which appears to us still more frigid than *reliqua*.—

The metaphor is preparatory to the use of *sentina*. The
 word of the settling down or precipitation of fæculent matter in

exhaurietur ex urbe, &c. *Sentina* properly means that part of the
 of the bilge-water collects. It is then taken to denote the
 itself; and finally any worthless and impure collection of
 Cicero, in the following passage, employs the term in speak-
 ing of the lowest of the people, the very dregs of the city: "*Hoc enim*
est usus, quasi de aliqua sentina, ac non de optimorum civium
veretur." The manuscript reading is *perniciosa sentina rei pub-*
rei publicæ is thus regarded as a genitive, forming with
 double genitive, in imitation of the Greek. (GOERENZ, *ad*
de Orat., 17, 42, p. 169. MATTHIÆ, *G. G.* § 380, vol. ii. p. 608, *Ken-*
del.) Ernesti suspects this genitive *rei publicæ* to be a mere
 addition, since *ex urbe*, which is sufficient for the sense, precedes.
 But, notwithstanding, in his text. Anthon has also retained
 it, but placed it before *sentina*, and made it depend, as a dative,
 on *sentina*. He thinks it may be that *sentina rei publicæ* was writ-
 ten originally by some copyist for *rei publicæ sentina*, (a common error
 and the true position of the words may at first have been
 indicated by small numbers placed over them, which numbers were
 afterwards by subsequent copyists, and the erroneous order allowed to
 stand. Compare PORSON'S *Letter to Dalzel, Mus. Crit.* vol. i. p. 336.)
 The words *sentina rei publicæ*, comp. SALL. c. 37. *Omnes quos flagi-*
facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam con-

Quintilian cites this passage with approbation (viii. 6, 15.)
 12sentinam rei republicæ dixit fæditatem hominum significans;
 13in the same case, compare *Cat.* 11, 4, *hanc sentinam hujus urbis.*]

14sponte faciebas. "You were inclined to do of your own accord."
 15Here equivalent to *facere volebas*.—*Exire ex urbe, &c.* How
 16stronger than if he had said, "*Exire ex urbe Cicero Catilinam jubet.*"
 17*in exsilium.* Cicero purposely avoids ordering Catiline to

VI. QUID est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac delectare possit? In qua nemo est ¹extra istam conjunctionem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat; nemo, non oderit. ²Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis non in vitæ tuæ est? [³Quod privatarum rerum dedecus hæret infamiæ?] ⁴Quæ libido ab oculis, ⁵quod facinus manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfi Cui tu adolescentulo, ⁶quem corruptelarum illecebris i tisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem fa prætulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte superioris ux

go into exile. This would have been, in the present stage of the a hazardous experiment, as it might have exposed him to the char a tyrannical exercise of authority. The Romans were averse to using of the word *exile*, even in their judicial sentences, and hence punishment of expatriation was called *ignis et aquæ interdictio*, "i dicting from fire and water," by the force of which a person was pelled to leave Italy. It was a settled principle, that no Roman cit could lose, without his own consent, the right of citizenship; hence, when a person was to be banished, he was, by a fiction of interdicted from fire and water. ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 56, 1 —[*Non jubeo*, for exile was not a *punishment*, but a means of *avoi punishment*: and so in no Roman law is any crime found punish with exile. See *Cat.* 51.]

¹ *Extra istam conjurationem*, &c. "Unconnected with that federated troop of abandoned followers." The pronoun *iste* here m the person, and also denotes scorn and contempt on the part of speaker. Compare note 3, page 3.

² *Quæ nota*, &c. "What mark of domestic turpitude has not branded on your character?" *Nota* was applied by the Romans to mark branded on a fugitive slave when retaken, (*Cic Off.* 2, 7; is a metaphor taken from the branding of cattle; see *Georg.* iii. 1. and also to the stigma imposed by the censors for immoral cond (*Pro Cluent.* 46.) So the voice of public scorn had branded, i infamy, the character of Catiline. According to Plutarch, Sallust, Asconius, Catiline had slain his own brother; had murdered his son, that there might be no obstacle to his marriage with Aurelia C tilla; and had indulged in incestuous intercourse with an illegitin daughter of his own.

³ *Quod privatarum rerum*, &c. "What shameful conduct in pri life adheres not to your infamy?" This clause is strongly suspecte being a mere interpolation, since the same idea is already express the words, "*Quæ nota*." The Latinity of *non hæret infamiæ* is i questionable, and savours strongly of the style of a scholiast.

⁴ *Quæ libido*. "What scenes of impurity." Compare the remar DOERING, *ad loc.*: "*Oculis nempe homines libidinosi venari solent i dinis alimenta*."

⁵ *Quod facinus*. "What daring deed."—*Quod flagitium*. "W infamous pollution." The distinction between *facinus* and *flagi*

nuptiis domum ⁷ vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incre-
 scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? Quod ego prætermitto,
 ile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate ⁸ tanti facinoris im-
 as aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Præ-
 to ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere
 proximis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad
 am ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad ¹⁰ domesticam
 difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem
 am, atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque per-
 . Potestne tibi hæc ¹¹ lux, Catilina, aut hujus cœli

be noted. *Facinus* denotes a bold or daring action, and unless
 oined with a favourable epithet, or the action be previously
 ed as commendable, the term is always to be understood in a
 ative sense. *Flagitium* refers chiefly to disgraceful and lustful
 though it sometimes denotes any fault, error, or crime, that
 dishonour on the offender. (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p.

em corruptelarum illecebris irretisses. "Whom you had en-
 amid the allurements of your corrupting arts." Compare
 r, *Cat. c. 14*: "*Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat,*

cuefecisses. Catiline was said to have poisoned his first wife in
 o make way for Aurelia Orestilla.—*Alio incredibili scelere.* . The
 of his son. Compare CATULLUS (64, 402), "*Optavit genitor pri-
 unera gnati,*" &c. [Sallust mentions Catiline's murder of his
 t is silent regarding that of his wife. See SALL. c. 15.]

ti facinoris immanitas. "The enormity of so great a

rimis Idibus. His creditors would then be entitled to call for
 rest on their advances. [Not only the interest but the prin-
 uld be demanded on the *Ides*. ATT. xiv. 20. *Jam vel sibi habent
 ; modo numeret Idibus.*] Among the Romans, the Kalends and
 re the two periods of the month, when money was either laid
 nterest or called in, or else the interest demanded for what was

Compare HORACE (*Sat.* 1, 3, 87), "*Quum tristes misero vendere
 ;*" and also (*Epod.* 2, 69), "*Omnem redegit idibus pecuniam,* &c.
 present oration was delivered on the 8th of November, and
 t Ides would be on the 13th. The Ides fell on the 15th
 ch, May, July, and October, and the 13th of the other

mesticam tuam difficultatem. "Your domestic difficulties," i. e.
 bta. Compare VERR. 2, 28: "*Ostendit se in summa difficultate
 aria.*"

r. Grævius and others read *hæc lux*. On this Ernesti remarks
 whole relation is lost between *hujus vitæ lux*, and *hujus cœli*

[*Lux non simpliciter pro vita positum est, quod vult Grævius,
 ificatur potius commoratio in urbe.* Cf. *Fam.* 11, 12. *Urbem,
 ni Rufe, cole, et in ista luce vive.*—STEINMETZ.]

spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias, horum esse neminem, q nesciat te ¹ pridie kalendas Januarias, ² Lepido et Tullo consulibus, ³ stetisse in comitio cum telo? Manum, consulu et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa, paravisse Sceleri ac furori tuo ⁴ non mentem aliquam, aut timore tuum, sed ⁵ fortunam rei publicæ obstitisse? Ac jam nō omitto: (⁶ neque enim sunt aut obscura, aut non multa post commissa.) Quotiens tu me designatum, quoties consulem interficere conatus es? ⁷ Quot ego tuas petitiones ita conjectas, ut vitari non posse viderentur, parva quadam declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi? ⁸ [Nihil agis

¹ *Pridie kalendas Januarias.* That is the 31st of December. Sallust gives a brief account of this earlier conspiracy (*Cat.* 18.) The plan was, to murder the consuls in the capitol, and then for Catiline and Autronius to seize upon the consular authority. Suetonius (*Jul. Cæs.* c. 9) informs us, on the faith of contemporary writers, that Cæsar and Crassus had taken part in this conspiracy, and that it failed from Cæsar's not having given the preconcerted signal, in consequence of Crassus's not appearing at the appointed time. According to Sallust the plot failed a second time, on the nones (5th) of February, in consequence of Catiline's having given the signal for action before a sufficient number of conspirators had assembled.

² *Lepido et Tullo consulibus.* A.U.C. 687. Catiline, being accused of extortion was unable to stand candidate for the consulship, and hence inflamed with hatred and disappointment, he resolved to murder the new consuls, on the 1st of January, 688.

³ *Stetisse in comitio cum telo.* "Took your station in the comitium with a dagger." The *comitium* was that part of the forum where the *comitia* met.—It was forbidden, by one of the laws of the twelve tables, to carry any weapon within the city. The allusion in the text has already been explained under note 1.

⁴ *Non mentem aliquam.* "No glimpse of reason," and consequently remorse, amid his frenzy.

⁵ *Fortunam.* "The wonted good fortune." Compare SALLUST (*Cat.* c. 41,) "*Tandem vicit fortuna rei publicæ.*"

⁶ [*Neque enim sunt, &c.* "For neither are they concealed, nor are your after offences few." Steinmetz reads, *neque enim sunt aut obscuræ aut non multa commissa postea*, i. e. for his after crimes are neither obscure nor few. The Delphin and some others have *multo post.*]

⁷ *Quot ego tuas petitiones, &c.* "How many thrusts of thine, aimed in such a way that they seemed impossible to be parried, have been avoided by a slight swerving of position, and as they say, by the movements of my body." *Petitio*, *declinatio*, *corpus*, and *effugio*, are gladiatorial terms, purposely employed by Cicero, that he may seem to regard Catiline as no better than one of this class of persons. Compare the language he uses in the second oration against Catiline (c. 11) "*Gladiatorum illi confecto et saucio consules opponite,*" &c.

⁸ *Nihil agis, &c.* "You do nothing, you contrive nothing, you

nihil assequeris, [nihil moliris,] quod mihi latere valeat ⁹ in tempore: neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. ¹⁰Quotiens jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus! Quotiens vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! [¹¹Tamen ea carere diutius non potes:] ¹²quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas consulis in corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero, quæ est ista tua vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut ¹³odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti ¹⁴paullo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, ex tot

meditate nothing." The student will observe the regular gradation of ideas.—We have retained the common reading with Ernesti. Some editors reject *nihil moliris, quod mihi latere valeat in tempore*, but without any propriety. [They are omitted by Orellius.] The words from *quod* to *tempore*, both inclusive, are wanting in some manuscripts. [The construction *mihi latere* is not uncommon. *Post reil. in Sen. 6. Nobis hæc auctoritas latuit. Lucan. 1. Pharsal. 417. At mihi semper . . latet, &c.*—STEINMETZ.]

⁹ *In tempore.* "At the very moment when it is of advantage to me to know them." Equivalent to *illo tempore quo illa scire mihi utile sit*. Compare the Greek form ἐν καιρῷ, and *Drakenb. ad Liv. 8, 7*.

¹⁰ *Quotiens jam, &c.* "How often before this has that dagger of thine been wrested from thy grasp?"

¹¹ *Tamen ea carere diutius non potes.* These words are omitted by some editors, as not required by the context, and savouring, therefore, of interpolation. They are susceptible, however, of an easy defence; "Still you cannot be deprived of it for a longer period than the mere instant," i. e. no matter how often it be wrested, or fall, from your grasp, it is sure, the very next instant, to be in your hands again.

¹² *Quæ quidem, &c.* As the relative begins the clause, and the connexion between it and the antecedent is comparatively slight, it must be rendered by the pronoun *hæc*. (Compare note 9, page 11.) "With what unhallowed rites this dagger has been consecrated by thee and devoted to its purpose, I do not know, that you should deem it necessary to plunge it in the bosom of a consul." Cicero is thought to allude here to the horrid sacrifice of a human being, at the house of Catiline, an account of which is given by Sallust (*Cat. c. 23*), and Dio Cassius, (37, 30—vol. i. p. 131, *ed. Reimar.*)—The sacrificial knife was consecrated to that purpose alone: Cicero insinuates that Catiline had a weapon dedicated to the purpose of slaying the consuls. [*Devota, vetere illo Græcorum more, quo gladios facinori alicui destinatos, aut per quos cædes memorabilis patrata erat, diis consecrabant.*—STEIN.]

¹³ *Odio.* "By the detestation."—*Quæ tibi nulla debetur.* "No portion of which is justly your due."

¹⁴ *Paullo ante.* "A moment ago."—*Ex hac tanta frequentia.* "Of this so crowded a house." Referring to the full numbers of the senate, whom the intelligence of the conspiracy had drawn together.

tuis amicis ac necessariis, ¹salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, ²vocis expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid? quod adventu tuo ista ³subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persæpe ad cædem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum ⁴nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? ⁵Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Et, si me meis civibus ⁶injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem; carere me adspectu civium, quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet: tu cum conscientia scelo-

¹ *Salutavit.* When Catiline came into this meeting, and took his seat, all the senators abandoned that part of the *subsellia*, or benches, where he had placed himself, and not one of his private friends dared to salute him.

² *Vocis expectas contumeliam, &c.* "Do you wait for the open insult from the voices of these present, when you are crushed by the most expressive sentence of their very silence?" The *contumeliam vocis* is the same as if the senators had openly called Catiline a public enemy; the *judicium taciturnitatis* refers to the manner in which he was received on coming into the senate.—The student will mark the force of the subjunctive *oppressus sis*, as denoting what is, to all appearance, passing in the mind of Catiline.

³ *Ista.* The orator here points to the place where Catiline is seated. Compare note 3, page 3.—*Subsellia.* The seats of the senators are here called *subsellia*, in opposition to the elevated place where the consul had his curule chair. *Subsellium* properly means a low bench or seat.

⁴ *Nudam atque inanem.* "Bare and unoccupied." The Latin writers frequently employ two epithets, of almost the same import, to give additional strength to the idea.

⁵ *Servi mehercule, &c.* Muretus passes a high and richly deserved encomium on the force and skill which characterize this passage. It is, in truth, an excellent illustration of the argument *a fortiori*.

⁶ *Injuria.* "Without just cause."—*Offensum.* "Odious." Compare CASAUBON, *ad Suet. Jul.* 19.

⁷ *Vulneras.* "You are every day wounding." *Vulnero* is here used somewhat in the sense of *lædo*. Compare chapter 4. "*Eos nondum voce vulnero.*"

⁸ *Omnium nostrum parens.* Compare the beautiful passage in the treatise *De Officiis*: "*Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.*"

⁹ *Et jamdiu te nihil judicat, &c.* The common text has *de te*. We have rejected the preposition, according to the suggestion of Lambinus, which is approved by Muretus and Grævius. If *de* be retained,

um tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam tibi liu debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque ⁷ vulneras, eorum adspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quæ communis est ⁸ omnium nostrum parens, odit ac metuit, ⁹ et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de ¹⁰ parricidio suo cogitare. ¹¹ Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium sequere, neque vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodam modo ¹² tacita loquitur:—Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te: tibi uni ¹³ multorum civium neces, tibi veratio direptioque ¹⁴ sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu non solum ad negligendas leges et ¹⁵ quæstiones, verum etiam

the sense requires the insertion of another *te*, in the accusative, before *cogitare*.

⁷ *Parricidio suo*. "Her ruin." The term *parricidium*, among the Roman writers, indicates not merely the murder of parents, but also of those with whom one stands in any near and intimate relation. Compare the language of one of the old lawyers: "*Lege Pompeia de parricidis tenetur, qui patrem, matrem, avum, aviam, fratrem, sororem, patronum, patronam occiderit.*" (*Pauli Sentent.* lib. 4, tit. 24.)

¹¹ *Hujus tu neque*, &c. "Will you neither respect her authority, nor be guided by her opinion, nor stand in awe of her power?" *Judicium* is here equivalent to *sententiam*.

¹² *Tacita loquitur*. What the grammarians call an *oxymoron*, an apparent contradiction in terms. So in the following chapter, "*quum tacent clamant.*"

¹³ *Multorum civium neces*. Alluding to the murders committed by Catiline, as a partisan, and during the proscriptions of Sylla. Consult Hist. Ind. [Quintius Cicero forcibly enumerates some of those murders. (*De Petit. Cons.*) *Catilina . . . natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in cæde civium; cujus primus ad rem publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit. Nam illis, quos meminimus, Gallis, qui tum Titianorum ac Nanniorum ac Tanusiorum capita demetebant, Sulla unum Catilinam præfecerat; in quibus ille hominem optimum, Q. Cæcilium, sororis suæ virum, equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, cum semper natura tum etiam ætate jam quietum suis manibus occidit . . . M. Marium vitibus per totam urbem cecidit; ad bustum egit; ibi omni cruciatu laceravit, collum gladio sua dextera secuit, cum sinistra capillum ejus a vertice teneret: caput sua manu tulit, cum inter digitos ejus rixi sanguinis fluerent, &c.—ORELL.]*

¹⁴ *Sociorum*. Catiline had, as prætor, obtained Africa for his government, where he was guilty of great extortion and rapine. On his return to Rome, he was accused by Publius Clodius, the future enemy of Cicero, but escaped by bribing his accuser and the judges who tried him.

¹⁵ *Quæstiones*. "Public prosecutions." Consult Legal Index.

ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, ¹ quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, ² quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: ³ si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.

VIII. Hæc si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, ⁴ nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? ⁵ Quid? quod tu te ipse ⁶ in custodiam dedisti? Quod, vitanda suspicionis causa, apud ⁷ M'. Lepidum te ⁸ habitare velle

¹ *Quidquid increpuerit, &c.* "That on the occurrence of any noise, &c. Catiline should be dreaded." Compare LIVY, 4, 43: "*Si quid increpuit, terroris.*"

² *Quod a tuo scelere abhorreat.* "That is at variance with your guilt." In which you do not bear a part.

³ *Si est verus, &c.* What Hermogenes calls a σχῆμα διλήμματος, or form of a dilemma.

⁴ *Nonne impetrare debeat?* "Ought she not to obtain her request?" i. e. ought she not to prevail upon you to depart?

⁵ *Quid, quod tu ipse, &c.* "What shall I say of this, that you offered to surrender yourself into the safe keeping of some private individual?" The phrase *quid quod*, which can only be used when a verb succeeds, is elliptical, and to be completed as follows: *Quid dicam de eo quod.* It generally implies, that what comes after is more surprising or decisive than what went before, and hence it is frequently rendered into English by "nay," or "nay even." Compare ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 416.

⁶ *In custodiam.* This is what was called *libera custodia*. When an individual of rank and family laboured under the suspicion of any treasonable practices, he sometimes surrendered himself into the hands of another person distinguished for private worth, and attachment to the state, to be guarded, as it were, by the latter, until his guilt or innocence might be established by the result of a public prosecution. ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 219. This step was generally taken in order to impress the people with an opinion of his innocence. On some occasions the person accused was given over into the safe keeping of another, without being allowed to exercise any will of his own, as in the case of Lentulus, and the other confederates of Catiline, recorded by Sallust. (*Cat.* c. 47.) Dio Cassius (58, 3) call this species of custody by a very appropriate name, φυλακή ἄδεσμος.

⁷ *M'. Lepidum.* We have given the prænomen as M'. (i. e. *Manium*), instead of the common reading M. (*Marcum*.) The Lepidus here meant was Manius, not Marcus, Lepidus, who held the consulship with Volcatius Tullus.

⁸ *Habitare.* "To take up your residence."

⁹ *Parietibus.* The term *paries* most commonly denotes the wall of a

isti? A quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es :
 que ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti : cum a me quoque
 respondi tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem ⁹ parietibus
 to esse tecum, ¹⁰ qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem
 anibus contineremur ; ad ¹¹ Q. Metellum prætorem venisti :
 quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, ¹² virum optimum, M.
 arcellum demigrasti : quem tu ¹³ videlicet et ad custodien-
 um te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum,
 ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam
 ige videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui
 ipse jam dignum custodia judicârit? Quæ cum ita sint,
 tilina, dubitas, ¹⁴ si hic emori æquo animo non potes, abire in

ise. Its primitive meaning appears to have been a party, or separa-
 n, wall. In the following passage it signifies a wall for upholding or
 porting : “ *Parietes fornicum perfossi urbem patefecerunt.*” (Liv. 44,
) See note 7, page 16.

⁹ *Qui essem.* “Since I was.” *Qui* is joined to the subjunctive mood,
 en the relative clause states some circumstance belonging to the
 ecedent, as accounting for the principal fact, or as contributing to
 production. (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 26.)

¹¹ *Q. Metellum.* Cicero refers to Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, who was
 sequently despatched by him to raise an armed force against Cati-
 e in the Gallic and Picene territories. (Compare *Orat.* 2, in *Cat.*
 pters 2 and 12.) He was consul with L. Afranius, two years after-
 rds, and was poisoned by his wife, Clodia, in 695.

¹² *Virum optimum.* Used ironically. Compare *Quintilian* (9, 2.)—
Marcellum. The father of Marcus Marcellus, one of the accomplices
 Catiline. (*Pro Sext.* 4.) Orosius, in the following passage, makes
 tion of both father and son : “ *Motus etiam in Pelignis ortus a*
rcellis, patre et filio, per L. Vectium proditus, patefacta Catilinæ con-
atione, quasi succisa radice, compressus est,” &c. (6, 4.)—We must be
 eful, however, not to confound the Marcellus here mentioned with
 one named by Cicero a little after, and whom he styles *vir fortis-*
us. This latter was the one whom he defended before Cæsar.

¹³ *Videlicet.* Ironical. “No doubt.”—*Ad suspicandum.* “In spying
 your secret movements.”—*Ad vindicandum.* “In bringing you to
 lice.”

¹⁴ [*Si emori.* Some MSS. have *si hic morari*, several, *si morari.* The
 rds *æquo animo* correspond better with the reading, *emori.* We are
 to suppose a death by execution to be hinted at, for *emori* is only
 d of a natural or voluntary death. The meaning then is, “crushed
 consciousness of guilt, you cannot contentedly await a natural
 th, or by your own hands procure it; why then will you not leave
 ” &c.—ORELL. Madvig also prefers this reading. Anthon adopted
 other reading, *morari*, as forming a better antithesis to *abire*, but
 y probably this love of antithesis was the cause of the corruption.
 ides, *morari* could not mean to *live in Rome*, but only to make a
 f and transitory *stay there.*]

Sextio, si fortissimo viro, ⁹ M. Marcello dixissem; ¹⁰ jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset: ¹¹ de te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent, clamant. Neque hi solum, ¹² quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima: ¹³ sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, ¹⁴ qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paullo ante exaudire potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem, ¹⁵ usque ad portas prosequantur.

meus. *Impedior nonnullius officii, ut ego interpretor, religione quominus exponam, quam multa P. Sextius, cum esset cum collega meo senserit, ad me detulerit, quanto ante providerit.*"]

⁹ M. Marcello. This is the Marcellus whom Cicero afterwards defended before Cicero. Consult Hist. Ind.

¹⁰ Jam. "Ere now."—*Vim et manus*. "The hand of violence." Literally, "violence and their hands." A species of hendiadys.

¹¹ De te. "With regard to you."—*Cum quiescunt*, &c. "When they remain quiet, they actually approve of my conduct; when they permit me to use this language, they, in truth, decree to that effect; when they keep silence, they proclaim loudly their sentiments."—*Probant*. The senate approve of the course which Cicero has just pursued towards Catiline, in ordering him into exile.—*Decernunt*. They actually decree that he go into exile.—*Clamant*. They loudly proclaim, as it were, their decided conviction of Catiline's being a foe to his country.

¹² Quorum tibi auctoritas, &c. "Whose authority, it seems, is highly respected by you; whose lives are most cheap in your eyes." Catiline pretended great respect for the authority and sanction of the senate, but held their lives, in fact, so cheap, as to have marked out the majority of them for destruction.

¹³ Sed etiam illi equites Romani. "But even those Roman knights do the same," i. e. *silentio probant*. The Equites constituted the second order of citizens among the Romans. They received their name from the privilege which they enjoyed of serving on horseback, and were distinguished by a robe with a narrow stripe of purple, *angustus clavus*: and a gold ring, *annulus aureus*; hence *annulo aureo donari*, to become a knight. They sat in a separate place at the public spectacles, next to the orchestra, on fourteen benches; hence *sedere in quatuordecim*, to be a knight. Their fortune was 400 *sestertia*. Vide ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 20—23.

¹⁴ Qui circumstant senatum. A body of Roman knights, and other patriotic citizens, were in arms around the temple in which the senate were convened, in order to protect them from any sudden attack on the part of the conspirators, in case such, as was strongly apprehended, should take place.—*Voces*. Referring to the patriotic cries of those assembled without the temple.

¹⁵ Usque ad portas prosequantur. Those who went into voluntary

IX. ¹ QUAMQUAM quid loquor? ² te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut unquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditare? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales ³ duint! Tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis, si minus in præsens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. ⁴ Sed est tantummodo ista ⁵ privata sit calamitas, et a rei publicæ periculis sejungatur. ⁶ Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ⁷ ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas, non est postulandum: neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut

exile were generally accompanied to the city gates by large numbers of their friends. Cicero promises an escort of knights to Catiline, if he will abandon Rome. The orator means, that through joy to rid themselves of him, they will see him safely to the gates of the city.

¹ *Quamquam*. "And yet." Compare the remarks of Forcellini, on this usage of *quamquam*: "*Venustatem habet, cum quis se ipsum corrigit*"; and consult the following passages where it occurs in the same sense: CIC. *N. D.* 3, 16; VIRG. *Æn.* 5, 194.

² *Te ut ulla res frangat?* &c. "Is it to be expected that any thing can ever break that obstinate spirit of yours? that you can ever reform?" We must supply before *ut*, in this passage, the words *sperandumne sit fore*, or something equivalent. Drackenborch (*ad Liv.* 4, 2, 12) has collected examples of this elegant and elliptical usage of the particle *ut*.—*Frangat*. As regards the peculiar force of this verb in such passages as the present, compare LIV. 2, 23; and consult BROUCKHOUS, *ad Tibull.* 1, 9, 71.

³ *Duint*. An archaism for *dent*. This form occurs also in Livy, as forming part of the language of a vow: "*Bellona, si hodie nobis victoriam duis, ast ego templum tibi voveo*." (10, 19.) Besides being used on such solemn occasions, it is frequently met with among the comic writers.—[*Recenti memoria*, "while the recollection of your crimes is fresh."—Steinmetz explains, "*Propter recentem memoriam*."]

⁴ *Sed est tanti*. "But it is worth this sacrifice." As if he had said: "*Rei publicæ salus est mihi tanti momenti, ut huic impendenti invidiæ tempestati me objiciam*."

⁵ *Privata sit*. "Be confined to myself," i. e. concern me individually; fall only on my head.

⁶ *Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare*. "But that you can be at all affected by the consciousness of your crimes." *Vitia* is here used to denote any evil deeds.

⁷ *Ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas*. "That you can yield to the interests of the republic." It is the same as if Cicero had said: "*Ut a consilio tuo recedas, et ea, quæ præsens rei publicæ status postulat, ferre patiaris*."—Grævius, Lallemand, Beck, and Schütz, prefer *cedas*, which is found in some manuscripts. *Concedo* is often used by Cicero for the

⁸ pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore unquam revocarit. Quamobrem, ut sæpe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac, si mihi inimico, ut prædicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam; ⁹ recta perge in exilium: vix feram ¹⁰ sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix ¹¹ molem istius invidiæ, si in exilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo: sin autem ¹² servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere ¹³ cum importuna sceleratorum manu: confer te ad Manlium: concita perditos cives: secerne te a bonis: infer patriæ bellum: exulta ¹⁴ impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed

simple cedo. Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 3: *ad Att.* 14, 18: *Verr.* 2, 44: *Rosc. Am.* 40. Hence Anthon here reads *concedas*.

⁸ *Pudor*. "A sense of shame."—*Unquam*. This word does not appear in the common text. Quintilian, (9, 3, 62,) in quoting the passage inserts it after *pudor*, a reading which Schütz and Matthiæ adopt. We have removed it to its present place as giving a fuller sound to the sentence.

⁹ *Recta*. Supply *via*. Thus *TERENCE*, *Andr.* 3, 4, 21: "*Quin hinc recta in pistrinum proficiscar via*."

¹⁰ *Sermones hominum*. "The remarks of men," i. e. the censures that will be heaped upon me for my tyrannical conduct. Compare *Cic. Verr.* 4, 7: "*In sermonem hominum atque vituperationem venire*," and *Ep. ad Att.* 2, 14: "*Vapulare sermonibus*."

¹¹ *Molem istius invidiæ*. "The weight of that odium" which you will thus bring upon me. The student will mark the force of the pronoun *iste*, and consult note 3, page 3.

¹² *Servire meæ laudi et gloriæ*. "To second the purposes of my praise and my glory," i. e. to advance my reputation and glory.—Cicero resorts to an artful dilemma. Catiline may entertain either hostile or friendly feelings towards Cicero, just as he pleases, for the purpose either of exposing him to odium, or contributing to his renown, but in either event he must leave the city.

¹³ *Cum importuna sceleratorum manu*. "With thy restless band of miscreants." *Importunus* here denotes a total disregard for what time, place, circumstance, and person demand. Hence it obtains the signification of "unbridled," "outrageous," "intolerable," &c. Compare *Verr.* 6, 50: "*Importunissimæ libidines*," "the most unbridled desires," and *Cat.* 2, 6: "*Importunissimus hostis*," "a most intolerable enemy."

¹⁴ *Impio latrocinio*. "In your impious scheme of robbery." It is called "impious," or unhallowed, because directed against his native country. *Latrocinium*, in its earliest acceptation, meant merely the service of a soldier, and the primitive meaning of *latro* itself was the same as *miles*. The idea of robbery and plunder was associated with it at a later period, from the plundering habits of disbanded soldiers. Festus derives *latro* from the Greek *λαρρεία*, "service," where others, however, by a change of reading, make *λάτρον*, "pay," the root. Larre's derivation of the term from *latus*, because the *latrones*, at first,

invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. ¹ Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, ² qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur armati? ³ Cui sciam pacem et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem? A quo etiam ⁴ aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus, perniciosam esse confido et funestam futuram, ⁵ cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? ⁶ Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari, ad cædem proficiscens, solebas? A cujus altaribus sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. IBIS tandem aliquando, quo te jampridem tua ista

like a kind of body-guard, protected the *side* of the king or commander, (*"circum latera erant regi,"*) or, because they were swords by their sides, (*"ad latera habebant ferrum!"*) is now decidedly rejected.

¹ *Quamquam*. "And yet." Compare note 1, page 30.

² *Qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium, &c.* "To wait for thee in or near Forum Aurelium." The preposition *ad*, with the name of a place, denotes immediate proximity, but not the being in the place itself. CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 56. Towns were called *Fora* by the Romans, where the prætor held what we would term his circuits, for administering justice, and where also markets were established [*Forum Aurelium*, now *Monte Alto*, was a small town of Etruria situate between the rivers *Armentia* (Flora) and *Martia*, not far from the sea. It seems to have derived its name and origin from that *Aurelius* who raised the *Via Aurelia* extending from Rome to Pisa. — STRABO. The Aurelian Way was continued from this latter place, A.D. 60, by the consul *Æmilius Scaurus*, under the name of *Via Æmilia*, as far as *Dertona*, (now *Tortona*), and at a later period was carried from *Vasata Sabata* (where it had left the coast for *Dertona*) to the *Alps*, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as *Arverni*. — CROMBIE'S *Ant. Italy*, vol. i. p. 46.]

³ *Cui sciam*. The construction is *sciam*. We have inserted *gratia*.

⁴ *Aquilam*. The eagle was the emblem of the army in the *Republic*. It ended the *crisis* of the *Republic*. *propter aquilam* *habebant* *clava* *wings*, *on* *claws*, *with* *having*

(ADAM)

Strabo

as, confiatam improborum manum. "Hic tu qua
perfrueres? quibus gaudiis exsultabis? quanta in
te bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque
virum bonum quemquam neque videbis? "Ad hujus
odium meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui:

causa, in the time of Marius, the best troops began to be placed

domi tuae, &c. ["To which a shrine of guilt has been erected
house." *Sacrarium* was the shrine where dedicated offerings
sacred.] It has been stated in the previous note, that the
the legion was sometimes placed in a kind of chapel, or
and at other times was represented either without any such
as having it above the wings. Dio Cassius (40, 18) is very
respecting the first of these: *ἐστὶ δὲ νῦν μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ*
ποῦς ἐκδύεται. So Catiline, in the figurative language of
it, by keeping the Marian eagle at his own home, established
it, a kind of sanctuary for it; and, as the Roman soldiers
used to pay adoration to their standards, so he, according
to, might be said to have adored the one in his possession,
invoked it as the tutelary deity of intended violence and

&c. "Is it to be believed that you can any longer,"
and consult note 2, page 30.—*Idem*
right hand of thine."

* *patriam, hanc civium ardet*. It is
Catiline's forced departure from the
"It was for this mad error of

jacere humi. non modo ¹ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum: vigilare, non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. ²Habes ubi ostentes illam præclaram tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium; quibus te brevi tempore ³confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci [tum,] cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut ⁴*exul* potius tentare, quam *consul* vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod esset abs te scelerate susceptum, *latrocinium* potius quam *bellum* nominaretur.

XI. ⁵Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecet: ⁶percipite,

full of irony and bitter scorn.—[*Labores*. Compare SALL. ch. 5. *Corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est.*—*Qui feruntur*. “Which are so extolled,” “spoken of.” Cf. *Omnis ille terror ex Autronii improbitate pendebat, ejus voces, ejus minæ ferebantur.*]

¹ *Ad obsidendum stuprum*. “To watch for an opportunity of debauchery.” The literal meaning is, “to lie in wait for debauchery.” Compare VERR. 1, 2: “*Qui meum tempus obsideret.*”—*Ad facinus obeundum*. “For the execution of some daring and wicked enterprise.”

² *Habes ubi ostentes*. “You have now a field for displaying.” Ironical.—*Patientiam famis*, &c. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* 5, and *Or. pro Cæl.* 6.

³ *Confectum*. “Undone.”—*Cum te a consulatu reppuli*. Cicero means, when his influence prevented Catiline from being elected to the consulship, a few days previous to this. [Three measures were adopted by Cicero specially aimed against Catiline; 1. A law to increase the penalty of corruption (*ambitus*); 2. By deferring the *Comitia*, thus disarranging the plans of Catiline; 3. His coming into the Campus Martius in armour: this showed the populace that he apprehended danger.]

⁴ *Exul*. We have given this, and also *consul*, in Italics, to mark the *paronomasia*. So likewise *latrocinium* and *bellum*.

⁵ *Nunc, ut a me*, &c. “Now, conscript fathers, that I may, in the most earnest manner, remove from me what seems, as it were, an almost well-grounded complaint on the part of my country.” *Quandam* (literally, “a certain”) is purposely employed to qualify *prope justam*.—The verb *detestari* here denotes, “to seek to remove anything from one, such as blame, accusation, &c., by the utmost earnestness of manner, adjuring, calling to witness all that one holds dear;” while *deprecari* rises upon it in meaning, “to pray in the most solemn manner, to entreat fervently, to supplicate, that one may be freed from certain consequences.” Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* a. v.

⁶ *Percipite, quæso, quæ dicam*, &c. The oratorical skill with which Cicero brings this oration to a close, is admirable. He had, already, in the earlier part of the discourse, repeatedly asserted, that it was fully in his power to put Catiline to death if he felt inclined. In order to

uæso, diligenter, quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quæ mihi ita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: ⁷ M. Tulli, quid agis? tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti: quem ducem belli futurum vides: quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, ⁸ evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te ⁹ non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio ¹⁰ mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te

support this assertion once more in the strongest manner, he introduces the striking personification of his own country, complaining that he had not removed Catiline from existence, when it was his duty to have done so. The three grounds of excuse, which might have exonerated him from censure in the case of an ordinary offender, his country here pronounces utterly insufficient to excuse his inaction. 1. *The custom of early days.*—Why, in early days, replies his country, even individuals uninvested with magistracy, as, for, example, Scipio Nasica, put to death with their own hands the disturbers of the public repose. 2. *The law which forbade any Roman citizen's being put to death.*—But, replies his country, no man who fails in his duty as a citizen, can claim the privileges of one. 3. *The dread of public odium for what might seem too harsh an exercise of authority.*—A man, like Cicero, whom the republic had elevated, in so extraordinary a manner, to the highest office in her gift, is bound, when the safety of that republic is at stake, to consider personal odium or danger as of only secondary importance.—All this forms, as Muretus remarks, "*orationem moratam.*"

⁷ *M. Tulli, quid agis?* Compare the address of his country to Socrates, in the Criton of Plato (§ 11), εἰπέ μοι ὦ Σώκρατες, τί ἐν νῦν ἔχεις ποιῆν; κ.τ.λ.

⁸ *Evocatorem servorum.* Those soldiers who had served out their time, (*emeriti*), and those who, from Sylla's time downward, had received, instead of a military pension, a piece of ground to cultivate and dwell on, were always, in case of any sudden and dangerous emergency, compelled again to enter the ranks and perform military service. When this was to be done, persons were sent to summon them, called *conquisitores* or *evocatores*. We see from this, with what bitter scorn Catiline is called *evocator servorum*, as if he had gone into their very workshops, and summoned them forth to insurrection and deeds of blood.

⁹ *Non emissus ex urbe, &c.* On the principle that, if allowed to escape, he will only return with surer means of destruction.

¹⁰ *Mactari.* "To be immolated." The verb *mactare* is the official term, properly, for slaying a victim at a sacrifice, after the salted meal had been sprinkled between the horns, and all the other ceremonies

impedit? ¹ Mosne majorum? At persæpe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. ² An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum supplicio ³ rogatæ sunt? At nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium jura ⁴ tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? ⁵ Præclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum, ⁶ tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum

performed. In its primitive sense, however, it is equivalent merely to *magis augere*, and hence, when applied to a sacrifice, means in strictness, to go on and consummate what has been already begun, i.e. to slay the victim. It is in this way only we can explain such phrases as the following: "*mactant honoribus*," "they advance with honours," i.e. heap fresh honours upon: (Cic. *de Repub. ap. Non. c. 4, n. 291.*) "*Liberum patrem fanorum consecratione mactatis*." "Ye do honour to father Bacchus," &c. (Arnob. 1, p. 24.) Compare also the forms *macte virtute*, *macte ingenio*, &c.—The propriety of Cicero's phrase will now be fully apparent. His country tells him that something more must be done; the last act, the finishing blow to the conspiracy, must now be attended to, in putting Catiline to death.

¹ *Mosne majorum?* Their forefathers would not put a Roman citizen to death without the order of the Roman people.—*At persæpe etiam privati*, &c. Cicero alludes particularly to the case of P. Scipio Nasica, who headed the party of the nobility when Tiberius Gracchus was slain. The expression *persæpe* falls under the head of oratorical exaggeration, since instances of this nature were by no means frequent.

² *An leges?* The Porcian and Sempronian laws in particular. The former ordained, that no Roman citizen should be bound, scourged, or put to death. (*Pro Rab. 4.*—VERR. 5, 63.—LIV. 10, 9.) The latter enjoined that no Roman citizen should be put to death without the express order of the Roman people; which was only reviving one of the provisions of the twelve tables. It was intended, however, in fact, as a revival of the Porcian law, which had grown in some degree obsolete. [There were three Valerian laws. 1. Passed by Valerius Publicola, A. 243, ordaining that no magistrate should scourge or put to death a Roman citizen in opposition to the right of appeal. 2. Of Luc. Valerius Potitus, that no magistrate should be elected without the right of appeal. 3. That of M. Valerius Corvus, which merely gave a stronger sanction to the preceding laws. The Porcian laws altogether took from the magistrate the power of scourging a Roman citizen, sentencing to heavy punishment any magistrate who violated its provisions.]

³ *Rogatæ sunt.* "Have been enacted." The people, at the comitia, were asked their pleasure respecting the enactment of laws. The usual form of application, on the part of the presiding magistrate, was, *velitis, jubeatis, Quirites?* Hence *rogare legem*, which would strictly mean "to ask the people about the passing a law," gets the meaning of "to enact a law," and so also *rogare magistratus*, "to elect magis-

gradus extulit, si propter invidiam, aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiæ metus, num est vehementius ⁷ severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt: ⁸ tum te non existimas invidiæ incendio conflagratum?

trates." On the same principle, before a law was carried through, and while it was still pending, it was termed *rogatio*, "a bill." Hence, too, when the people were to vote about a law, two ballots were given them, on one of which were the letters U. R. (i. e. *uti rogas*), and on the other A. (i. e. *antiquo, antiqua probo*.) The former was the affirmative ballot, and was equivalent to "*volo legem esse uti rogas*." (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 76—78.)

⁴ *Tenuerunt*. "Have retained," i. e. have been allowed to retain.—*Invidiam posteritatis*. "The reproaches of posterity." Literally, "the odium," or "dislike."

⁵ *Præclaram vero*, &c. "You are making a glorious return, indeed, to the Roman people." Ironical.—*Hominem per te cognitum*. "A person brought into notice by your own exertions merely," i. e. what the Romans were accustomed to call "a new man," *novus homo*; meaning one who had been the first of his family to raise himself to any curule office, or, in other words, to enrol himself by his personal merits among the nobility. Cicero was fond of alluding to this feature in his history, and it was certainly a most pardonable kind of pride. (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 25.)

⁶ *Tam mature*. Cicero was elected consul the very year he was first permitted, by law, to offer himself as a candidate. No one could present himself as an aspirant for the consulship until he had completed his 43rd year. The orator boasts of having obtained all the inferior offices in the same way; each in the year when he was first allowed to apply for it. Hence the expression in the present passage, *per omnes honorum gradus*, "through all the gradations of office." [This is the oft-recurring boast of Cicero. Cf. *De Offic.* ii. 17. *Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodam modo gloriari. Nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus, nostro quidem anno, &c.*—AGR. xi. 2. *Reperietis, me esse unum ex omnibus novis hominibus, qui consulum petierim cum primum licitum sit: consul factus sim, cum primum petierim.*]

⁷ *Severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia*. "The odium arising from a strict and firm discharge of duty."—*Quam inertiae ac nequitiae*. "Than that which is attendant upon indolence and remissness." Compare note 1, page 10.

⁸ *Tum te non existimas*, &c. A beautiful figure, best expressed by a paraphrase: "Do you not imagine that you yourself will be then enveloped amidst the flames which the indignation of your country shall have kindled against you?" Literally, "Do you not think that you will then blaze amid the conflagration of odium?"—The figure arises very naturally from the previous expression, "*tecta ardebunt*."

XII. ¹ His ego sanctissimis rei publicæ vocibus, et eorum hominum, qui idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, ² si hoc optimum factu judicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari; ³ unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri, et clarissimi cives, Saturnini, et Gracchorum, et Flacci, et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam ⁴ honestarunt: certe mihi verendum non erat, ne quid, hoc ⁵ parricida civium interfecto, invidia mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet: tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quæ imminet, non videant; aut ea, quæ vident, dissimulent; ⁶ qui spem Catilinæ mollihus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque

¹ *His ego sanctissimis vocibus.* "To these most revered expostulations on the part of my country." *Sanctissimis* is here equivalent to *sanctissime colendis*.—*Mentibus.* "To the secret thoughts."

² *Si judicarem.* "Could I have thought." In conditional propositions it is not uncommon for the consequent clause to contain the pluperfect subjunctive, while the conditional clause contains the imperfect subjunctive with *si* or *nisi*. Thus in the present instance we have *judicarem* and *dedissem*. The probability is thus spoken of generally, without being strictly referred to the time at which it existed. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 331.)

³ *Unius usuram horæ ad vivendum.* "The enjoyment of a single hour for existence."—*Gladiatori isti.* Compare note 7, p. 22.—*Etenim.* "And well may I make this assertion, for." Compare the Greek form of expression, *kai γάρ*.

⁴ *Honestarunt.* "Graced." Equivalent to *decorarunt*.—*Certe mihi, &c.* Ernesti suspects *mihi* of being unnecessary here. But it is needed to mark a kind of opposition to *summi viri, et clarissimi cives*.

⁵ *Parricida civium.* Consult note 10, page 25.

⁶ *Qui spem Catilinæ, &c.* "Who have fostered the hopes of Catiline, by their feeble votes."—*Non credendo.* "By not believing its existence."

⁷ *Si in hunc animadvertissem.* "If I had punished him." Understand *supplicio*. The verb *animadvertere*, when used with an ellipsis of *supplicio*, in the sense of punishing, denotes to punish by authority, and then refers to the vigilance of the magistrate, in marking offences committed. The use of the preposition *in*, on such occasions, before the name of the culprits, intimates more strongly the steady attention directed towards the conduct found to be reprehensible. (HILL's *Synonymes*, p. 89, 4to. ed.)

⁸ *Regie.* "Tyrannically." After the expulsion of Tarquin, nothing was more hateful to a Roman than the name of "king," *rex*, and hence

n non credendo corroboraverunt. Quorum auc-
 secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam
 7 si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et 8 regie
 se dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit,
 na castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore,
 videat conjurationem esse factam; neminem tam
 , qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto,
 anc rei publicæ pestem 9 paulisper reprimi, non in
 a comprimi posse. Quod si 10 se ejecerit, secumque
 erit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos
 rit; exstinguetur, atque delebitur non modo 11 hæc
 a rei publicæ pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen
 omnium.

ETENIM 12 jamdiu, patres conscripti, in his periculis
 nis insidiisque versamur: sed, nescio 13 quo pacto,

sted with the expressions *regnare, regie aliquid facere aut*
 dea of tyrannical and oppressive conduct, and such as was
 eedom. (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 90.) Compare CIO. *Agrar.*
 , in order to excite the hatred of the people against the
 he Agrarian law, he calls them "*decem reges ærarii vectiga-*
riarum omnium," &c.

er reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. "May be re-
 a season, but cannot be for ever suppressed." Compare the
 Ernestus Antonius: "*Qui reprimitur, ad tempus tantum*
qui comprimitur, plane conficitur."

rit. Equivalent in effect to *præceps ex urbe exierit.*—*Ceteros*
 "The rest of his shipwrecked band of followers." Ernesti
 at *naufragos* is a mere interpolation, which has found its
 e text from having been mentioned in the second oration
 iline, c. 11. He mistakes, however, a very forcible figure.
 i Cicero means those who are shipwrecked in character and
 reason of their flagitious excesses. Compare *Pro Sull.* c. 14,
 e who have lost their private patrimony are called *patri-*
ragi.

m adulta rei publicæ pestis. "This so ripe a plague of the
 As if he had said: "*Hic Catilina, tam robustus et corrobo-*
publicæ eversor, tantum roboris et virium jam in evertenda
actus."

u. For the space of three years, i. e. from the consulship of
 l Tullus. [Comp. *Pro Murena*, § 81. *Omnia, quæ per hoc*
gitata sunt, jam ab eo tempore, quo a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone
lium senatus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in hos menses,
is erumpunt.]

ucto. "By what means," i. e. by what fatality.—*Omnium*
 i. "The maturity of all these crimes, and of this long con-
 nesses and audacity."—*Erupit.* The metaphor appears to

omnium scelerum, ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quodsi ¹ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur; videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus ²in venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum ³æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur; deinde multo gravius vehementiusque affliguntur: sic hic morbus, ⁴qui est in re publica, relevatus istius pœna, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare, secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod sæpe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi suæ consuli, ⁵circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani, ⁶obsidere cum gladiis curiam, ⁷malleolos et faces ad inflammandam

be borrowed from an ulcer, breaking when ripe. Compare PLINY, *H. N.* 22, 23, 49: "*ulcera maturescentia*," and (22, 10, 12) "*ulcera erumpentia*."

¹ *Ex tanto latrocinio*. "From so numerous a band of robbers." *Latrocinium* is here used for *latrones*, as *servitium* often is for *servi*, *conjuratio* for *conjurati*.—WEISKE.

² *In venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ*. "In the veins and vitals of the republic." The *viscera* are the upper entrails or vitals, including the lungs, heart, liver, &c. The *intestina* are the lower entrails. Compare the language of Celsus, "*a visceribus ad intestina veniundum est*," "From the viscera we come to the intestines," (4, 11;) and, again, "*septum id quod transversum a superioribus visceribus intestina discernit*," "The transverse septum which separates the intestines from the viscera above." (7, 4, 2, p. 354, ed. Targa.) The corresponding word in Greek is *σπλάγχνα*, which were the parts always examined by the soothsayers.

³ *Æstu febrique*. "With heat and fever."

⁴ *Qui est*. "Which exists."—*Relevatus*. "After being mitigated in some degree."—*Vivis reliquis*. "While the other conspirators remain alive." We have adopted this reading in place of the common one, *civibus reliquis*, which does not suit the context. Cicero means, that the death of Catiline will not suffice for crushing the evil engendered by the conspiracy, as long as his accomplices are allowed to remain alive.

⁵ *Circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani*. L. Valerius Flaccus was *Prætor Urbanus* at this time, and the partisans of Catiline appear to have placed themselves, at different times, around his tribunal, to deter him, if possible, from administering justice; [i. e. regarding debts contracted by Roman citizens. The partisans of Catiline were encumbered with debts; in order to prevent their creditors from obtaining justice

urbem comparare. Sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius-
ujusque civis, ⁸quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc
vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore
diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equi-
tibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consen-
sionem, ut Catilinæ profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata,
⁹oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, ¹⁰cum summa rei publicæ salute,
et cum tua peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio, qui se
tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad
impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem,
quibus hæc urbs, ¹¹auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus; quem
Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus: hunc,
et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis
ac mœnibus, a vita fortunisque civium [omnium] arcebis:
et omnes inimicos bonorum, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ,

they resort to the prætor's tribunal, and by violence and outrage
prevent his giving his decisions. MANUTIUS.]

⁸ *Obsidere*. "To beset." A verb of the third conjugation, *obsido*,
-ere.

⁹ *Malleolos*. "Fiery arrows." A description of this species of mis-
sile is given by Ammianus Marcellinus (23, 3), from which it appears
that they were a kind of arrow with an iron grating below the head,
swelling out like a clew in spinning. This iron receptacle was filled
with combustibles, which, on being ignited, burnt fiercely, and could
only be extinguished by dust thrown upon the flame. Water merely
served to increase its vehemence. The name *malleolos* ("little mallet")
was given to this missile, from the resemblance which the projecting or
swelling part bore to the head of a mallet. Compare LIPS. *Poliore*.
5, 5, and the authorities cited by him.

¹⁰ *Quid de re publica sentiat*. "What his sentiments are respecting
the republic."

¹¹ *Oppressa, vindicata*. "Crushed, punished."—*Ominibus*. [Many books
read *omnibus*, which arose merely from compendious writing.]

¹⁰ *Cum summa rei publicæ salute, &c.* "With the best interests of the
republic firmly established, and with your own calamity and ruin fully
assured, and with the destruction of those who have joined themselves
with you in every act of wickedness and parricide, now reduced to
absolute certainty, go forth to your impious and unhallowed war." We
have introduced a partial paraphrase, in order to convey the orator's
meaning more clearly. The idea, more briefly expressed, would be as
follows: "Go forth, for the safety of the republic, for your own ruin,
and for the destruction of your accomplices."

¹¹ *Auspiciis*. Matthiæ well remarks, that not only temples, but also
statues were consecrated by taking the auspices.—*Statorem*. "The
stay." Consult note 9, page 17.

¹ *scelerum fœdere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunct æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.*

¹ *Scelerum fœdere.* "By a compact of wickedness."—*Mactabis.* "V visit." Compare note 10, page 35.

[The effect of this speech on Catiline is stated by SALLUST, *Cat.* He denied the charges of Cicero, boasted of his patrician blood, & upbraided Cicero with the meanness of his birth. He was replied by a simultaneous shout of "Traitor" from the senators; upon which he flung himself out of the senate, and, at midnight, set out for camp of Mallius.—MACKAY.]

M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM
SECUNDA,
AD QUIRITES.

I. ¹TANDEM aliquando, ²Quirites, L. Catilinam, furem audacia, ³scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque ⁴minitantem,

¹ *Tandem aliquando*, &c. "At length, then, Romans, we have either let out, or allowed to depart, or accompanied with our compliments on his voluntary departure from our city, Lucius Catiline, raging with audacity, breathing forth crime, unnaturally plotting the ruin of his country, every instant threatening you and this city with fire and sword." The commencement of this oration makes a kind of opposition to the *usque tandem* with which the first begins. [*Verbis prosecuti sumus*, by some erroneously rendered "accompanied by our maledictions;" and so Anthon and Mackay; but *verbis*, thus nakedly put, cannot mean imprecations;" and *prosequor* is specially used to denote the complimentary escort given to friends on their departure. Comp. CAT. 1, iii. *ad fin.* "*Eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare vides, relinquentem, usque ad portas prosequantur.*" And PHILIP. ix. 4, "*Quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus.*" Those who render the passage otherwise, forget that there is evidently intended to be an anti-climax; *ejecimus*, the strong word first,—*prosecuti*: and then a climax in *abiit*, &c.—*erupit*.]

² *Quirites*. [The Romans thus addressed in the capacity of "citizens." The name is of the same root as *cour* in *cour-land*, and points to the Lithuanian origin of one element of the Roman people. Others deduce the name from *quiris*, "a spear." Others from *Quirium*, the mystical name of Rome, whence *Quirinus*. Mr. Winning derives it from κύρος, "the sun;" whence the proper name Cyrus, and maintains that the ancient Romans were fire, or sun, worshippers.]

³ *Scelus anhelantem*. One who is deeply agitated, breathes deeply (*anhelat*); and Catiline is thus said to send forth crime with every expiration from his troubled bosom. [Comp. HOM. *Il.*, μένεα πνείοντες ἄλγαισι. Act. Apost. ix. 1, Σαῦλος ἔτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόβου.]

⁴ *Minitantem*. The student will mark the singular propriety and force of the frequentative.

ex urbe ¹vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredienter ²verbis prosecuti sumus. ³Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam perniciēs ⁴a monstro illo atque prodigio mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem, sine controversia vicimus. Nos enim jam inter latera nostra ⁵sica illa versabitur: ⁶non in campo, ⁷non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. ⁸Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediēte, ⁹bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem, magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. ¹⁰Quod verum non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto

¹ *Vel ejecimus*, i. e. by consular authority. Cicero perhaps alludes, by the use of this word (*ejicio*), to some complaints on the part of Catiline's friends, of his having been dealt with too harshly.—*Vel emisimus*. Implying permission to depart.—*Ipsum*. "Of his own accord."

² *Verbis*. Referring particularly to the expressions used at the close of the previous oration, but see note 1, page 43.

³ *Abiit, excessit, &c.* "He has gone, he has left us, he has escaped, he has broken away." This climax appears to be couched in terms borrowed from the operations of the chase. *Abiit* applies to the wild beast, when he has left his usual haunts and retired to another part of the forest; *excessit*, when, after having been tracked out, he leaves the spot before the nets can be prepared for him; *evasit*, when he has been surrounded by the toils, but escapes by springing forth; and *erupit*, when he bursts his way through every intervening obstacle.

⁴ *A monstro illo atque prodigio*. "By that monster and prodigy of wickedness." Compare *Pro Cœl.* 3, 12, *seq.*

⁵ *Sica illa*. Compare chapter 6 of the first oration: "*Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus,*" &c.

⁶ *Non in campo*. Consult note 2, page 18.

⁷ *Non in foro*. The forum being the place where much public business was transacted, the magistrates were here more exposed to the murderous designs of Catiline.—*Intra domesticos parietes*. Referring to the attempt made by the two Roman knights to assassinate him at his own house.

⁸ *Loco ille motus est*. An expression taken from the movements of gladiators, "He was driven from his vantage-ground."

⁹ *Bellum justum*. "A regular," and consequently, "open warfare." Opposed to *latrocinium occultum* below, and denoting a formal and regular war.

dem illum mœrore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? et ille nunc, prostratusque est, et se ¹¹perculsum atque æctum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto sæpe ad hanc urbem; quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: æ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecit.

II. At si quis est talis, ¹²quales esse omnes oportebat, qui hoc ipso, in quo exultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius, quam emiserim: non est ista mea culpa, virites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam, et gravissimo supplicio affectum, jampridem oportebat: quæ a me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et res publica, postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, viri, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? [quam multos, ¹⁵qui

⁰ *Quod non extulit.* "That he did not carry out with him."—*licium et profligatum.* "Dashed down, and prostrated."

¹¹ *Perculsum atque abjectum.* "A stricken and a worthless thing."—*torquet oculos, &c.* A figure borrowed from the movements of savage animals. Catiline is compared to some wild beast looking back at the prey which has just been torn from its grasp.—[*Evomuerit*, "disgorged." *Metaphora sumpta de ægrotis, vel nimio cibo refertis, qui vomitu recreare solent.* TER. *Adelph.* iii. 2, 14; *ut ego iram hanc in eos evomam.*—STEINM.]

¹² *Quales esse omnes oportebat.* All good citizens thought that Catiline ought to have been put to death. Cicero here says, that this should have been the opinion of all citizens indiscriminately.—*Triumphat.* as if over a common foe to all.—*Tam capitalem hostem.* "So deadly a foe." *Capitalis* is here used for *perniciosus*, or, in other words, "*omnium bonorum capitibus quasi insidians.*"

¹³ *Et affectum.* "And to have been visited."—*Hujus imperii severitas.* The strict discharge of the duties of my magistracy." With *imperii* apply *consularis*. [Special reference, however, is made to the unlimited power placed in his hands by the decree *darent consules, &c.*]—*Res publica.* "The interests of the republic."

¹⁴ *Qui, quæ ego deferrem, &c.* "Who would not have believed what might have alleged against him?" The student will observe in this clause, and in several that follow, the use of the imperfect subjunctive or the pluperfect. This is done, in order to state the probability in general terms, without any strict reference to the time at which it actually existed. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 331.) [Compare *Archias* 7; *Milo*, 39; and *L. Manil.* § 50.] The pronoun *ego* is emphatic. Cicero means that many would not have believed the accusation against Catiline, because *he*, Catiline's private foe, as was supposed, had seen fit to make it.

¹⁵ *Qui propter stultitiam non putarent?* "Who, from want of judgment, would not have thought the charges true?" Equivalent to

propter stultitiam non putarent?] quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? [quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent?] ¹ Ac si, sublato illo, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem; jampridem ego L. Catilinam non mei invidiæ meæ, verum etiam vitæ periculo sustulissem. Scum viderem, ² ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tu probata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, for ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem: re huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hoste aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites ³ quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hi

putarent non vera esse quæ ego deferrem.—Defenderent. Supply *ex* scil. *Catilinam*.—*Quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent* “How many, who, from their own guilt, would have favoured the cause?”

¹ *Ac si*, &c. “And yet, could I have supposed, that, if he were taken off, all danger would have been driven away from you, long since would I,” &c. *Illo sublato* is here equivalent to *morte Catilinæ*.—*Invidiæ meæ*. “Of odium against myself.” The same in effect as *mihi suscipiendi*.—[*Invidiæ meæ*. Cf. Tusc. iv. 7. *Invidia non in qui invidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo, cui invidetur.*]

² *Ne vobis quidem omnibus*, &c. “That, if I should punish him with death, as he deserved, while the affair was still as yet not clearly ascertained even by you all.” The term *re* refers to the existence of the conspiracy, and the guilt of Catiline.

³ *Quam vehementer*. Ironically meant.—*Parum comitatis*. “Accompanied by so few.” Lit. “Slightly attended.”—[*Comitatus*, passive, frequently found. The old verb *comito* is found in *Propert.* ii. 6, 11. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* c. 16), he was accompanied by three hundred armed followers, ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὀπλοφόρων, &c. He also had with him the fasces and other badges of authority. (Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 37.—APPIAN, *B. C.* 2, 3.—DIO CASSIUS, 37, 33.)

⁴ *Tongilium mihi eduxit*. “He has led out with him my friend Tongilius.” The pronoun *mihi* is here the dativus ethicus, and expresses bitter irony. Tongilius was, as may readily be inferred from the context, an infamous character, and a bosom-friend of Catiline [We know nothing whatever of Tongilius, Publicius, and Munacius here mentioned.]

⁵ *Quem amare in prætexta cœperat*. [This passage is the subject of much dispute. Many editors omit the word *calumnia*. Odin proposes to read *armare* for *amare*, with this meaning:—“Whom from his tender youth he had commenced to arm with all powers for false accusation.” *Calumnia armare* being a similar construction to *ferre armare* and *calumnia*, = *lis*, *quam alicui sine causa intendimus*.” (See In support of Odinus Weiske cites SALL. xvi. “*Juventutem . . . multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare*,” &c. Others again take *calumnia* as a parenthetical expression.]

intelligatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe arum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas opias eduxisset! ⁴ Tongilium mihi eduxit, ⁵ quem amare a prætecta [calumnia] cœperat: ⁶ Publicium et Munacium, quorum æs alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicæ notum afferre poterat: ⁷ reliquit quos viros? quanto alieno ære, quam valentes, quam nobiles?

III. ITAQUE ego illum exercitum, ⁸ et Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu, quem, in agro Piceno et Gallico, Q. Metellus, habuit, et his copiis, quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur, magnopere contemno; ¹⁰ collectum ex senibus

'a mere calumny!' which is not Latin. The explanation of Ernestius is curious, "Calumnia, i. e. *simulatio*, Cat. ii. 2, *amare calumnia cœperat*, i. e. *simulato amore*." Three of Steinmetz' MSS. have *calumpnia* or *Yalumpnia*. What if this be a proper name, denoting some lady famous for her debauchery at the time?]

⁶ *Publicium et Munacium*. Supply *pariter eduxit*.—*Quorum æs alienum*, &c. "Whose debts contracted in a tavern." *Æs meum*, money belonging to myself; *æs alienum*, money belonging to another, owed to another, debt; *æs alienum facere, suscipere, contrahere, conlære*, to contract debt. *Popina* is a tavern, or eating-house, the resort of intemperate persons. Compare the language of PLAUTUS (*Pœn.* 4, 2, 13), "*Bibitur, estur, quasi in popina*." Cicero stigmatizes them as mere tavern-brawlers, and in no respect dangerous to the state.

⁷ *Reliquit quos viros*, &c. Cicero means, that the persons left behind by Catiline were much more to be dreaded than those whom he had carried forth with him, since they possessed great influence, were men, in general, of good families, and by reason of the pressure of debt were reckless of consequences.

⁸ *Et Gallicanis legionibus*. "Since we have our Gallic legions." Abl. abs. The orator refers to the regular forces in Transalpine Gaul, which, as Muretus thinks, were, at that time in winter-quarters. The usual reading is *et Gallicanis legionibus*: but in place of *et*, many editions have *præ*, the emendation of Lambinus.—*In agro Piceno et Gallico*. Consult Geographical Index. The Gallic territory meant here, is that of Cisalpine Gaul. As regards Q. Metellus, whose full name was Q. Metellus Celer, and who was one of the prætors of this year, consult Historical Index, and also the 12th chapter of this oration, and SALLUST, *Cat.* 30.

⁹ [*Metellus*. Q. Metellus Celer, prætor this year, was sent by the senate to the Picenian region. Cf. SALL. xxx. Cicero (*pro Sulla*) speaks of the wide-spread participation in this conspiracy. *Agrum Camertem Picenum, Gallicum maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat*."

¹⁰ *Collectum ex senibus desperatis*, &c. "An army composed of old men past all hope, of debauched rustics, of bankrupt farmers." The *senes desperati* consisted principally of the veterans of Sylla. By

desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui ¹ *vadimonia* deserere, quam illum exercitum, maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si ² *aciem* exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum prætoris ostendero, concident. ³ Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam ⁴ in senatum venire: ⁵ qui nitent unguentis, ⁶ qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum ⁷ suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis, quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. ⁸ Video, cui Apulia sit attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias ⁹ cædis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia¹⁰ superioris

decoctor is properly meant one who has run through his property and become bankrupt; or, in other words, a ruined spendthrift.

¹ *Vadimonia deserere*. "To forfeit their recognizance." [If the Prætor granted liberty to a plaintiff to bring an action, the latter required the defendant to give security for his appearance. The defendant on doing so was said *vades dare*. If he appeared on the day of trial, this was called *vadimonium purum*, and the defendant was said *vadimonium sistere*. If he did not appear, he was said *vadimonium deseruisse*, and the Prætor granted an execution upon his goods. See next note.]

² *Acie* exercitus nostri. "The array of our army," i. e. our army drawn up in array against them. *Exercitus* is usually omitted, which standing alone signifies a *disciplined* army; *agmen*, an army on march; *copiæ*, forces in general.—*Edictum prætoris*. "The mere edict of the prætor." [The *edictum* here meant is a writ of execution upon the defendant's goods. Cf. Ulpian (fr. 2) *Prætor*, in bona ejus, qui iudicio sistendi causa fide-jussorum dedit: *si neque potestatem sui faciat, neque defendentur, ire jubebo*.]

³ *Hos, quos video*, &c. These are thought to be the same whom Sallust calls "*filiî familiarum*." (Cat. c. 43.)—*Volitare in foro*. "Flitting about in the forum." [Abramius says of the verb *volitare*, *ostendit hoc verbum impunitatem et ostentationem*. See *pro Mur.* 37.]

⁴ *In senatum venire*. There were eleven senators implicated in the conspiracy.

⁵ *Qui nitent unguentis*. "Who are sleek with perfumes." The Roman, like the Grecian, perfumes, were generally unguents, not oils as with us. Perfuming the hair and person was regarded as a mark of great effeminacy.

⁶ *Qui fulgent purpura*. Another allusion to the senators who were implicated in the conspiracy. The senatorian tunic, called *latus clavus*, had a broad purple border (*clavus*), whence its name. The tunic of the *Equites* had a narrow border, and was called *angustus clavus*, or *tunica angusticlavia*.

etis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt: patefeci in senatu sterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid spectant? ¹¹Næ illi vehementer errant, si illam meam istinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. QUOD exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes tam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam videatis. ¹²Nisi vero si quis est, qui ¹³Catilinæ similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: veritatem res ipse flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: erant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur ¹⁴desiderio sui Catilinam serum tabescere: demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus: si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O tunatam rem publicam, ¹⁵si quidem hanc sentinam hujus bis ejecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina ¹⁶exhausto, relevata

Suos milites. ["These, his favourite soldiers." Anthon renders, "As soldiers."]

¹ *Video, cui Apulia sit attributa.* Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* 27, who informs us, that Apulia was "assigned" to Caius Julius, Etruria to Gaius Julius, the Picene district to one Septimius, a Camertian. The name of the individual to whom the Gallic district was assigned, is not given him.

² [*Cædis, &c., SALL. ch. 43. "Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magnam duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent . . . Cethegus æronis januam obsideret eumque vi aggrederetur."*]

¹⁰ *Superioris noctis.* Not the night which had just gone by, but the one on which the conspirators met at the house of Læca, or, in other words, the last night but two. [See note on *Cat.* 1 chap. 1.]

¹¹ *Næ illi vehementer errant.* "They are indeed much mistaken." from the Greek *ναί*. [*Næ*, denoting strong affirmation is in the best writers joined only with pronouns. It is only in the comedians, and inferior writers, found attached to other words.]

¹² *Nisi vero si quis est.* "Unless in truth there be any one." The use of *nisi* after *nisi* often occurs. Compare DRAKENBORCH, *ad Liv.* 6, 26, vol. p. 376. *Si quis* in general implies the impossibility of a fact not existing.

¹³ *Catilinæ similes.* "Are like Catiline in character." *Catilinæ* is here a genitive. *Similis*, as has already been remarked, is used with a genitive of external resemblance, but with a genitive of resemblance in nature or internal constitution (ZUMPT, *L. G.* § 411.)

¹⁴ *Desiderio sui tabescere.* "To pine away through regret for their absence."—*Aurelia via.* [PHIL. xii. 9. "*Tres viæ sunt ad Mutinam, supero mare Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.*" Cited by RELL.]

¹⁵ *Si quidem hanc sentinam, &c.* "If it shall have cast forth this warning in our city." Compare note 12 above.

¹⁶ *Exhausto.* "Being removed." *Exhausto* is here employed figuratively.

mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut excogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia ¹veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, ²quis testamentorum subjector, ³quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, ⁴quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? ⁵Quæ cædes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? Quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? ⁶Jam vero quæ tanta in ullo unquam homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amoris flagitiosissime serviebat, qui aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando, pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito, non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris, ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo, non

ratively in allusion to *sentina*. So, OR. in *Cat.* 1, c. 5. "*Exhaurietur ex urbe,*" &c.

¹ *Veneficus*. "Poisoner." Secret poisoning was much practised at Rome. Consult BECKMANN'S *History of Inventions*, vol. i. 74, *seqq.* There was a special law against this practice, and other modes of assassination, entitled *Lex Cornelia*. (*Pro Cluent.* 56.) [The first enactment against poisoning at Rome was framed, C. M. Claud. Marcello, C. Valerio, U.C. 423, on the discovery of a conspiracy among numerous matrons to destroy their husbands.]

² *Quis testamentorum subjector*. "What substitutor of wills." "*Qui testamentum subjicit.*" [That is, who substitutes a false will in place of a true one, or who inserts in a genuine will false clauses. The punishment for this offence was *deportatio* and loss of property.] Such an offender is called by Cicero, *testamentarius* (*Off.* 3, 17.—*Pro Sext.* 17); by Sallust and by Suetonius, *falsarius* (*Vit. Ner.* c. 16). There was a law against this practice also, entitled *Lex Cornelia Testamentaria*.

³ *Quis circumscriptor*. "What fraudulent person." *Circumscriptor* is properly one who, under cover of the law, defrauds another by any artfully-worded writing. Compare the words of SENECA (*Excerpt.* 6, *controv.* 3), "*Circumscriptio semper crimen sub specie legis involvit.*" It is then taken generally for any fraudulent person, or cheat. The *Lex Lætorina* was enacted against such offenders. [Some have erroneously compared with this word the Greek *περιγραφεύς*; but *περιγράφειν* is *e medio tollere*, "to remove," "banish." See WESSELIUS DIOD. p. 51. ERN. *Clav.* under *circumscriptus*.]

⁴ *Quis nepos*. "What spendthrift." This meaning of *nepos* appears to have arisen from the circumstance of grandchildren, when brought up by their grandparents, being generally spoiled, either from too much indulgence, or else from too little care being taken of them. [*Nepos luxuriosus dicitur a Tuscis*: FEST. Laur. Loyd. de Magist. says, the title of the law against extravagance was "*de nepotibus*;" οἰονεὶ ἢ ἐν γαστρίᾳ

modo Romæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius Italiæ, oppressus ere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus disciverit.

V. Atque, ut ejus diversa studia ⁷in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est ⁸in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad acinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur: nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope odalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, ¹⁰stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus ¹¹frigori, et fami, et siti, ac vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur; ¹²cum industriæ subsidia, atque instrumenta virtutis, in libidine audaciaque consumerentur. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites; si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges; O nos beatos, O rem publicam fortunatam, O præclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt medio-

τοῦ ὀνόματος τουτέστι παρὰ Ῥωμαίους· νέπωτας γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ὁμωνύμως καλοῦσιν.—STEINMETZ.]

⁷ *Quæ cædes, &c.* "What deed of murder has been committed during these latter years, without his participation? What act of abandoned lewdness has not been perpetrated by him?"

⁸ *Jam vero.* "Nay, too." Equivalent to *immo vero etiam.*—*Quæ tanta juventutis illecebra.* "What so great talent for alluring the young to their ruin." Compare OR. in Cat. 1, 6: "*Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses,*" &c.

⁹ *In dissimili ratione.* ["In very different spheres of life." WEISKE.]

¹⁰ *In ludo gladiatorio.* "In any school of gladiators." These schools were each under the charge of a person called *lanista*, who purchased and trained up slaves for this employment. Consult ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 280, seqq.

¹¹ *Nemo in scena, &c.* "No one on the stage, more worthless and profligate than ordinary." Compare AULUS GELLIVS (7, 9), "*Veterum hominum, qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt, leves dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc viles et nullo pretio dignos dicimus.*" Players, unless very eminent, were not much respected among the Romans. The Greeks held them in higher estimation. Among the Athenians, they were not unfrequently sent, as the representatives of the republic, on embassies and delegations.

¹² *Stuprorum et scelerum, &c.* "Trained in the exercise of lewdness and crime." *Assuefactus* occurs, in like manner, with the ablative, in *de Orat.* 3, 10, and frequently in Livy. Cf. Liv. 24, 48, and 48, 31.

¹³ *Frighi, et fami, &c.* Compare SALLUST, Cat. 5: "*Corpus patiens ædiæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est.*"

¹⁴ *Cum industriæ subsidia, &c.* "While the aids of industry, and the means of virtue, were being wasted by him in debauchery and daring." The *subsidia industriæ* are his powers of patient endurance, which, if properly directed, would have enabled their possessor to lead a life of

cres hominum ¹ libidines, non humanæ ac tolerandæ audaciæ: nihil cogitant, nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patrimonium sua profuderunt: ² fortunas suas abligurierunt: res eos jampridem, ³ fides deficere nuper cœpit: eadem tamen illa, quæ erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod si in vino et ⁴ alea ⁵ comissationes solum quærerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ⁶ ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? Qui ⁷ mihi ⁸ accubantes in conviviis, vino languidi, ⁹ conferti cibo, ¹⁰ sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti,

active utility. Muretus, Lambinus, Grævius, and Schütz read *consumcret* for *consumerentur*.

¹ *Libidines*. "The impure desires."—*Audaciæ*. "The daring excesses."

² *Fortunas suas abligurierunt*. "Have wasted their fortunes in luxurious living." *Liguriæ* is said of those who eat nicely, pick out the choicest bits, feed delicately, &c. TERENCE (*Eunuch*. 5, 4, 14), says, "*Quæ cum amatore suo quum cœnant, liguriunt*," which is the same as if he had said, "*suaviora et delicatiora tantummodo degustant*." Donatus has the following remark on this passage of Terence, "*Liguriunt, ἀπὸ τοῦ λιγυροῦ, quod secundum Græcos suave intelligitur. Liguriæ dicitur, qui eleganter et more senum multo fastidio suaviora quoque degustat*." [For *abligurierunt* Steinmetz reads *obligaverunt*, that is, "have mortgaged," "pawned," *pignori se, vel pignoris nomine*. He asserts this to be the reading of very many MSS.]

³ *Fides*. "Credit."—*In abundantia*. "In the days of their abundance," i.e. while their property still remained.

⁴ [*Alea*. Gambling was prohibited by law. Cf. chap. ii. § 23, and HOR. iii. Od. 24, 54, *Ingenuus puer . . . ludere doctior, seu Græco iubeas trocho, seu vetita legibus alea*.]

⁵ *Comissationes solum quærerent*. "They had merely revellings in view." *Comissatio* properly denotes a making merry *after* supper, a nocturnal revel. Compare the Greek κῶμος. (*Convivium*, revellings *at* supper.)

⁶ *Ebriosos*. "The intemperate." Some manuscripts give *ebrios*, which Grævius prefers. But the habitually intemperate are here referred to, not merely the intoxicated.—*Dormientes*. "The drowsy." *Dormientes* is here equivalent to *negligentes*, or *incuriosi*.

⁷ *Mihi*. Redundant. Comp. MANUTIUS: "*Mihi, quod ad sententiam attinet, abundat: sed ornatum quendam et vim habet, a contemnente pronunciatum*."

⁸ *Accubantes*. "Lolling." The term refers in strictness to the Roman mode of "reclining" at banquets. Our word "lolling" conveys its meaning better to an English ear. Compare the Greek forms ἀράκειμαι and καράκειμαι. "On each couch there were commonly three. They lay with the upper part of the body reclined on the left

ilitati stupris ¹¹eructant sermonibus suis cædem bonorum, æ urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere ¹²fatum quod: et pœnas jamdiu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libi- i debitas, aut instare jam plane, aut certe appropinquare. os si meus consulatus, quoniam ¹³sanare non potest, tulerit: ¹⁴non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa ula propagarit rei publicæ. Nulla est enim natio, quam timescamus: nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano ere possit. Omnia sunt externa ¹⁵unius virtute terra rique pacata: domesticum bellum manet: intus insidiæ t: intus inclusum periculum est: intus est hostis: cum

, the head a little raised, the back supported by cushions, and the es stretched out at full length, or a little bent; the feet of the first ind the back of the second, and his feet behind the back of the d, with a pillow between each. When they ate they raised them- es on their elbow, and made use of the right hand, sometimes of h hands, for we do not read of their using knives or forks."—ADAM, i. *Antiq.* p. 372.

Conferti cibo. "Overloaded with food." *Conferti* is the reading DÖRING: "*Conferti cibo ita dicuntur, qui tanta ciborum se ingurgi- runt copia, ut neque corpore liberi uti possint.*" Muretus prefers *feriti*, "gorged," [which is adopted by ORELLI.]

Sertis redimiti. The Romans were accustomed, like the Greeks, wear garlands of flowers at their festive meetings. They were ight to be preventives against intoxication.—*Unguentis obli- rfumes*," in the shape of unguents, were profusely used at the ent entertainments. Consult ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 381. See HOL- i. 36, 38.

Eructant. "Hiccup forth." This term is purposely used in refe- se to *vino languidi, conferti cibo*.

Fatum aliquod. "Some dreadful fatality."—*Improbitati, nequitiae.* heir worthlessness, their abandonment of all duty."

Sanare. "Bring back to a sound mind."

Non breve nescio quod, &c. "It will add, not some short period or r, but many ages of duration, to the republic." *Propagarit* is here valent to *prorogaverit, continuaverit*. Thus LIV. 23, 25: "*ntio consuli propagari in annum imperium.*"—[*Propagarit.* *Propa-* is properly "to make a layer," "to propagate by layers," and ce, "to continue," "to cause to remain," *Prov. Cons.* 8, *propagatur unitas, Attic.* viii. 3. *Propagator provincie* is one who causes that her may hold his province longer. We have *sæcla propagent*, LUCR. ; and *propagare vitam*, "to prolong life," in *De Fin.* v. 11, 32.] *Vullus rex.* For Mithridates had by his son's treason been poisoned e time before.]

Unius. Referring to Cn. Pompeius, who had very recently con- red Mithridates.

luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello, Quirites, profiteor ducem: suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. ¹ Quæ sanari poterunt, quacunque ratione sanabo: quæ resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manare. Proinde aut exeant, aut quiescant; aut, si et in urbe, et in eadem mente permanent; ea, quæ merentur, expectent.

VI. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant, ² a me in exilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. ³ Homo videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exilium jussus est, paruit, ⁴ ivit. Hesterno die, cum domi meæ pæne interfectus essem, senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris convocavi: rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. ⁵ Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum

¹ *Quæ sanari poterunt, &c.* "Whatever shall be capable of being healed, I will heal by all possible means: what ought to be cut off, I will not suffer to spread for the ruin of the state." A similar passage occurs in the Eighth Philippic, c. 5; "*In corpore si quid ejusmodi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, uri secarique patimur, ut membrorum aliquod potius, quam totum corpus intereat; sic in rei publicæ corpore, ut totum saluum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur.*" [For *manare* many books have *manere*, which Orelli and Steinmetz prefer as forming a better antithesis to *resecanda*. This might be true if Cicero were speaking of the *members*, but he alludes to *ulcers*. Again Steinmetz argues that *manare* always has some adverb, accusative or additional notion attached, as *manaret indies latius*, *permanat in venas*, *in provincias manant*. Granted: but is not the phrase, *manere ad perniciem* quite as good? Surely it fulfils his own condition.]

² *A me.* "By me individually," i. e. by my threats.—*Quod ego si verbo, &c.* "If I could, indeed, effect this by a mere word." *Quod*, beginning the clause, is to be rendered as if written *hoc*.

³ *Homo videlicet, &c.* "The timid and very modest man, to be sure, could not endure the mere expressions of the consul." *Videlicet* is ironical.

⁴ *Ivit.* This reading is adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and many other editors, instead of the common *quievit*, which is here entirely out of place. The MSS. and early editions vary in this part to a considerable degree. For *ivit* some read *quid*, others *quod* and *quievit*. So, also, after *hesterno die*, Grævius and many other editors insert *Quirites*.—[*Hesterno die.* "*Hæc conciliari cum orationis, 1, § i. 9, 10., omnino non possunt. Nam ex sinceris illis locis necessario colligitur habitum esse primam, orat. VI. id. Novembr. (8th Nov.): ex hoc autem loco VII. id. Novemb. (7th Nov.): de tali autem re personatus Cicero facile errare poterat; non item verus.*"—ORELLI. Muretus had foreseen this difficulty, and thought to avoid it by joining *hesterno die* with *convocavi*, i. e.

nator appellavit? quis salutavit? ⁶quis denique ita pexit, ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem am subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque anem reliquerunt. Hic ego ⁷vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exilium ejicio, quæsi a Catilina, an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset, necne. Cum ille homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus, primo reticuisset; tetefeci cetera. ⁹Quid ea nocte egisset, quid ¹⁰in proximam instituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli scripta, edocui. ¹¹Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur; quæsi, quid dubitaret eo proficisci, quo jampridem pararet: cum arma, ¹²cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam.

On yesterday I convened the Senate, seeing that I had previously been nearly murdered at my home." See MADVIG, *Opusc.* p. 194.]

⁶ *Quo cum Catilina venisset.* Compare 1, 7, 16.

⁷ *Quis denique, &c.* "Who in fine regarded him as an abandoned rascal, and not rather as a most restless enemy?" Compare 1, 9, 23: *Egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu.*"

⁹ *Vehemens ille consul.* "That violent consul." So he was called by his partisans of Catiline.—*Verbo.* "By a single word."

¹⁰ *Homo audacissimus.* "Although a man of consummate effrontery."

¹¹ *Quid ea nocte egisset.* After these words the common text has *ubi fuisset*, which Muretus did not find in his best MS. and which is here not needed, being comprehended under the words "*an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset, necne.*" The expression appears to have crept in from the first oration.

¹² *In proximam.* "For the next." Understand *noctem*. This reading is adopted by Ernesti, Beck, Schütz, and others. The common text has *in proxima*.—*Ratio totius belli.* "The plan of the whole war."

¹³ *Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur.* "On his appearing disconcerted, on his remaining silent." Compare as regards *teneretur*, the explanation of DÖRING: "*Teneri eleganter dicuntur, qui tam claris argumentis convicti sunt criminis cujusdam, ut ne verbum quidem contra ea proferre possint.*" [Ernesti's interpretation is much better, "When he faltered, when he was convicted," "*teneri dicuntur, qui in aliqua re, crimine comprehenduntur; qui quoniam rem negare non possunt, adeo convicti sunt.*" Cf. VER. 11, 73, *manifestis in rebus hominem teneri videbitis.* Weiske thinks there is here a metaphor from those "*qui laqueo capti, sic, non possunt expedire.*" See MIL. § 76.]

¹⁴ *Cum secures, cum fasces.* The *secures* and *fasces* are here badges of military authority. Catiline intended by these as it were legally to assume the rank of *imperator*. Compare SALLUST, Cat. 36.—*Aquilam*

¹In exilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Mallius iste centurio, ²qui in agro Fesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit: et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem expectant: et ille, ejectus in exilium, se ³Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra conferet.

VII. O CONDITIONEM miseram, non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ rei publicæ! Nunc, si L. Catilina, consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis ⁴circumclusus ac debilitatus, subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium bellum faciundi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli, iter ad fugam atque in exilium converterit: non ille a me ⁵spoliatus armis audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed ⁶indemnatus, innocens, in exilium ejectus a consule vi et minis, esse dicetur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum; me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari

illam argenteam. Consult note 4, page 32.—*Cui ille etiam sacrarium, &c.* Consult note 5, page 33.

¹ *In exilium ejiciebam, &c.* "Did I attempt to cast him out into exile, who, I plainly perceived, had already entered upon open war?" The student will mark the elegant use of the imperfect *ejiciebam*, as marking an action begun or contemplated, but not yet completed at the time spoken of. Compare MATTHEW, *G. G.* § 497; *Obs. c.* vol. ii. p. 834, 5th ed.

² *Qui in agro Fesulano, &c.* Compare note 2, page 10, and consult Geogr. Ind.—*Suo nomine.* "In his own name," and not in that of Catiline.

³ *Massiliam.* The modern *Marseilles*. Consult Geogr. Ind. On his journey, Catiline wrote several letters to persons of distinction, stating that he was the victim of wrongful accusations, and was then proceeding, a voluntary exile, to reside at *Massilia*. SALL. *Cat.* 34. [In the imperfect state of the means for conveying intelligence, &c., the report of Catiline's having gone to Marseilles might have been believed at Rome for a considerable period: long enough, at all events, to allow him to concentrate his forces.]

⁴ *Circumclusus ac debilitatus.* "Hemmed in, and crippled in resources."—*Sententiam.* "His purpose," i. e. of making war on his country.—*Ex hoc cursu, &c.* "Shall have turned away his steps from this career of guilt and war, to flight and voluntary exile."

⁵ *Spoliatus armis audaciæ.* "Stripped of the arms of his audacity." i. e. deprived of the means of effecting his daring designs against his country.—*Obstupefactus ac perterritus.* "Astounded and dismayed."

⁶ *Indemnatus.* [ἀκρί-ος, ἀνευ κρισιως.] "Without the formality

. 7 Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque e tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribelli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane s esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi e, non est iturus. Numquam ego a diis immortalibus o, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causa, ut L. Catilinam e exercitum hostium, 8 atque in armis volitare audiat: riduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne sit 9 invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius, quod ejecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massire dictitant, non tamen hoc queruntur, quam verentur. est istorum 11 tam misericors, qui illum non ad Malquam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si cule 12 hoc, quod agit, nunquam ante cogitasset, tamen inantem se interfici mallet, quam exulem vivere. vero, cum ei nihil adhuc præter ipsius voluntatem

ial," i. e. condemned unheard. Cicero, at a subsequent period, e full force of this remark, when Clodius brought in his law, hoever had condemned unheard a Roman citizen should be cted from fire and water, i. e. sent into exile. The orator was led to bend to the storm, and go into banishment. Compare o Domo, 18, seqq. and VELL. Paterc. 2, 45.

mihi tanti, &c. "It is worth the sacrifice for me to encounter rm of this unmerited and unjust odium." Consult note 8, l.—Falsæ is here equivalent to *immericæ*, i. e. *ex falsis causis*

que in armis volitare. "And is moving to and fro in arms," i. e. ersing with an armed force the territories of the republic. luo, per ellipsin pro "*intra triduum*," STEINM.]

vidiosum. "A ground of much censure."—Quod illum emiserim. I allowed him to escape."

um profectus sit. "Seeing that he has gone forth." [The student mark the *paronomasia* in *profectus* and *interfectus*.]

um misericors. "So compassionate on his account." Equivalent tilinæ, tanquam injuria ejecti, ita affectus misericordia."—Malit. ll their pretended compassion for Catiline, as an injured man, ould be sorry to hear of his going to Massilia, [for had he gone seilles he would have shown his desertion of their cause and

oc, quod agit. Alluding to his making war on his country,— "Against." From its general sense of exclusion, this prepo easily comes to signify *beyond* or *above*; and from signifying , it obtains the meaning of *contrary to* and *against*. [Cf. Pis. 20, præter optatum meum.]

cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod ¹vivis nobis Roma profectus est: optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quam queramur.

VIII. SED cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur: et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem; et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus ²interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit ³non tam ulcisci studeo, quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicæ; neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ⁴ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur: ⁵deinde singulis medi-

¹ *Vivis nobis.* "Whilst I remain alive." Alluding to the failure of the intended assassination of Cicero, as well as to that of the numerous other plots formed against him.—[*Et de*, "and that too regarding." Cf. VERR. 11, 21, *Mithridates hostis, et hostis in ceteris rebus nimis ferus.*]

² *Interest.* "Intervenes between him and us."—*Dissimulant.* "Dissemble their real intentions." Alluding to those who were secretly implicated in the conspiracy.

³ *Non tam ulcisci studio, &c.* "Do not so much desire to inflict vengeance upon, as to restore to peace with themselves, and reconcile to their country." *Placare* is equivalent to "*placato eorum furore reconciliare sibi et rei publicæ.*"

⁴ *Ex quibus generibus hominum.* "Of what classes of persons."—*Comparentur.* "Are made up."

⁵ *Deinde singulis, &c.* "Then will I apply to each the remedy of my advice and exhortation, whatsoever I can offer." Grævius conjectures *rationis* for *orationis*, but Ernesti very satisfactorily defends the latter reading; "*Medicinam consilii atque orationis meæ, i. e. Consilii oratione explicandi et ad animum admovendi.*"

⁶ *Magno in ære alieno, &c.* "Although involved in great debt, have still greater possessions, influenced by the love of which they can in no way be free themselves from debt." Commentators differ in opinion respecting the meaning of *dissolvi* in this passage. Muretus explains it as we have done by *liberari ære alieno*, "be freed from their debts," i. e. by the sale of their beloved possessions. This explanation is adopted by Ernesti. Scheller, on the other hand, condemns this mode of interpreting the word in question, as not in accordance either with the context or the idiom of the Latin tongue. He makes *dissolvi* equivalent merely to *separari*. Cicero in his view means, that the individuals alluded to, although deeply involved in debt, and although owners of extensive possessions, are unwilling to sell the latter (*be separated from them, be loosened from the ties that bind them to these objects*) and in this way pay their debts. The following passage of Cicero is cited to confirm this explanation: he is speaking of this same class of persons: "*Illud erat genus hominum horribile et pertimecendum, qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab his membra divelli cum*

cinam consilii atque orationis meæ, si quam potero, afferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui, ⁶ magno in ære alieno, majores etiam possessiones habent: quarum amore adducti, dissolvi nullo modo possunt. ⁷ Horum hominum species est honestissima; (sunt enim locupletes:) ⁸ voluntas vero, et causa impudentissima. ⁹ Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis: et dubites de possessione ¹⁰ detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? quid enim expectas? bellum? quid? Ergo, in vastatione omnium, tuas possessiones ¹¹ sacrosanctas futuras putas? ¹² An tabulas novas? errant, qui istas a Catilina expectant. ¹³ Meo beneficio tabulæ novæ proferentur, verum auctionariæ. Neque enim

ac distrahi posse diceret. (Pro Sull. 20.) [Cf. DONATUS, Ter. Phorm. iv. 3. 50. "Dicuntur etiam servi illi solvi, qui quum debitores prætorum fuerint, pecuniam reddunt debitam, nam quasi ligati sunt a quibus debetur aliquid.]]

⁷ *Horum hominum, &c.* "This in appearance is the most honourable class." Literally, "The appearance of this class of persons is the most honourable," i. e. they enjoy, by their expensive mode of living, and their rank in society, no small degree of consideration in the eyes of the world.

⁸ *Voluntas vero, &c.* "Their intention, however, and the cause in which they have embarked, are most shameless in their character."

⁹ *Tu.* The orator now apostrophizes one of this class. — *Agris.* "In landed property." — *Argento.* "In plate." Understand *cælato.* — *Familia.* "In a retinue of slaves." *Familia* here, as frequently elsewhere, denote all the household servants of a master.

¹⁰ *Detrahere.* "To take away," i. e. to sell some portion of. — *Acquirere ad fidem.* "To add to thy credit." The full expression would be, "*acquirere pecuniam e venditis possessionibus ad fidem solvendam.*"

¹¹ *Sacrosanctas.* "Inviolable."

¹² *An tabulas novas?* "Or an abolition of debts?" By *tabulæ novæ* is meant a compulsory arrangement by law, forcing the creditor either to accept a part of his debt in full for the whole, or, as in the present case, to receive no part of the debt whatever. This latter measure Catiline had promised to adopt. (SALLUST, Cat. 21.) The phrase refers to the Roman mode of writing on tablets, (*tabulæ*), covered over with wax, the characters being marked on the wax by means of a stylus. Hence, when the old score was obliterated, and the wax smoothed over, the tablets were called *novæ*, and were ready for a *new* score. — An entire abolition of debts was never granted to the people. At one time, however, by a law of Valerius Flaccus, a fourth part of the debt was allowed to be paid for the whole. (SALLUST, Cat. 33.)

¹³ *Meo beneficio, &c.* "An abolition of debts shall be proposed, but it shall be the result of sales at auction." Literally, "new bills shall be brought forward, but they shall be auction bills," i. e. auction-lists, containing an account of their property as offered for sale. Cicero means

isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. ¹Quod si maturius facere voluissent, ²neque, (id quod stultissimum est,) certare cum usuris fructibus prædiorum; ³et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt; aut, si permanebunt, ⁴magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam, quam arma laturi.

IX. ALTERUM genus est eorum, qui, quamquam premuntur ære alieno, ⁵dominationem tamen expectant: rerum potiri volunt: honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. ⁶Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod ceteris omnibus, ⁷ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: ⁸pri-

that their property, or a sufficient portion of it, will be exposed to sale, and their debts paid with the proceeds.—Ernesti objects to the presence of *novæ* in the text, as not proper to be connected with *auctionaria tabulæ*, remarking, “*auctionariæ tabulæ nullo modo ac sensu novæ dici possunt, ut opinor.*” He appears, however, to forget that Cicero is here indulging in a piece of pleasantry, or what may be denominated a species of pun. The tables, which he promises, are to be *new*, in another sense, and one for which they were not prepared. It is what the grammarians term an unexpected witticism, a “*lusus παρὰ προσδοκίαν.*”

¹ *Quod si maturius facere voluissent.* “Had they been willing to pursue this course sooner.” *Quod* is here to be rendered by *hoc*, as it commences a clause.

² *Neque, (id quod stultissimum est,) &c.* “And not, what is most foolish, to struggle against heavy payments of interest by the rents and profits of their estates.” Cicero means, that they ought to sell a portion of their landed property, and pay their debts at once, and not adopt the ruinous measure of paying the interest of the large sums they had borrowed with the revenue of their estates. This latter course would keep them always poor. In other words, they must not let heavy mortgages eat up their estates.

³ *Et locupletioribus, &c.* “We would find in them both wealthier and better citizens.” — [*Uteremur.* Steinmetz compares DEMOSTHENES, *Olynth.* i. § 11, ῥάονι καὶ πολὺ ταπεινότερω νῦν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα τῇ Φιλίππῳ.]

⁴ *Magis mihi videntur, &c.* They appear to Cicero more likely to entertain hostile sentiments against their country, than to carry out those sentiments into action.

⁵ *Dominationem expectant, &c.* “Hope for rule, wish to become possessed of the management of affairs,” i. e. to get the government in their hands, and exercise unlimited authority. [“*Potiri*, with the genitive *rerum*, = to possess supreme power; but ‘*potiri*, with ablat. *rebus*,

im omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicæ: deinde ⁹magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas præterea copias militum: deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, claudisimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi, contra ¹⁰tantam vim sceleris, præsentis auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti; num illa in cineribus, et sanguine civium, ¹¹quæ mente conscelerata ac nequicia concupierunt, consules se, aut dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori ¹²concedi sit necesse? Tertium genus ¹³est ætate jam affectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum: quo ex genere iste est Mallius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis,

obtain or enjoy, &c. So SALL. Cat. 48, '*Potiri urbis.*' Three constructions are usual with this verb; *Potior illius rei, et illam rem, et illa*

Cicero has the accusative in *Tusc.* i. 38."

⁶ *Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur.* "To this class the following piece of warning seems proper to be given." *Quibus* to be rendered as *his*.—*et ceteris omnibus.* Supply *præcipiendum est*.

⁷ *Ut desperent,* &c. "To give over hoping that they can accomplish what they are endeavouring to effect."

⁸ *Primum omnium me ipsum,* &c. One MS. inserts *sciant* before *me*, but there is no need of this, as the clause depends on the general idea of warning implied in *præcipiendum*.

⁹ *Magnos animos.* "Great courage."—*Maximam multitudinem.* Understood *eorum*. There appears to be something wrong in this part of the sentence, since neither *maximam multitudinem* nor *magnas copias militum* can well be referred back to *bonis viris*. Schütz suggests the placing of a semicolon after *concordiam*, and the reading *maximam equitum multitudinem*, &c. the *equites* being numbered by Cicero among the safeguards of the republic in the fourth oration against Catiline, c. 7.

¹⁰ *Tantam vim sceleris.* "Such daring wickedness."—*Præsentis.* "By their immediate interposition." Equivalent to "*præsentis auxilio præsentiam suam declarantes.*" Compare the Greek ἐπιφανείς.

¹¹ *Quæ.* "A state of things, which." Literally, "things which."—*consules se.* We have altered the arrangement of these words with Laminius. The common text has *se consules*.

¹² *Concedi necesse sit.* The orator means, that, if the conspiracy succeeded, the more active partisans would drive into the back ground those who had merely aided them by their wishes, and not by their personal operation.

¹³ *Est ætate jam affectum.* "Is by this time somewhat advanced in years." Several MSS. and early editions have *confectum*, which is too long.

¹ quas Fæsulis Sulla constituit; ² quas ego universas civis esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tam hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniarum sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi, dum ædificaverunt, ³ tamquam beati; ⁴ dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis conviviis apparatus delectantur; in tantum æs alienum inderunt, ut, si ⁵ salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, ⁶ homines tenuis atque egentes, in eandem illam ⁷ spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere præ-

¹ *Quas Sulla constituit.* The common text has *Fæsulis* inserted after *quas*, but it appears to have crept in from the sixth chapter of the third oration. Upon the conclusion of the civil contest between Marius and the party of Marius, Sulla settled many of his officers and soldiers in different parts of Italy, on lands which had belonged to the opposite faction. Not a few of these colonists soon squandered away their ill-gotten property, and hence were anxious for another civil war in which to enrich themselves anew. [*Fæsulis* is found in all MSS.; we have therefore, with Orellius, retained it, still it is evidently out of place. It has been proposed to read *ex iis colonis quos Fæsulis Sulla constituit* but this would limit the partizans of Catiline to but a few.]

² [*Quas ego universas, &c.* "Which colonies, in their general character I know to consist of the most loyal citizens and most valiant men; but still, these particular colonists, are persons who," &c. The pronoun *quos* is opposed to *universas*.]

³ *Tamquam beati.* "As if they were possessed of opulence." *Beatus* frequently has the signification of *dives* in the Latin writers, especially in Horace, and the other poets. Compare the remark of VARRO, *L. 4, 17*, "*Beatus, qui multa bona possidet.*"

⁴ *Dum prædiis, &c.* "While they take delight in extensive domains, in litters, in large households of slaves, in sumptuous entertainment"—The *lectica* was a species of litter, or sedan, supported on the shoulders of slaves. The use of this conveyance is said to have come in from Bithynia. (*Schol. ad Juv. 1, 121.*) [Cf. VERR. v. 11. *Ut in fuit Bithyniæ regibus, lectica octophoro ferebatur, in qua pulvinus et perlucidus, Militensi rosa farctus.*]—Muretus, in place of *lecticis*, reads *lectis*, to be joined in construction with *prædiis*; others propose *lectis*—[*Conviviis apparatus.* "Splendid banquets" (PLIN. Ep. 1, 15.) *Per apparatus cænare apud multos; nunquam hilarius.*]

⁵ *Salvi.* "Saved from ruin."—*Sit excitandus.* "Must be evoked"

⁶ *Homines tenuis atque egentes.* "Indigent and needy men." [*Tenuis* refers to the small amount of their property; *egentes* to their having squandered even that.]

⁷ *Spem rapinarum veterum.* They hoped to see, under Catiline, the revival of those scenes of plunder and misrule which had prevailed during the ascendancy of the party of Sulla.—*In eodem genere.* "In one and the same class."

⁸ *Proscriptiones et dictaturas.* Cicero warns them to give up all hope

im direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo: desinant
 re et ⁸proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. ⁹Tantus
 n illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam
 non modo homines, sed ¹⁰ne pecudes quidem mihi
 suræ esse videantur.

L. ¹¹QUARTUM genus est sane varium et mixtum et tur-
 entum: ¹²qui jampridem premuntur; qui nunquam emer-
 it: qui partim inertia, ¹³partim male gerendo negotio,
 tim etiam sumtibus ¹⁴in vetere ære alieno vacillant: qui
 dimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati,

over seeing those scenes renewed which marked the career of Sylla,
 proscription namely of the estates of all who had taken the opposite
 , and a perpetual dictator and second Sylla appearing once more in
 person of Catiline.

Tantus enim illorum temporum, &c. "For such deep indignation,
 he excesses of those times, has been burnt into the very state." The
 b *inuro* involves an allusion to the process of enamelling, or painting
 means of fire, which serves to fix the colours. The ancients called
acaustica, *ἑκαυστική*.

⁹ *Ne pecudes quidem.* "Not even the very beasts." Strongly figura-
 a. Weiske offends against good taste, in supposing that the orator
 e refers to some incident during Sylla's proscriptions, where great
 'barity was practised towards animals!

¹¹ *Quartum genus est, &c.* "The fourth class is varied, and mixed,
 i turbulent in its character." *Varium* alludes to the various causes
 ich had reduced them to ruin; and *turbulentum* to their being no
 ter than a mere noisy mob.

¹² *Qui jampridem premuntur, &c.* "Who have long since been sunk
 wn in ruin, who will never emerge from it." There is commonly
 pposed to be an ellipsis here of *ære alieno*, ("by debt,") but we have
 allusion to debt immediately after. It is better to suppose *malo*, or
 me other equivalent term, to be understood.

¹³ *Partim male gerendo negotio.* "Partly through the ill management
 their private affairs." *Negotio* is here a general term for business or
 ployment of any kind. Compare the remark of DÖRING: "Male
 gotium gerere dicuntur, qui in re familiari et domestica admini-
 unda negligentiores sunt."

¹⁴ *In vetere ære alieno vacillant.* "Stagger under a load of long-con-
 cted debts."

¹⁵ *Vadimoniis, judiciis, &c.* "Wearied out with the giving of bail,
 th judgments, with confiscations of their property." The regular
 al order of proceeding against debtors, in Rome, is here observed.
 e debtor is summoned and compelled to give bail for his appearance
vadimonium dare). The case comes on, and judgment (*judicium*) is
 en against him. The creditor is next put in possession of his prop-
 erty as security for the judgment rendered; and after he has thus
 ld possession for thirty days, the property is sold and the debt paid
 on it.

permulti, et ex urbe et ex agris, se in illa castra confestim dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quam ¹infittores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines ²primum ³si stare non possunt, corruant: sed ita, ut non modo civitas sed vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelli quamobrem, ⁴si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpi velint: aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quantum genus est paridarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quod ego a Catilina ⁵non revoco. Nam neque divelli ab eo possunt: et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi ut eos capere carcer non possit. ⁶Postremum autem ger

¹ *Infittiores lentos.* "Procrastinating debtors who dispute their debts." *Infittior* means one who denies a just debt.—*Lentos* is here equivalent to *tardos*. Compare the explanation of ERN. ANTONI "Lentus de eo dici, qui non facile possit adigi ut solvat pecuniam debitam, docet Cusaubonus. Infittiores vocantur, qui, cum debeant pecuniam, negant hoc tamen, nec voluntolvere." Schütz, without necessity, recalls the old reading *insidiatores*, for *infittiores*. [Cf. JURNAL, xiii. 60 :—

*Nunc si depositum non infittietur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follem,
Prodigiosa fides, &c.]*

² *Primum.* We have here an anacoluthon, since, after *primum*, we have not *deinde*. Some editors recommend that *corruant* be changed to *corrueant*, and *primum* joined with it in construction: *primum corruant*, "will be the first to fall;" but then the rest of the sentence comes in very tamely.

³ *Si stare non possunt.* Alluding to what has just preceded, "veterem ære alieno vacillant."

⁴ *Si vivere honeste non possunt.* "If they cannot live with honor, i. e. by reason of their debts. Compare the explanation of MANUT. "In urbe, propter ære alienum, quo nunquam emergent."

⁵ *Non revoco.* "Seek not to recall."—[*Neque—et*: *neque* is resolved into *et non*, then *et* is the regular apodosis. Thus *pro Sull.* 5, *Neque homines fuisse putantur hujus affines suspicionis, et locus est* &c.]—*In latrocinio.* "In their career of robbery."

⁶ *Postremum autem, &c.* "The last class, however, is so, in fact regards not only number," &c. Cicero uses the word *postremum* in the first clause, as merely numerical, while in the latter part of the sentence it has the force of lowest, vilest, &c. This last class is the feeblest number, and the vilest in character and mode of life. The full construction will be "*postremum autem genus est postremum, non so numero,*" &c.

⁷ *Quod proprium est Catilinæ.* "These are Catiline's own." Literally "this is Catiline's own," i. e. his chosen class.

⁸ *De complexu ejus ac sinu.* "Of his very embrace and bosom,"

et, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita: quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo vero le complexu ejus ac sinu: quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut aberbes, aut⁹ bene barbatos videtis: ¹⁰manicatis et talaribus micis; ¹¹velis amictos, non togis: quorum omnis industria et vigilandi labor, in ¹²antelucanis cœnis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes iniuri impudicique versantur; hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati, non solum amare et amari cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas librare, et spargere venena didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi ereunt, etiamsi Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarium futurum. Verumtamen quid sibi

consisting of his most intimate friends, and the companions of his debauchery. [*Complexu ac sinu*: "*sensu nefario, ut in Phil. 11, 25.*"—*TEINM.*]

⁹ *Bene barbatos*. "With beards elegantly trimmed." By this expression are to be understood the younger class of persons, who had already a tolerably-sized beard, which they were fond of dressing. Until A.U.C. 454, all the Romans wore beards, but from this period, which marks the time when P. Ticinius Menas first brought barbers (*tonsores*) from Sicily, they began to remove the hair from the chin. (PLIN. *H. N.* 7, 59.—VARRO, *R. R.* 2, 2.) The young, however, still retained their beards until they reached the age of twenty-one, (MACROB. in *Somn. Scip.* 1, 6,) sometimes merely until they assumed the *toga virilis* at the age of seventeen. And the day on which they first shaved was regarded as a festival by the members of the family. (JUV. 8, 186.) The first growth of the beard was consecrated to some god. (Vide ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 367, 368.) [Some render *bene barbatos*, "with full-sized beards," "with large beards." But it seems to refer to the care and attention paid to the cut of the beard. These persons are elsewhere called *barbatuli*. Cf. *Ep. Att.* i. 14. *Cum dies venisset rogationi ex s. c. ferendæ, concursabant barbatuli juvenes, totus ille grex Catilinæ.*]

¹⁰ *Manicatis et talaribus tunicis*. "With tunics having long sleeves, and reaching to the ankles." Tunics of this kind were deemed effeminate by the Romans, and seemed better suited for women than men. The ordinary tunic had no sleeves, and came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the legs behind. Compare VIRG. *Æn.* 9, 616. [*Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitra.*]

¹¹ *Velis amictos, non togis*. "Covered with veils, not with togas." The allusion is to togas made so full, and of so fine and transparent a texture, as to resemble veils wrapped around the person.

¹² *Antelucanis cœnis*. "Suppers protracted till the dawn."

¹³ *Seminarium Catilinarium*. "A nursery of Catilines." Some read *Catilinarum*, on the ground that *seminarium Catilinarium* would rather signify "a nursery established by Catiline." [Orelli defends *Catilinarium* by citing CAT. 48, *Pomarium seminarium atque degineum.*]

isti miseri volunt? Num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his presertim noctibus. Quo pacto illi ¹ Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? Nisi idcirco se faciles hiemem toleraturos putant, quod ² nudi in convivii saltare didicerunt.

XI. O BELLUM ³ magnopere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilinae copias vestra præsidia, vestrosque exercitus: et primum gladiatori illi ⁴ confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite: deinde, contra ⁵ illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italiæ ac robur educite. ⁶ Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt

¹ *Apenninum*, &c. "The Apennine range, and the frost and snow they will find there." The student will note the force of *illas*. With *Apenninum* understand *montem*.—This oration was delivered on the sixth day before the ides of November, or the eighth of the month.

² *Nudi in convivii*, &c. Dancing itself was deemed dishonourable among the Romans, much more so the dancing in a state of nudity. Compare *Or. pro Deiot.* c. 9.—("Nobody," says Cicero, "ever danced even in solitude, or at a private meeting of friends, who is not either drunk or mad. Dancing is always the last act of riotous banquets, gay places, and much jollity.")

³ *Magnopere pertimescendum*. Ironical.—*Hanc scortorum cohortem prætoriam*. "This body-guard of infamous wretches." Among the Romans, the general was usually attended by a select band, called *cohors prætoria*. This differs essentially, however, from the *prætorian cohort* in the history of the empire. [The *prætoria cohors* was first regularly constituted by Scipio Africanus, but in very early times a selected band specially attended the general. Cf. Liv. 11, 20. *Dictator Posthumius* A. C. 255, *cohorti suæ, quam delectam manum præstitit causa circa se habebat, dat signum*.]

⁴ *Confecto et saucio*. "Worn-out and wounded." The allusion is to Catiline. Compare note 3, page 38.

⁵ *Illam naufragorum*, &c. "That outcast and enfeebled band of shipwrecked wretches."

⁶ *Jam vero*, &c. "Nay, indeed, the very cities of your colonies, and municipal districts, will prove a sufficient match for the woodland raths of Catiline." The general reading here is very much disputed. The text has *urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus*. For *municipiorum* some have given, on conjecture, *municipia*, and *cumulis* for *tumulis*. Muretus conjectures *vires* for *urbes*, which makes a harsh alliteration with *vero*. Garaton gives *arces*. *Tumulis silvestribus* refers to the "woody heights," in which alone Catiline's adherents could find shelter. *Cumulis*, which is found in some MSS., would apply to Catiline's forces as being composed in

atilinæ tumultis silvestribus. Neque vero ceteras copias, ornamenta, præsidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque æstate conferre debeo. Sed si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, ⁹ vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus: si his rebus omissis, suas ipsas, quæ inter se configunt, ¹⁰ contendere velimus; et eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc ¹¹ petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, hinc scelus; hinc ¹² constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, hinc turpitude: hinc ¹³ continentia, illinc libido: denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum

general of ill-armed rustics, and being, in fact, rude masses, or *heaps*, as it were, of men, rather than well organized and disciplined troops. *Tumuli* are frequently mentioned in war, LIV. x. 29, xxvii. 26. *Tumulus erat silvestris inter Punica et Romana castra.* Cicero alludes to these *tumuli* in PISON. 5. *Neque unquam Catilina, cum e pruina ipsoni atque e nivibus illis emersisset, atque æstatem integram nactus Italiæ calles et pastorum stabula præclara cepisset, sine multo sanguine et sine totius Italiæ vastitate miserrima concidisset.*] Compare Sallust's account of the same army. *Cat.* c. 56.

⁹ *Ornamenta, præsidia vestra.* "Your preparations, your defences." *Ornamenta* is here equivalent to *apparatum bellicum*.

¹⁰ *Quibus nos suppeditamur, &c.* "With which we are supplied, of which he stands in need." We have adopted *suppeditamur*, the reading of several MSS. and editions, instead of the common lection *suppeditamus*. They who give this latter form make it equivalent to *abundamus*, for which they have no good authority. [Yet it is preferred by MADVIG, *Opusc.* p. 176.]

¹¹ *Vectigalibus.* "Public revenues."

¹² *Contendere.* "To compare." Equivalent to *comparare* or *conferre*. Thus we have (*Pro Rosc.* c. 33), "*Quidquid contra dixeris id cum defensione nostra contendito.*" So also HORACE (*Ep.* 1, 10, 26), "*Qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro Nescit Aquinatem potentia vellera fucum.*" And again, TACITUS (*Ann.* 13, 3), "*Vetera et præsentia contendere*;" and AULUS GELLIUS (2, 23), "*Græca comparare et contendere.*"

¹³ *Petulantia.* "Effrontery."—*Stuprum.* "Pollution."

¹² *Constantia.* "Consistency." Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: "*Est recta ratio ejusque usus, cui opponitur furor, in quo homines capti mente sibi non constant.*" (*Clav. Cic.* s. v.) So, too, in the oration *Pro Rosc.* c. 14, the *vir constans* is opposed to the *amens*.

¹³ *Continentia.* "Moderation."—*Libido.* "Licentiousness." *Denique æquitas, &c.* The four primary Platonic virtues, are here enumerated, *temperance, prudence, fortitude, and justice*, though in a different

vitiis omnibus: postremo ¹copiæ cum egestate, ²bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prælio, nonne, etiamsi ³hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his præclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. QUÆ cum ita sint, Quirites, vos ⁴quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut ⁵urbi sine vestro motu, ac sine ullo tumultu, satis esset præsidii, consultum ac provisum est. Coloni omnes ⁶municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti ⁷de hac nocturna excursione Catilinæ, facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille maximam manum et certissimam

order. Compare CIO. *de Off.* 1, 5, and STOBÆUS, *Eccl. Eth.* p. 166. The Greek names are: σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, (σοφία, νοῦς.) ἀνδρία, δυνάμει, σύννη.

¹ *Copiæ.* "Abundant resources." Compare *De Inv.* 2, 1, "*Crotonia quum florerent omnibus copiis*," and *Pro Rosc. Am.* 15, "*Copiis rei familiaris locupletes et pecuniosi*."

² *Bona ratio cum perdita.* "Judgment with folly." With *perditia* supply *ratione*.—*Bona denique spes*, &c. "In fine, well-grounded hope with utter despair."

³ *Hominum studia.* "The zealous efforts of men," i. e. their zealous co-operation in the cause of virtue.

⁴ *Quemadmodum jam antea.* The common text has *dixi* after *antea*, which is erroneous, as he has nowhere before said so in the course of the oration. Ernesti and others consequently throw it out.—[*Custodiis vigiliisque.* "With guards both by day and night."]

⁵ *Urbi.* The city collectively (*urbs*) is here opposed to the individual dwellings composing it (*singula tecta*). The latter their respective possessors are to guard, the former will be watched over by the consul himself. The emendation of Grævius is therefore unnecessary, *mihi et urbi*.

⁶ *Municipesque vestri.* "And the inhabitants of your municipal towns." [*Municipes.* There were altogether three classes of *Municipia*:—1. Those whose people were not Roman citizens, but possessed all the rights of Roman citizens, except the *suffragium* and *honores*: these were originally conquered states. 2. A *Municipium* whose people formed a *civitas* completely incorporated with the Roman state, and who consequently had no internal administration of their own cities. 3. Those who had the full privileges of Roman citizens, and besides the entire regulation of their own cities. See SMITH, *Dict. Antiq.* p. 318 b.]

⁷ *De hac nocturna excursione.* Referring to the departure of Catiline on the previous night.

⁸ *Quamquam meliore animo sunt*, &c. "Although they are, in fact, better disposed towards the state than a part of the patricians, still

tavit ⁸quamquam meliore animo sunt, quam parum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. ⁹Quis, quem ego, prospiciens hoc, in agrum Gallicanumque præmisi, ¹⁰aut opprimet hominem, aut omnes stus conatusque prohibebit. ¹¹Reliquis autem de constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum is, quem vocari videtis. ¹²Nunc illos, qui in urbe runt, ¹³atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem, omninostrum, in urbe a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam stes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, ¹⁴monitos eos etiam iam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui ¹⁵solutior visa expectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. ¹⁶Quod n est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse

cept in check by our power." The very gladiators, according are better affected than some of the nobility. Ernesti thinks reading should be *quamquam non meliore animo sunt*, the being required in his opinion by the presence of *tamen* in the use of the sentence. From the explanation we have given, it ly appear that the emendation is unnecessary. The gladiators tributed by Cicero throughout the municipal towns. (SALL.

Metellus. Mentioned already in the third chapter. Consult l Index.—*Agrum Gallicanum Picenumque*. Consult Geo-Index.

opprimet hominem. "Will either crush the man." *Hominem*: Catiline, and is purposely used, instead of *virum*, to denote a.—*Prohibebit*. "Will frustrate."

quis autem de rebus, &c. "While as regards the determining e expediting, the performing of what remains to be done, we going to consult the senate, which you see is in the act of nmoned." The senators were seen passing along at the time lace of meeting.

e illos. "Now, as far as concerns those." Supply *quod ad*, or g equivalent. The *eos* after *monitos* has been restored to the beck, from several MSS. and editions. It is added in order to ter force to the clause. Consult the remarks of MANUTIUS, *ad m*. 13, 28. It is not inserted in the edition of Ernesti, and he ilent about it.

e adeo. "Or rather." Equivalent to *sive potius*. Consult *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *atque*.

itos eos, &c. "These I wish again and again to be reminded." note 12.

tior. "Too remiss," i. e. to savour too much of remissness.—

ectavit. "It has had this in view," i. e. it has been only waiting

—*Erumperet*. "Might burst forth into open day."

l reliquum est. "As to what remains."—*Jam non*, &c. "I can : forget," &c.—[*Consulere sibi possunt*. "They may take their

patriam, me horum esse consulem : mihi aut cum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portæ custos: nullus insidiator viæ: si qui exire volunt, consulere sibi possunt. ¹ Qui vero in urbe se commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero: sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios ² magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. ATQUE hæc omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut rei maximæ minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum, post hominum memoriam crudelissimum ac maximum, ³ me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe pœnam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifesta audaciæ, si impendens patriæ periculum me necessario hac animi lenitate ⁴ deduxerit; illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ne quis bonus intereat, paucorumque pœna vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia

own measures for their safety ;" *hujus phraseos indoles est, ut, cum ultimo veluti remedio cogetetur, consulere sibi quis dicatur.* FORCELLIUS. Steinmetz adopts the reading of one MS. *connivere possum*, "I can wink at it," i. e. pretend not to witness their departure. This reading is preferred by Orelli.]

¹ *Qui se commoverit.* "Who shall make the least stir."—*Quis* "On whose part."—*Factum.* "Any open act."—*Sentiet.* "Shall feel."

² *Magistratus.* Referring to the inferior magistrates, but especially to the tribunes.—*Fortem senatum.* "A resolute senate." *Majores nostri.* According to Livy, the first Roman prison was built by Ancus Marcius (1, 33). It was afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* 55.

³ *Me uno togato, &c.* "By me, your only leader and commander, arrayed in the robe of peace." When the consuls set out on any military expedition, they changed their gowns or *togas*, for the robe of war, or *stygium*. This conspiracy, however, Cicero promises, shall be quelled whilst he wears the garb of peace.

⁴ *Deduxerit.* This is undoubtedly the true reading, as given by Schæfer and others, instead of the common lection *deduxerint*. It is advocated also by Goerenz, *ad Cic. Acad.* 2, 1. The rule appears to be as follows: "When several nouns are employed for the purpose of expressing one and the same idea, the verb should be put in the singular number." Or, as Goerenz expresses it, "*Plura substantiva, ad unam velut notionem juncta, simplici verbi numero comprehenduntur.*" Instances of the appli-

neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis, et non dubiis deorum immortalium ⁶significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ⁷ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic ⁸præsentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt: ⁹quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

ation of this rule would be more frequent in the ancient writers, were not for the ill-judged corrections of editors.

⁶ *Significationibus*. "Warnings." Equivalent to *ominibus*, or *prophætiis*. Broukhusius (*ad Tibull.* 2, 1, 10) shows, that *significatio* and *significare* are terms borrowed from the language of divination, and peculiar to the haruspices, &c. Compare the words of CICERO (*de Harusp. Resp.* 12), "*Quod igitur ex aliquo monstro significatum invenimus*," &c.; and those of OVID (*Met.* 15, 576), "*Quod sibi significant, insipientia consulit exta*."

⁷ *Ab externo hoste*. The common reading is *extero*. We have given *externo* with Ernesti, who remarks, "*Hostis exterus nemine dicitur, at nationes extræ, regna externa, recte dicuntur*."—The allusion in *externo hoste* appears to be particularly to Mithridates.

⁸ *Præsentes*. "As present deities."—*Suo numine*. "By their express interposition."

⁹ *Quos*. Equivalent to *Et hos*. "And these."—*Omnibus hostium copiis*, &c. "Now that all," &c.—*A nefario scelere*. "From the execrable wickedness."

M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM
TERTIA,
AD QUIRITES.

I. REM PUBLICAM, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum
¹bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros, atque ²hoc d
micilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimam
que urbem, ³hodierno die, deorum immortalium summo ex
vos amore, laboribus consiliis periculis meis, ex flamma atque
ferro, ac pæne ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam
ac restitutam videtis. ⁴Et, si non minus nobis jucundi atque
⁵illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus
nascimur; quod salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incertitudo

¹ *Bona, fortunas.* "Your property, your fortunes." By *bona* are here meant possessions, by *fortunes* personal property.

² *Hoc domicilium, &c.* "This seat of a most illustrious empire." Compare the language of NEPOS (*Attic.* 3), "*Quod in ea potissimum urbe natus est, in qua domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii.*" [*Pro Sull.* 11.]

³ *Hodierno die.* On the day when this oration was delivered (3rd December), the disclosures of the Allobroges had been made in the Roman senate, and the conspirators implicated by them consigned to custody.—[*Fati*, simply "destruction," "ruin;" = *exitii*. Cf. *Pro De* 57. *In illo pæne fato rei publicæ obiecti meum caput pro vestris cærimoniam*

⁴ *Et, si, = quod si, &c.* *Et* is here more of an inceptive than a connective particle. Compare TERENCE, *Phorm.* 1, 3, 19, and the remarks of DONATUS (*ad loc.*), "*Et modo non connexiva, sed inceptativa particula est.*"

⁵ *Illustres.* "Memorable."—[*Quibus conservamur.* The old Romans celebrated not only their birth days, but those on which they were preserved from any danger. Comp. HOR. *Od.* iv. 11, 18, iii. 8, 7:

*Voveram dulces epulas, et album
Libero caprum, prope funeratus
Arboris ictu.]*

—*Salutis lætitia.* "The joy attendant upon deliverance."

conditio; et quod ⁶ sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur: profecto, quoniam ⁷ illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulum, ad deos immortales ⁸ benevolentia famaue sustulimus; esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debet ⁹ is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, ¹⁰ templis, delubris, tectis ac mœnibus subiectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus: iidemque gladios in rem publicam dstrictos retudimus, mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris deiecimus. ¹¹ Quæ quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta, et ¹² quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis, ¹³ ex actis scire possitis.

⁶ *Sine sensu.* "Without consciousness."—*Cum voluptate.* "With positive pleasure."

⁷ *Illum.* After the words *urbem condidit*, Orelli, Steinmetz, &c., have inserted *Romulum*, which Anthon rejected as a gloss. It is not found in several of the best MSS., and is rejected by Manutius and Brœvius.

⁸ *Benevolentia famaue.* "By gratitude and tradition," i. e. our grateful forefathers deified him, and we their descendants, equally grateful, have confirmed the voice of tradition.

⁹ *Is.* Alluding to himself. We have a double comparison: one between the days on which we are born, and those on which we are preserved from danger; and the other between Romulus, the founder of Rome, and Cicero its preserver.

¹⁰ *Templis, delubris.* "Its temples, its shrines." [In rhetorical periods *templa* and *delubra* are frequently united, like *aræ* and *foci*. *Delubra* properly is the shrine in which the statue of the Deity was placed. *Templa* (τέμενος), a building set apart and consecrated by the augurs (AUL. GELL. xiv. 7.)] Compare the words of NOLTENIUS (*Lex. Antibarb.* vol. i. p. 901): "*Delubrum proprie est ædicula, in qua stat dei cujusdam simulacrum. Templum vero est ædificium Deo sacratum. Ita delubrum, et parvum templum, vel pars templi: ut Capitolium fuit templum in quo tria delubra communi pariete claudabantur, Jovis, Junonis, et Minervæ.*"

¹¹ *Quæ quoniam, &c.* "And since these things have been made manifest, exposed and ascertained, in the senate, through my means, I will now, Romans, unfold them briefly to you." The expressions *illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt*, form what is called an inverted gradation; for Cicero first ascertained the deadly designs of the conspirators, then laid them open to the view of the senate, and by this means rendered them perfectly apparent and clear.

¹² *Quam manifesta.* "How palpable."—*Investigata et comprehensa sunt.* "They have been tracked out and completely detected."

¹³ *Ex actis.* "From what has been done," i. e. on the part of the senate, as about to be related by me. Considerable doubt exists with regard to the true reading here. The MSS. vary, some giving *et expectatis*.

II. PRINCIPIO, ¹ ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romæ reliquisset; semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

Nam tum, ² cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam, (non enim jam vercor hujus verbi invidiam, cum ³ illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit,) sed tum, cum illum ⁴ exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram, aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. ⁵ Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maxime furore et

tatis in place of *ex actis*. We have adopted the latter, however, with all the early editions, and as approved of and received by Ernesti and Orelli. Weiske also regards *ex actis* as the true lection, but he alters the punctuation, placing a comma after *actis*, and removing the one before *ex*, so that *ignoratis ex actis* will be joined in construction, "you, who have not the means of ascertaining the facts, by reference to the senate's recorded proceedings." [Yet *expectatis* has some MSS. in its favour, and is supported by PLUTARCH, (*Cic.* 19) 'Ἡδε δ' ἐσπέρας εἶναι, καὶ τοῦ δήμου περιμένοντος ἀθρόου, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων, &c. The date for this oration is fixed by Cicero himself, *Ep. Att.* 11, 1, *Septims* (*oratio consularis*) *qua Catilinam emisi*; *octava, quam habui ad populum postridie, quam Catilina profugit, nona in concione, quo die Allobroges involgarunt*; *decima in Senatu Nonis Decembribus.*]

¹ *Ut*. "Ever since." Twenty-four days had elapsed since Catiline's departure. [In that interval Cicero delivered his speech for Murena.]

² *Cum ejiciebam*. "When I was seeking to drive out." The student will note the force of the imperfect.—*Hujus verbi invidiam*. "The odium attendant upon this word," i. e. the odium into which I may fall with some, for openly avowing that I wished "to drive him out" from Rome.

³ *Illa*. Understand *invidia*, and render the clause as follows: "Since that other is the more to be dreaded by me, namely, because he has gone forth alive," i. e. since I deserve more censure, I am afraid, for not having arrested and punished Catiline on the spot.

⁴ *Exterminari*. "To be expelled from Rome." More literally, "from our borders." Compare, as regards the meaning of this verb, *Phil.* 13, 1: "*Hunc ex finibus humanæ naturæ exterminandum puto*;" and *N.D.* 1, 23: "*Protagoras . . . Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro exterminatus est*."—*Nam tum—putabam*. In the present sentence the remark may be pardoned, that eighteen words, more than a third of the whole, terminate with the letter *m*. In Greek, not one word terminating with that letter has been discovered. *V.E.* [In fact the letter *m* in Latin, like *ν* in Greek, was but an *Anasvarah*, and consequently is usually slurred over in metrical scanning, before vowels. The French pronunciation is very similar to that of the common language of the Romans. See DONALD, *Varron*. Chap. xiv.]

⁵ *Atque ego*. Orelli's text has *Atque ego*, which Anthon changed to *et*

scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse, et Romæ remansisse: in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, ⁶quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem: ut, quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, ⁷rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis salutis vestræ provideretis, cum oculis maleficio ipsum videretis. Itaque ⁸ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum, ⁹belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa, ¹⁰a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives, ¹¹eodemque itinere, ¹²cum literis man-

ego, as found in one of his MSS. by Grævius. Ernesti also considers *at ego* preferable, though he retains the common reading—*Ut vidi*. “When I saw.”

⁶ *Quid agerent, quid molirentur*. “What they were doing, what they were planning.”—*Fidem faceret*. *Facere fidem* means, “to make a person, or thing, be believed;” *habere fidem*, “to give credit,” or “to believe;” *dare fidem*, “to give a pledge, an assurance, or solemn promise.”—CROMBIE, *Gym.* vol. ii. pp. 193, 194.

⁷ *Rem ita comprehenderem*. “I might get possession of the whole affair so clearly.”

⁸ *Ut comperi*. “When I ascertained.” He received his information from Fabius Sanga, to whom the ambassadors of the Allobroges had communicated it. [As being their patron. SALL. 41. *Cujus patrocínio plurimum civitas Allobrogum utebatur*.]—*Legatos Allobrogum*. It appears from SALLUST (*Cat.* 40) that these ambassadors had come to Rome to complain of the oppression and exactions of their governors, which had brought upon them a heavy burden of debt. As regards the Allobroges, consult Geographical Index.

⁹ *Belli Transalpini*. “Of a war beyond the Alps,” i. e. in Transalpine, or Farther Gaul. The country which was afterwards the scene of Julius Cæsar’s operations.—*Et tumultus Gallici*. “And also of a Gallic tumult,” i. e. in Cisalpine Gaul, or Gaul lying to the south of the Alps.—The Romans meant by *tumultus* any sudden and dangerous war, when the enemy were near at hand, and the safety of the capital at stake. Strictly speaking, this involved only two cases, a war in Italy, or one with the Gauls, their immediate neighbours. Compare *Phil.* 8, 1: “*Majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiæ finitimus, præterea nullum tumultum nominabant*.” A tumult was regarded as of far more threatening character than a war, and, therefore, when one occurred, no excuses from serving were allowed to be valid.

¹⁰ *A P. Lentulo*. He employed as his agent, in sounding the Allobroges, one P. Umbrenus, before he met them in person. (SALL. *Cat.* 48.)

¹¹ *Eodemque itinere*. “The ambassadors intended to return home through Etruria, and of course would meet with Catiline, who was with Mallius near Fæsulæ. (*Orat.* 1, in *Cat.* c. 2.)

¹² *Cum literis mandatisque*. “With letters and verbal instructions.”

datisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum T. Vulturcium, atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas literas; facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper ¹optabam a diis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu, et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die ²L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicæ viros, ad me vocavi: rem omnem exposui: quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem, ³qui omnia de re publica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione, ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt, et, ⁴cum advesperasceret, occulte ad ⁵pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque, ibi, in proximis villis, ita ⁶bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos, et

—*Vulturcium*. Sallust calls him P. Vulturcius, and makes him to have been an inhabitant of Crotona. (*Cat.* 44.)

¹ *Optabam*. Ernesti thinks *optaram* preferable. But *optabam* must be retained, as it expresses the action going on at the time specified, "I was accustomed to hope." [*Ut tota*, Steinmetz and Orelli restore *ut* before *tota*. *Ut* is frequently repeated after a relative clause. Cf. *pro Planc.* 38. *Acad.* 11, 45.]

² *L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum*. [L. Valerius Flaccus was defended by Cicero from the charge of mal-administration of his province of Asia. (See *pro Scaur.* §. 102.) Caius Pomtinus was afterwards a legate of Cicero in Cilicia. Sallust calls both *viros militares*.]

³ *Qui omnia*, &c. "Inasmuch as they entertained every noble and exalted sentiment respecting their country." "The relative pronoun is joined to the subjunctive mood, when the relative clause expresses the reason, or cause, of the action, state, or event." Consult CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, 4th edition, vol. ii. p. 21, *seqq.*

⁴ *Cum advesperasceret*. "When it was beginning to draw towards evening." This is not an impersonal verb, but a verb used impersonally. The nominative, in fact, is *dies*, which is understood. Compare TACITUS, *Hist.* 2, 49, 3: "*Vesperascente die, sitim haustu gelidæ aquæ sedavit*," and Cornelius Nepos, 16, 3, 5: "*Ut, vesperascente cælo, Thebas possent pervenire*."

⁵ *Pontem Mulvium*. Now *Ponte Molle*, one of the bridges over the Tiber, about three miles from Rome. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus [Censor, A.U.C. 643], from a corruption of whose *nomen* (Æmilius) the appellation of Mulvius is thought to have originated. At this bridge commenced the *Via Flaminia*, which led from Rome to Ariminum. Compare AUREL. *Vict. de Vir. Ill.* c. 72, and ARNTZENIUS *ad loc.* [The present bridge was built by Pope Pius VII. on his return from captivity.]—*Villis*. "Country houses."

⁶ *Bipartito*. The common text has *bipartiti*, which is not a Latin word, although *bipartiri* is inadvertently admitted into some dictionaries."—[*Eos*, i. e. the Prætors and their soldiers.]

mons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi, sine cujusquam suspicionem, multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego ⁷ ex præfectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera tutor assidue, in re publica, præsidio cum gladiis miseram. Interim ⁸ tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum jam pontem Mulvium ⁹ magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unaque Vulturcius; fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris: res erat prætoribus nota solis: ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. Tum, ¹⁰ interventu Pomptini atque Flacci, pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Literæ, quæcunque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis prætoribus traduntur: ¹¹ ipsi, com-

⁷ *Ex præfectura Reatina.* "From the præfecture of Reate." *Præfectura* were those cities and territories in the Roman Jurisdiction, which had neither magistrates nor laws of their own, but were governed by a Roman prætor, or, in his stead, by a *præfectus*. They did not enjoy the rights either of free towns or colonies, but differed little from the form of provinces. Their private rights depended on the edicts of the prætor or præfect, and their public rights on the senate, who imposed on them taxes and service in war at pleasure. Some *præfecturae*, however, possessed greater privileges than others. Towns were commonly reduced to this form, which had been ungrateful to the Romans, as for example Capua, after the second Punic war. [*Reate* (now *Rieti*), a town of the Sabines on the river Velinus. Cicero chose natives of this district because they were his clients. (*Scaur.* § 27).]

⁸ *Tertia fere vigilia exacta.* "Nearly at the close of the third watch," i. e. near three o'clock in the morning. The Romans divided the night into four watches of three hours each, commencing at six o'clock in the evening. The third watch, therefore, would be from twelve to three.

⁹ *Magno comitatu.* "With a large retinue." We have rejected *cum* with Ernesti and others. Matthiæ, however, adduces, in its support, *Pro Mil.* 10, 28. [The narrative given by Sallust differs somewhat, "*Utrique clamor exortus est; Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus suos, gladio se a multitudine defendit.*"]

¹⁰ *Interventu.* "On the intervention."—*Integris signis.* "With the seals unbroken." "Letters, among the Romans, were tied round with a string, the knot of which was sealed. The seal was generally a head of the letter-writer, or of some one of his ancestors, impressed on wax or Asiatic gypsum. Hence the phrases for 'to open a letter,' are *incidere limum, vinculum solvere, epistolam solvere.*"—CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 288.

¹¹ *Ipsi.* "The persons themselves composing it," i. e. the retinue, including of course the ambassadors themselves who had been thus escorted.

prehensi, ad me ¹ cum jam dilucesceret deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum ² improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium, statim ad me, nihil dum suspicantem, vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur L. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem ³ Lentulus venit, ⁴ credo quod literis dandis, ⁵ præter consuetudinem, proxima nocte vigilaverat. Cum vero summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui, audita re, frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri, quam ad senatum ⁶ deferri, placeret; ne, ⁷ si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur; negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, ⁸ quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent; tamen ego non arbitrabar

¹ *Cum jam dilucesceret.* "When it was now beginning to be dawn." Compare note 4, page 76, and PALAIRET'S *Latin Ellipses*, p. 69, ed. BARKER.

² *Improbissimum machinatorem.* "That most infamous contriver."—*Cimbrum Gabinium.* [No *Cimber Gabinus* is mentioned among the conspirators by Sallust, but he has *P. Gabinus Capito*. The other name is an error either of Cicero or his transcriber.]

³ *Lentulus.* He was then prætor, and a man of slothful and luxurious habits.

⁴ *Credo quod literis dandis, &c.* "I suppose, because he had been up late the previous night, contrary to his usual custom, for the purpose of giving the letters," i. e. for the purpose of making out and delivering the despatches. By *proxima nocte* is meant the night which has just gone by, and on the morning after which the arrest took place.

⁵ *Præter consuetudinem.* Cicero speaks, in the seventh chapter of this oration, of the *somnum Lentuli*, "the drowsiness of Lentulus."

⁶ *Deferri.* The common text has *referri*, which is erroneous. There was no formal reference, but the letters were merely to be laid before the senate. Their opinion respecting them would be asked in a subsequent stage of the proceedings.

⁷ *Si nihil esset inventum.* Understand *in illis*, referring to the letters. *Tantus tumultus.* "So great alarm."—*Negavi me esse facturum, &c.* With *facturum* supply *ita*. "I declared that I would not act in such a way as not to lay," &c.; i. e. I expressed my firm determination of laying, &c.

⁸ *Quæ erant ad me delata.* "Which had been communicated to me."—*Reperta non essent.* "Had not been found in the letters."—*Nimiam diligentiam.* "That any excess of vigilance," i. e. the blame of having been over-vigilant.

⁹ *Coegi.* The senate was convened on this occasion in the temple of Concord (SALL. *Cat.* 26.) This building was situate on the lower

n tantis rei publicæ periculis mihi esse nimiam diligentiam vertescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sullicium prætorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex ædibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret: ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit.

IV. INTRODUXI Vulturcium sine Gallis: "fidem ei publicam, jussu senatus, dedi: hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ sciret, sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore ¹²recreasset: a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam ¹³mandata et literas, ut servorum præsidio ¹⁴uteretur, et ad urbem quamprimum cum exercitu accederet: ¹⁵id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, cædemque in-

slope (*in radicibus*) of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the forum, and was a place of great security from its natural situation. The Equites, moreover, stood guard around it. This Temple of Concord had been erected by the consul Opimius, after the death of Caius Gracchus. (PLUT. C. Gracch. 17.)

¹⁰ *Si quid telorum esset.* "Whatever weapons might be there," i. e. might be found there on searching the building.

¹¹ *Fidem ei publicam dedi.* "I pledged to him the public faith for his safety," i. e. I assured him of impunity in the name of the senate and the people. [Without the consent of the senate, the consul could not give it.]—Vide note 6, p. 75.—*Ea quæ sciret.* "All that he knew."

¹² *Recreasset.* Gruter and some other early editors prefer *recepisset*, which occurs in one of the MSS. of Muretus. The present reading, however, is more forcible. *Recreate se*, "to regain courage;" *recipere* merely "to recover one's self."

¹³ *Mandata et literas.* "A verbal message and a letter."

¹⁴ *Uteretur.* "Should avail himself." As regards the circumstance here mentioned, compare the language of SALLUST: "*Ad hoc mandata urbis dat: Quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia reputat? in urbe parata esse quæ jusserit; ne cuncteter ipse propius accedat.*" (Cat. 44.) [Catiline wished it to be thought that he was invested with a regular command; therefore he refused to admit slaves; and he admitted them, he would have been considered but as a second Spartacus, and would have deterred the old followers of Sylla from joining with him.]

¹⁵ *Id autem.* Supply *faceret.*—*Omnibus ex partibus.* According to SALLUST (Cat. 43,) the city was to be fired in twelve different quarters at the same time. Plutarch, however, states that the conspirators had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. Others were to cut off the supply of water and kill all that went to seek it. (Plut. Cic. c. 18.)

finitam civium fecissent; ¹præsto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli, ²jusjurandum sibi et literas a Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt: atque ita sibi ab his, et a ³L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quamprimum mitterent: ⁴pedestres sibi copias non defuturas: Lentulum autem ⁵sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, esse se ⁶tertium

¹ *Præsto esset ille.* "He might be near at hand." Referring to Catiline.—*Qui et fugientes exciperet.* "Both to intercept those who fled," i. e. from the city. *Excipere* is here borrowed from the movements of the chase, and is beautifully figurative. Compare the Greek ἐκδέχεσθαι. [*Ad Att.* viii. ii. "A multis admoniti sumus ut caveremus, ne exciperemur a Cæsare." *HOR. Od.* iii. 12, 10. *Celer alto latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum.*]

² *Jusjurandum.* This was in writing, and had the seals and signatures of the leading conspirators annexed. (*SALL. Cat.* 44.)

³ *L. Cassio.* Competitor with Cicero for the consulship. As regards the proper names mentioned in this sentence, consult Historical Index.

⁴ *Pedestres sibi copias, &c.* "That infantry forces would not be wanting to them," i. e. that they would be joined, when they had crossed the Alps, by a sufficient number of infantry.

⁵ *Sibi confirmasse, &c.* "Had assured them, that, in accordance with the Sibylline predictions, and the answers of the diviners, he was the third member of the Cornelian line, unto whom it was fated that the sovereignty of this city and the whole empire should come." The Sibylline prediction alluded to was as follows, that "C C C would reign at Rome." These three capitals were thought to denote three Cornelii. As regards the Sibylline oracles, consult Historical Index, s. v. *Sibyl.*

⁶ *Tertium illum Cornelium.* The pronoun *illum* has here the force of the Greek article. The full name of Lentulus was Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura. By this *nomen* therefore he belonged to the *gens Cornelia*, the Cornelian line, clan, or house. There appears to have been no relationship between the different members of a Roman house or *gens*. It bore this latter name only from its political union. The Cornelii, as a *gens*, had common religious rites; but we are not, on that account, to assume that an original kindred existed between, for example, the Scipios and the Syllas. The analogy of the Athenian constitution confirms this opinion. NIEBUHR, *Rom. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 270, 276, *Cambridge transl.*

⁷ *Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse.* Both Cinna and Sylla were Cornelii. Consult Historical Index, and compare the words of PLUTARCH, (*Vit. Cic.* 17), εἰμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τρεῖς τυράννους ὧν δύο μὲν ἤδη πεπληρωκέναι τὸ χρεών, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ λοιπὴ κερνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ. Consult also SALLUST (*Cat.* 47).

⁸ *Fatalem esse.* "Was destined." Compare TIBULLUS (1, 3, 53),

illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse: ⁷ Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse: eundemque dixisse, ⁸ fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus ⁹ post virginum absolutionem, ¹⁰ post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis, cædem ¹¹ Sa-

"Quod si fatales jam nunc explevimus annos."—*Qui esset.* "Since it was." Compare note 3, page 76.

⁹ *Post virginum absolutionem.* The names of the two Vestal virgins here alluded to were Marcia and Licinia. They were accused of having violated the vow by which the members of this order were bound to perpetual chastity, which in the case of Vestals was called *incestus*, or unhallowed intercourse. The whole matter is clearly set forth in the following comment of Asconius on the oration for Milo (c. 12, § 32), which Weiske first adduced in illustration of this passage: "*Ob severitatem (quam Cassius in judicio ostenderat) quo tempore Sex. Perducaus, tribunus plebis, criminatus est L. Metellum, pontificem maximum, totumque collegium pontificum male judicasse de incestu virginum vestalium quod unam modo Æmiliam damnaverat, absolverat autem duas, Marciam et Liciniam, populus hunc Cassium creavit, qui de eisdem virginibus quareret: isque et utrasque illas et præterea complures alias, nimia, ut existimatio est, asperitate usus, damnavit.*" [This remarkable error of all preceding commentators is corrected by Orelli. The trial over which L. Cassius Longinus presided took place A.U.C. 640, and in it the virgins were *condemned*, not acquitted. The trial alluded to by Cicero happened in 681 (*decimus annus post absolutionem virginum*); it must then have been the trial mentioned in *Brut.* c. 67. M. Pupius Piso, *cum satis florisset adolescens, nemo haberi est ceptus haberi postea. Deinde ex virginum judicio magnam laudem est adeptus.*]

¹⁰ *Post Capitolii autem incensionem.* The burning of the capitol here alluded to took place A.U.C. 670, in the consulship of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus. The building had stood 415 years. (SIGON. *Fast. Cons.* p. 438, *ed. Oxon.*) The conflagration was owing to the carelessness of the keepers, and was supposed to portend some great evil. The Roman capitol was burnt three several times. First, A.U.C. 670, when it was rebuilt by Sylla, and dedicated by Catulus, (A.U.C. 675). A second time, A.D. 70, by the soldiers of Vitellius, when it was rebuilt by Vespasian; and a third time, at the death of the latter. It was restored by Domitian, his son, with greater magnificence than ever.

¹¹ *Saturnalibus.* "During the Saturnalia." The Saturnalia or festival of Saturn was the most celebrated in the Roman Calendar. It took place in the month of December, beginning on the 17th, and lasting for several days. At first it was for one day, afterwards for three, (which was the case in Cicero's time,) and by the order of Caligula for five days. During its continuance, all orders were devoted to mirth and feasting, friends sent presents to one another, and the slaves were entertained, and even waited upon, by their masters. The licence allowed at this

turnalibus fieri, atque urbem incendi placeret; Cethegum id longum ¹ videri.

V. Ac, ²ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethegi ³signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus. Præscriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese, ⁴quæ eorum legatis confirmasset, esse facturum: orare, ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paullo ante aliquid ⁵tamen de gladiis ac siciis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset, dixissetque, se semper ⁶bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, ⁷recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus, repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius, ⁸cognovit signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Len-

festival seemed to the conspirators to afford a favourable opportunity for executing their murderous design. [*Apud majores nostros Saturnalis die uno finiebantur, qui erat a. d. xiv. Kal. Jan. (19th Dec.) Sed postquam C. Cæsar huic mensi duos addidit dies, sexto decimo (17th Decr.) cæpta celebrari.*—MACROB. *Saturn.* 1, 10].

¹ *Videri.* The construction is here slightly changed, which is not unusual in Cicero. Compare *Cat.* 4, 3. Some editions have *videretur*, to which Ernesti inclines. But the emendation is unnecessary.

² *Ne longum sit.* "Not to be tedious."—*Tabellas.* "The letters." The term *tabellæ* refers to the peculiar form and nature of these letters, they being written on "tablets" covered with wax. Compare note 10, page 77.

³ *Signum.* "His seal."—*Cognovit.* "He acknowledged it to be his."—*Nos linum incidimus.* "We cut the string," i. e. open the letter. Compare note 2, page 78.—[*Ipsius manu.* For men of rank at Rome, on ordinary occasions, employed amanuenses.—MACKAY.]

⁴ *Quæ eorum legatis confirmasset.* "What he had assured their ambassadors he would."—*Recepissent.* "Had taken upon themselves to promise." [This is undoubtedly the proper way to interpret *sibi*. Mackay refers *sibi* to Cethegus.]

⁵ *Tamen.* We have recalled this particle with Beck, Döring, and Schütz, as required by the context. It is omitted by Ernesti. [*Tamen* is often used although no adversative particle precedes. Cf. *de Off.* iii. 7, 33.]

⁶ *Bonorum ferramentorum studiosum.* "Fond of good arms." *Ferramentum* is properly any instrument of iron, a rod, tool, &c. The use of the term, on this occasion, by Cethegus, may have been intended as a species of witticism, paltry enough it must be confessed, for the purpose of hiding his agitation and assuming an air of composure.

⁷ *Recitatis literis, &c.* "When the letter had been read, dispirited and confounded, convicted by the force of conscience, became all of a sudden silent."

tulo; et quæsiui, ⁹ cognosceretne signum? Annuit. Est vero, inquam, signum notum, imago avi tui, ¹⁰ clarissimi viri, qui amavit ¹¹ unice patriam et cives suos; quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit. ¹² Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque literæ: si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem ¹³ negavit: post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit: quæsiuit a Gallis, ¹⁴ quid sibi esset cum iis: quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Vulturcio: qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum, quotiesque venissent, quæsissetque ab eo, ¹⁵ nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus: tum ille subito, ¹⁶ scelere demens, quanta vis conscientiæ esset, ostendit. Nam, cum id posset infitiri, repente præter opinionem omnium confessus est. ¹⁷ Ita eum non modo in-

⁸ *Cognovit signum et manum suam.* "Acknowledged his seal and hand-writing."—*Tabellæ.* "His letter."—*Sententiam.* "Purport."—*Confessus est.* "He confessed that it was his."

⁹ *Cognosceretne signum.* "Whether he knew the seal."—*Annuvit.* "He made a sign with his head in the affirmative."—*Est vero.* "It is indeed." *Vero* is here equivalent to *sane*, or *profecto*.

¹⁰ *Clarissimi viri.* The ancients had miniatures of themselves or ancestors on their seals. The grandfather of Lentulus, here alluded to, had been *princeps senatus* in his day, and had also received a wound, while combating on the side of the patricians against the followers of Caius Gracchus.

¹¹ *Unice.* "Dearly," i. e. as the *one sole* object of all his affections.—*etiam muta.* "Even though voiceless."

¹² *Leguntur eadem ratione, &c.* "The letter itself, which was addressed to the senate and people of the Allobroges, and of the same tenor with the other two, is then read."

¹³ *Negavit.* "Declined the offer." Equivalent to *negavit se usurum se facta sibi dicendi potestate.*—*Surrexit.* All who addressed the senate had to rise, unless they merely expressed their assent to a speaker who had preceded them.

¹⁴ *Quid sibi esset cum iis.* "What he ever had to do with them."—*Per quem illi, &c.* "And when they had told him briefly and firmly in reply."—*Per quem.* Namely, Umbrenus. (SALL. *Cat.* 40.)

¹⁵ *Nihilne secum, &c.* "Whether he had never spoken with them concerning the Sibylline predictions." Compare note 5, page 80.

¹⁶ *Scelere demens.* "Deprived of all judgment by a sense of guilt." *Immentia*, denotes the total and continued absence of reason; *dementia*, the want of judgment on particular occasions.

¹⁷ *Ita.* "To such a degree."—*Ingenium illud, &c.* "That ability of mind, and that experience in public speaking for which he was always distinguished." Cicero (*Brut.* 64) ranks Lentulus among the equals of

genium illud, et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam, ¹ propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi, impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Vulturcius vero subito proferri literas atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi ² vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. ³ Erant autem scriptæ sine nomine, sed ita: "Qui sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura, ut vir sis, et cogita, ⁴ quem in locum sis progressus, et vide, quid jam tibi sit necesse. Et cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, ⁵ etiam infimorum." Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere cœpisset, ad extremum

Hortensius: and on another occasion (*ibid.* 66) says of him: "*Neque multo secus P. Lentulus, cujus et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tangebatur formæ dignitas, corporis motus plenus artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo. Sic in hoc nihil præter actionem fuit.*"

¹ *Propter vim sceleris*, &c. "From the enormity of his guilt." *Manifesti atque deprehensi*, by hendiadys for *manifesto deprehensi*.—*Impudentia*. "That effrontery."

² *Vehementissime perturbatus*. "Though very violently agitated." As if *quamvis* were expressed; and hence the presence of *tamen*, "still," in the succeeding clause.

³ *Erant autem*, &c. "Now it was written without any name, but to the following purport." The terms in this letter do not exactly agree with SALLUST (*Cat.* 44). The one in the text probably is the more correct transcript. [The letter in Sallust runs thus: "*Qui sim, ex quo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis et memineris te virum esse: consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.*"]

⁴ *Quem in locum sis progressus*. "Into what a situation you have advanced," i. e. how far by going to the camp of Mallius, you have declared your real intentions. [Rather, an allusion to his being declared a public enemy, and this corresponds to Sallust's phrase, *in quanta calamitate sis*.]

⁵ *Etiam infimorum*. "Even of the lowest." Meaning the slaves. Sallust has, "*auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.*" [Cf. *Cic. de Off.* 1, 13. *Est autem infima fortuna servorum.*]

⁶ *Insimulabant*. "Alleged against him." Donatus makes this verb have the meaning of to frame a charge against another, whether it be true or false. Thus, "*Insimulare est crimen ingerere. Insimulatio est et falsi et veri criminis incusatio.*" (*Ad Terent. Phorm.* 2, 3, 12.) See also Festus: "*Insimulare, crimen in aliquem confingere.*"

⁷ *Cum illa*, &c. "Although the following appeared to be most manifest indications and proofs of guilt."—*Tum multo*, &c. "Still these seemed far more convincing, their changing colour, the expression of their eyes, their look, their silence."

⁸ *Sic enim obstupuerant*. "For so astounded were they."—*Sic fortis*

nihil ex iis, quæ Galli ⁶ insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, ⁷ cum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio; tum multo illa certiora, color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas. ⁸ Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed ipsi a se viderentur.

VI. INDICIIS ⁹ expositis atque ¹⁰ editis, Quirites, senatum consului, ¹¹ de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt ¹² a principibus ¹³ acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est consecutus. Et quoniam nondum est ¹⁴ perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis,

nonnunquam, &c. "They from time to time exchanged such stolen glances with each other, as to appear no longer to be informed against by others, but to be informing against themselves."

⁹ *Expositis atque editis.* "Being unfolded and made known." *Expositis* is here used for *explicatis*. Compare *Orat.* 11: "*Difficillimum est formam exponere optimi.*"

¹⁰ [*Editis.* Cicero had nominated four persons, Corconius (Prætor), Messala, Nigidius, and App. Claudius, to write down the interrogatories and answers. He also took care that true intelligence should be published. "*Indicium in tabulas publicas relatum non continui domi, sed describi ab omnibus librariis, dividi passim et pervulgari, atque edi populo Romano imperavi, divisi toti Italiæ, emisi in omnes provincias.*"—SULLA, § 15.]

¹¹ *De summa re publica.* "For the safety of the republic at large." *Summus* is elegantly joined to nouns for the purpose of denoting that on which the whole thing indicated by the latter depends. Thus *summa res publica* is the public safety and every thing on which it depends. Compare *Cat.* 1, 5: "*Summa salus periclitatur.*"

¹² *A principibus.* "By the leading men." The *princeps senatus* was always asked his opinion first, unless consuls elect were present, who had on such occasions the preference. After these had expressed their sentiments, the *consulares*, or men of consular rank, were asked, and after them the other senators, according to the offices they had filled, or were then filling. Sometimes, with the exception of the *princeps senatus*, and the consuls elect, no regular order was observed. The *principes*, on the present occasion, were they who had the right of expressing their opinion first, and who in that sense might be called leading men.

¹³ *Acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ.* "Opinions full of spirit and firmness."—*Sine ulla varietate.* "Without a dissenting voice." Literally, "without any diversity of sentiment."

¹⁴ *Perscriptum.* "Written out," or engrossed. The decrees of the senate were written; or, more correctly speaking, engraved on tablets of brass. So that *perscriptum* is here in fact equivalent to *cere incisum*. [When written out clearly, they were deposited in the Treasury.]

Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. Primum¹ gratiæ verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, cor providentia mea, res publica periculis sit maximis libe deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomtinus prætores, quod e opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure lauda atque etiam² viro forti, collegæ meo, laus impertitur, eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, ³a s rei publicæ consiliis removisset. Atque ita censueru P. Lentulus, ⁴cum se prætura abdicasset, ⁵in custc traderetur: [itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statiliu Gabinius, qui omnes præsentés erant, in custodiam t rentur:] atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassiun

¹ *Mihi gratiæ, &c.* "Thanks are rendered me in the fullest te —*Quod eorum opera, &c.* "Because I found in them vigorou faithful co-operation."

² *Viro forti.* Referring to C. Antonius, his colleague in the c ship, who had been on friendly terms with Catiline, but was o ver by Cicero to the cause of the republic. [A difficulty is started by AHRENS: "A very curious compliment indeed to An for this species of praise would indicate not only that he was pr the whole conspiracy, but even a confederate; besides, from the of this passage it would appear that Antony was present, yet t contradicted by fact, for he seems to have already left the city f purpose of pursuing Catiline." To this we reply, that Cicero is n mentioning the fact that the senate did commend Antony, but not give the precise words of their decree, the words *quod eos . . visset* being Cicero's own interpretation of the motives which gave to the decree.]

³ *A suis et rei publicæ consiliis.* "From his own and the couns the republic." Antonius is here praised for not having aided his f friends, the conspirators, with his private advice, and for not h imparted to them any of the measures secretly taken by his coll and the senate for the suppression of the conspiracy.

⁴ *Cum se prætura abdicasset.* "After he had abdicated the pr ship." No person at Rome could be punished while holding any o This seems to have arisen from the sacred character imparted greater or less degree, to all stations of magistracy, by the aus having been taken, and the pleasure of the gods as it were const before they were conferred. Hence the persons of magistrates deemed sacred, and they could not be given into custody until had laid down their office and become private individuals.

⁵ *In custodiam.* Not to prison, but into what was called *libere todia*. This was resorted to in the case of individuals of rank accused of any crime. They were either, as in the present inst given over to the care of distinguished persons, who thus be responsible for their appearance when it was required, or else

procuracionem incendendæ urbis depoposcerat : in M. Furium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributa, erat indicatum : in P. Furium, qui est ⁷ ex iis colonis, Fesulas L. Sulla deduxit : in Q. Manlium Chilonem, nam cum hoc Furio semper erat ⁸ in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus : in P. Umbrenum, ⁹libertinum hominem, primum Gallos ad Gabinium ¹⁰perductos esse constabat. Ne ea lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta ratione, tantaque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium ¹²novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica servata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Ne etiam ¹³supplicatio diis immortalibus, pro singulari

ed in the dwellings of the magistrates. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* The writer last referred to gives us the names of the individuals whose hands the conspirators were delivered. [The words from *et* down to *in custodiam traderentur* are omitted by Orelli from the text; they do not occur in the best MSS.—*In custodiam.* Cf. SALL. *Perlectis literis, cum prius omnes signa sua recognovissent, senatus est, uti abdicatione magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis* (εἰς ἀδεσμον φυλακήν, PLUTARCH, *Cic.* 19) *habeantur. Itaque* *in Lentulo Spintheri, &c.]*

procuracionem. "The task."—Cassius and the persons after-named probably not been then apprehended.

ex iis colonis. "One of those colonists." The MSS. and early editions read *coloniis* for *colonis*. This latter, however, is without any authority, the true lection, and is given as such by Aldus, R. Stephens, J. Schütz, and others. In adopting it, *quas*, which follows, must of course be changed to *quos*.

in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione. "In this tampering with the Allobroges."

libertinum hominem. "A freedman." The Roman writers use the word *libertinus* when designating a freedman generally, but *libertus* they name the master to whom he stands in the relation of a freedman : thus, *libertus Cæsaris*, but *ille erat libertinus*.

perductos. Purposely used instead of *deductos*, to convey the idea of being brought to Gabinius for corrupt purposes, i.e. for the ruin of the state. "*Inest enim verbo perducere notio nequitiae, nam meretrices dicuntur.*" (ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.*)

Neque ea lenitate, &c. "And, Romans, the senate exercised such lenity as to think," &c. *Atque* is here partly intensive.

Novem hominum, &c. [Of these nine but five were eventually put to death.]

Cf. *Cic. Sull.* 11, 33, *meis consiliis . . . Sine exercitu quinque milibus comprehensis atque confossis, incensione urbem, internecione cives, et Italiam, interitu rem publicam liberavi.* The conspirators put to death were Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius.]

vi posse. "Could be brought back to a sound state."

Supplicatio. "A thanksgiving." This took place, of course, in all

eorum merito, meo nomine decreta est, Quirites: quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam ¹ togato contigit: et hi decreta verbis est, "QUOD URBEM INCENDIIS, CÆDE CIVIS ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM." Quæ supplicatio si ceteris conferatur, Quirites, ² hoc intersit, quod ceteræ bene gesta, hæc una, conservata re publica, constituta est. ³ Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, ⁴ factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam ⁵ patefactus indicibus et confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus, non modo prætoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abstinuit: ⁶ ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, prætorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

the temples. Couches were spread in them for the gods, as if about a feast, and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon them around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. This was called a *Lectisternium*, (i.e. *lecti sternerantur*.) The author of the decree ordaining a *supplicatio* in the present instance was L. Cotta. (Cic. *Phil.* 2, 6,—14, 8.) Vide ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 258.

¹ *Togato*. "Arrayed in the robe of peace." A *supplicatio* had never before this been decreed except for some success in war.—The military cloak of the Romans was the *sagum*, short, fastened in front by a clasp and of a red colour.

² *Hoc intersit*. "Will be found to differ in this." The use of the subjunctive must be here noted, as indicating modesty, and less positive than the indicative would have been. Compare the Greek form of expression, τοῦτο διαφέρει αὖ.

³ *Atque illud*. Compare the language of Ernesti: "*Est forma concludendi loci bene Latina. Sic atque hæc dicta sunt, et similia.*"

⁴ *Factum atque transactum est*. A form borrowed either from the technicalities of the law, or from the language of the Roman sacrificial rites.

⁵ *Patefactus*. "Fully detected," [here used in the sense of *manifestus*.]—*Tamen magistratu, &c.* Cicero commends the wise caution of the senate in not punishing an individual while invested with an office of magistracy.

⁶ *Ut quæ religio, &c.* "In order that we, in punishing Publius Lentulus as a private individual, might be free from that religious scruple, which, however, had not prevented Caius Marius from putting to death Caius Glaucia, concerning whom nothing had been decreed in his name, while actually invested with the office of prætor." [*Religio = dubitatio, metus, STEINM.*] The elegant construction of *non fuerat C. Mario quo minus occideret, &c.*, must be noted by the student. Literal "had found no existence for C. Marius, (i.e. in the bosom of Marius) so that he might the less on that account put to death," [Arnold acutely remarks that the situation of Antonius when ordered

VII. NUNC, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissime belli nefarios duces ⁷ captos jam et comprehensos netis, existimare debetis omnes Catilinæ copias, omnes es atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis, concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam imo, Quirites, remoto Catilina, nec mihi esse P. Lentuli omnium, ¹⁰ nec L. Cassii adipēs, nec Cethegi furiosam teritatem pertimescendam. ¹¹ Ille erat unus timendus ex omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum mœnibus urbis continebatur. omnia norat, ¹² omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, illicitare poterat, audebat: ¹³ erat ei consilium ad facinustum: consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat. Jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac

inst Catiline, closely resembled that of Marius when forced by the senate to crush Glaucias.]

⁷ *Captos et comprehensos.* “Arrested and in custody.”—*Existimare debetis.* “You ought to rest assured.”—*His depulsis*, &c. “These dangers that threatened our city being now warded off.”

⁸ *Quem quidem ego*, &c. “When I was endeavouring to drive that individual from the city.” *Quem*, commencing a clause, is here equivalent to *illum*, referring to Catiline.

⁹ *Somnum.* “The drowsiness.” Equivalent to *somnolentiam*. Lentulus, although a man of talent, was remarkable for his indolent and luxurious habits. In principle he was a complete profligate. [For *nummum*, in several MSS. occurs the reading *somnium*, i.e. *somnium, quod istis Sibyllinis de Catilina et de suo imperio se comperisse dicebat.*]

¹⁰ *Nec L. Cassii adipēs.* “Nor the lazy corpulence of Lucius Cassius.” *leps* is literally “fat.” It is here equivalent to *corpus obesitate et iniquitate tardum et stolidum*, conveying the idea of laziness and dullness. The English expression, “fat-headed,” (if it be not from the French *fat*), is somewhat analogous. [Orelli retains *adipēs*, Ernesti reads *adipem*, but *numerus pluralis in hac formula usitator.*]

¹¹ *Ille.* Referring to Catiline.—*Sed tamdiu.* “But so long only.”

¹² *Omnium aditus tenebat.* [“He knew the means of access to all.” *tenebat*, i.e. *norat*. Cf. VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 291: *Sese interea. . . Tentaturum aditus, et quæ mollissima fandi Tempora.*]—*Appellare, tentare*, &c. “He was able, he dared, to address, sound, tamper with.” Heumann suspects *audebat* of being superfluous here, but it refers, in fact, to what comes immediately after, “*consilio neque lingua neque manus deerat.*”

¹³ *Erat ei consilium*, &c. “He had a cunning well fitted for the planning of crime, to that cunning neither tongue nor hand was wanting.” *Lingua* refers to Catiline’s powers of persuasion; *manus*, to his laborious perseverance, and his daring execution of what he had planned.

¹⁴ *Jam ad certas res*, &c. “Nay, too, he had particular persons selected and assigned for the accomplishment of particular objects, i.e.

descriptos habebat. [Neque vero, cum aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat.] ¹ Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: ² frigus, sitim, famem ferre, poterat. Hunc ego hominem, ³ tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam ⁴ in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem, (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites,) non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. ⁵ Non ille nobis Saturnalia constitueret, neque tanto ante exitii et fati diem rei publicæ denuntiavisset, ⁶ nec commisisset, ut signum, ut literæ suæ testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quæ nunc, illo absente, sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum unquam sit tam palam inventum, quam hæc in tota re publica conjuratio

each one had his distinct and allotted sphere of action. *Certos homines* in this passage is commonly rendered "trusty adherents," "men on whom he could rely," and this is certainly more in accordance with the general meaning of *certus*; but the presence of *certas res* in the same sentence seems naturally to call for the meaning we have given. Cicero, besides, elsewhere uses *certus* for the pronoun *quidam*. Thus *De Clar. Or.* c. 16: "*Habet certos sui studiosos, qui,*" &c., and *Pro Marcell.* 6: "*Insolentiam certorum hominum extimescere.*"

¹ *Nihil erat, quod, &c.* "There was nothing in which he himself did not engage, lend aid, watch, labour." *Occurro* here has the meaning of to hasten to lend aid, to arrive seasonably or in time, and rises in signification above *obeo*, which is employed in its primitive sense, "to come in contact with," (*ob*, "against," and *ire*, "to engage in.") Compare, as regards the meaning here assigned to *occurro*, *Plaut. Pseud.* 43: *Cic. Phil.* 1, 4, &c.

² *Frigus, sitim, &c.* Compare the account which Sallust gives of Catiline (c. 5), "*Corpus patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est.*"

³ *Tam acrem.* "So vigorous," i.e. so active in what regarded his own interests. Compare the explanation of DÖRING, "*acrius, quod ad expediat, perspicientem.*"—*Tam paratum.* "So prepared," i.e. prepared to act on every emergency. *Paratus* is often put, as in the present instance, without any thing expressed to which it may directly refer. Compare GRÆVIUS, *ad loc.*

⁴ *In perditis rebus.* "In a ruinous cause." Literally, "in the midst of ruined affairs."—*Domesticis insidiis.* "Secret plots," i.e. plots at home, or in the city, as opposed to the camp.

⁵ *Non ille nobis Saturnalia, &c.* "He would not have fixed upon the festival of Saturn for us," i.e. for our destruction. He would not have put off so long the day of execution. Consult note 11, p. 81.

⁶ *Nec commisisset, &c.* "Nor have risked, that his seal, his letters, such manifest proofs of guilt, should be seized."—[*In tota re publica*

nifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in
 æ ad hanc diem remansisset: quamquam, quoad fuit,
 nibus ejus consiliis ⁷occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut
 issime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque
 unquam, dum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis
 publicam, tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio, libera-
 aus.

VIII. QUAMQUAM hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me
 ministrata, ut deorum immortalium ⁸nutu atque consilio
 gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cum ⁹conjectura
 sequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum
 um gubernatio esse potuisse: tum vero ¹⁰ita præsentibus his
 poribus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos pæne
 alis videre possemus. ¹¹Nam, ut illa omittam, ¹²visas noc-

■ Orelli, instead of the vulgar reading *tanta in re publica conjuratio*,
 in *tota re publica* is opposed to *in privata domo*.]

Occurri atque obstiti. "I met and obstructed." The meaning of
occurri is here also, as in a previous passage, to arrive seasonably, and
 time for action, but this action is now of an opposing character, as
 rather denoted by the presence of *obstiti*.

Nutu atque consilio. "By the very will and design." *Nutus* is
 equivalent to *voluntas*, and has a figurative reference to the
 session of one's assent by *nodding* the head. Compare the well-
 known passage in HOMER (*Il.* 1, 528, *seqq.*), and the verb *κατανεύσαι*.

Conjectura consequi. ["Arrive at by putting the incidents to-
 gether," i. e. by comparing and examining the events.]—*Quod vix
 videtur*, &c. "Because the direction of affairs so important in their
 character, seems scarcely possible to have fallen within the range of
 human wisdom." By *tantarum rerum gubernatio* he means the piloting
 the vessel of the state amid the dangers by which it had just been
 surrounded.—[*Idque cum—tum vero*. "And as well we may arrive at
 conclusion by putting the circumstances together, as also more
 especially because the guidance," &c. *Cum, tum* followed by *vero*, gives
 her prominence and emphasis to the latter of two clauses. See
 PT, § 63.]

Ita præsentibus. "So manifestly." So immediately present.—*His
 oribus*. "During the present crisis."

Nam, ut illa omittam, &c. "For, that I may omit the following
 circumstances." Cicero passes over, with only a slight mention, these
 manifestations of the will of the gods, in order to dwell with more
 on the omen afforded by the erection of the statue.

Visas nocturno tempore, &c. These were meteoric appearances, con-
 sidered probably with the aurora borealis, and resembling burning
 comets.—*Ardoremque cæli*. "And the blazing of the sky." The
 omens here alluded to by Cicero displayed themselves during his
 consulship, and were interpreted as portending the conspiracy of Catiline.

turno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque cœli, ¹ ut fulminum jactus, ² ut terræ motus, cetera quæ, [quæ tam multis nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc,] quæ nunc fiunt, ³ canendi immortales viderentur: hoc certe, Quirites, quod prædicturus, neque prætermittendum, neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, ⁴ Cotta et Torquato consulibus, ⁵ complures in Capitolio res ⁶ de cœlo esse percussas cum ⁷ et simulacra deorum immortalium ⁸ depulsa sunt, statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et ⁹ legum æra liquefactæ.

The orator makes mention of them in his poem *De Consulatu*, a fragment of which has come down to us (*De Div.* 1, 11):—

*“Quid vero Phœbi fax tristis nuntia belli,
Quæ magnum ad culmen flammato ardore volabat,
Præcipites cœli partes, obitusque petisset,”* &c.

Compare the account of DIO CASSIUS (37, 25): λαμπάδες ἀνέκλινον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον. So also JULIUS OBSEQUENS (c. 122, p. 205, seqq. ed. Oudend.), in enumerating the prodigies which made their appearance at this period, speaks of a “*trabe ardenti occasu ad cælum extenta*,” which suits very well one of the aspects of the aurora borealis.

¹ *Ut fulminum jactus.* “Not to mention the hurling of thunderbolts.” Supply *omittam*.—The allusion is to thunder heard from a serene sky, which the ancients always regarded as a very special omen. Compare CIC. *de Div.* 1. c. :—

*“Aut cum terribili percussus fulmine civis
Luce serenanti vitalia lumina linquit.”*

So DIO CASSIUS (l. c.), in alluding to this same occasion, remarks κεραυνοὶ ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον; and JULIUS OBSEQUENS (l. c.), “*Fulmine pleraque decussa Sereno. Vargunteius Pompeius de cœlo exanimatus.*” Compare HORACE, *Od.* 1, 34, 5.

² *Ut terræ motus.* So DIO CASSIUS (l. c.) remarks: καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰσχυρῶς ἐσειέσθη, and JULIUS OBSEQUENS (l. c.), “*Terræ motu Spoletum totum concussum, et quædam corruerunt.*”

³ *Canere.* “To foretell;” a term borrowed from the language of prophecy, and deriving its meaning in the present instance from the early custom of predicting in verse.—*Prætermittimus ea, quæ ne attingimus quidem: relinquimus jam suscepta.* MURET. [Comp. *de Off.* iii. 2. *Negant eum locum a Panætio prætermisum, sed consulto relictum.*]

⁴ *Cotta et Torquato consulibus.* Two years previously.

⁵ *Complures res.* The common text has *turres* in place of *res*, but this latter reading is adopted by Ernesti, Schütz, and others. Among the objects afterward enumerated as struck with lightning, towers are not named. Neither is there any mention made of them in the *verba* of Cicero, where he describes the events of his consulship. They were, in fact, no towers in the Capitol. [Steinmetz retains *turres*;

est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus :
 inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem,
 ut lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem
 re, cum aruspices "ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes
 incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac do-
 um, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropin-
 dixerunt, nisi dii immortales, omni ratione placati,
 numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum re-

*el arces etiam cædes magnificas in altum exstructas dici, pluribus
 docuerat Broukhous."*] Böttiger also assents to the propriety
 sti's emendation (which is sanctioned besides by several MSS.)
Magazin für öffentlichen Schulen und Schullehrer, vol. ii. p. 2.

celo. "From heaven," i. e., with lightning.

lacra deorum, &c. Compare Cic. l. c. "*Et divum simulacra
 fulminis ardor.*" Not only the statue of Jupiter, but the
 also of other deities were struck on this occasion. Compare
 sius, *καὶ ἀγάλμα τὰ ἄλλα τε, καὶ Διὸς, ἐπὶ κίονος ἰδρυμένον.*

ilse sunt. "Were dislodged from their pedestals."—*Statuæ
 hominum.* Cicero, in the verses already alluded to, makes
 of the statue of Natta, one of the Pinarii, a priest of Hercules.
in æra liquefacta. "The brazen tables of the laws were

The laws were engraven on brazen tablets, which were kept
 apitol.—[*Tactus, afflatus leviter fulmine.*—STEIN.]

in inauratum, &c. "A gilded image of whom you remember
 he Capitol, small of size, and sucking, opening its lips to the
 he wolf." This group was thrown down from its base. Com-
 language of CICERO, l. c. :—

"*Hic silvestris erat, Romani nominis, altrix,
 Martia; quæ parvos Mavortis semine natos
 Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat ;
 Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
 Concidit, atque avulsa pedum vestigia liquit.*"

in inauratum very probably refers to a statue or image of bronze
 regards the mode of representing Romulus and Remus, here
 to, consult RASCHE, *Lex. Rei Num.* (vol. ii. pp. 1886—1890.)

tota Etruria. The Romans derived all their knowledge of
 n from Etruria. This became, of course, a very useful engine
 with the patricians, as it augmented the subservience of the
 e to those who claimed the exclusive knowledge of the
 by which the gods might be propitiated. Compare Cic. *de*
 l.

numine prope fata, &c. "Should by their interposition almost
 the fates themselves." According to the pagan creed, the
 f fate were either conditional or unconditional. The former
 altered and softened down, the latter could not be changed,
 n. 3, 76,) but merely delayed or put off for a season. (*Æn.*
 and 7, 315.)

sponsis tunc et ¹ ludi per decem dies facti sunt, ne ulla, quæ ² ad placandos deos pertineret, pretermis-
sæque userunt, simulacrum Jovis facere ³ majus
excelso collocare, et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad ori-
convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum
videtis, solis ortum, et forum curiamque conspiceret,
ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salutem urbi
imperii ⁴ illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Roma
spici possent. Atque illud ita collocandum consu-
⁵ locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque
superioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum
collocaretur.

IX. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, ⁷ tam aversus
tam præceps, tam mente captus, qui neget, hæc omnia
videmus, præcipueque hanc urbem, deorum immota
nutu atque potestate administrari? Etenim cum es-
set responsum, cædes, incendia, interitumque rei publicæ
parari, ⁸ et ea per cives; quæ tum propter magnitudinem

¹ *Ludi*. Public games and scenic exhibitions were the usual
of propitiating the gods. Compare LIVY, 7, 2: "*Ludi quoque
inter alia celestis iræ placamina instituti dicuntur.*"

² *Ad placandos deos*. Most MSS. have *placandos*, some *pla-*
Ernesti and Orelli give the former the preference. The gerundive,
ever, is defended by Beck, and is more direct than the participle
ticipale or gerundive would have been.

³ *Majus*. "Larger than the former one."—*Quod videtis*.
you now see erected."

⁴ *Illustrarentur*. "Would be brought so clearly to light."
illud, &c. "Now the consuls of that year made arrangements
this statue placed in the manner directed." *Locare* is "to
for," or, "make arrangements," to have a thing done; *conducere*
contract to do a thing." The persons who undertook any such
employment were called *redemptores*. The verbs *suscipere* and
are also employed in the sense of *conducere*, especially the latter.

⁵ *Locaverunt*. "Contracted for its being so placed." Some
read *collocaverunt*, but incorrectly. The true lection was first
gested by Gruter, and adopted by Grævius, whom Ernesti and
follow.

⁶ *Superioribus consulibus*. L. Cæsar and C. Figulus.—A not
ferring to himself and C. Antonius his colleague in the consulship.

⁷ *Tam aversus a vero*. "So great an enemy to the truth."
expression borrowed from the custom of showing aversion by
away from an object.—*Tam præceps*. "So inconsiderate."—*Tam
captus*. "So blind." So deprived of all mental vision.

⁸ *Et ea*. "And that too." The Greek usage is similar.

lerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo itata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensis. ⁹ Illud vero nonne ita præsens est, ut nutu Jovis timi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die ane per forum meo jussu et conjurati, et ¹¹ eorum indices, ædem Concordiæ ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum ueretur? Quo collocato, atque ad vos senatumque con- to, omnia et senatus et vos, quæ erant contra salutem ium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam ore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum ris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum ¹² templis e delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. ibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam, et sim ferendus. ¹⁴ Ille, ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capito- ille hæc templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus ¹⁵ hanc mentem, ites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad hæc tanta indicia mi. ¹⁶ Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio sic a Len-

Et ea per cives. [This is the reading of the best MSS. Some *arditis civibus.*]

vero, &c. "Is not the following circumstance, however, so in its character as to seem," &c. The repetition of *ut* in this is inelegant. Ernesti makes the first *ut* equivalent in some *quod*, but it is more than probable, as Döring remarks, that words have fallen out between *videatur* and the second *ut*.

Anne per forum, &c. This Boettiger concludes was all a matter of ious arrangements on the part of Cicero, and intended to produce pression upon the superstitious feelings of the populace.

Forum indices. The Allobroges and Vulturcius.—*In ædem Con-* z. This temple stood in the immediate vicinity of the forum, at nd of the Capitoline hill. (DONAT. *de Rom. Vet.* lib. 2, c. 8, l.)

Templis atque delubris. Consult note 10, page 73.—*Funestos ac ios ignes.* "Destructive and unhallowed fires."

Quibus ego, &c. "Were I to say that it was I who successfully ed them," i. e. who defeated their attempts.

Ille, ille Jupiter restitit. "Yon Jupiter, yon Jupiter defeated their pta." *Ille* denotes the gesture of the orator, pointing to the r-erected statue. The pronoun *ille*, in the rest of the sentence, is rendered by the simple pronoun "he," with an emphasis resting it.

Hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi. "Have I formed this design vill," i. e. of exposing to view the plans of wicked men.

Jam vero, &c. The true reading of this passage is doubtful. on inserted *suscepta* after *hostibus*, on the suggestion of Ernesti, sing that otherwise *sollicitatio* would have no verb to which it

tulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus, tanta res [tam dementer] credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissæque literæ nunquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ¹ut homines Galli, ex civitate male pacata, quæ gens una restat, quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur, ²spem imperii et rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent, vestramque salutem ³suis opibus anteponerent; id non divinitus factum esse putatis? ⁴præsertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superarent?

X. QUAMOBREM, Quirites, quoniam ⁵ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, ⁶celebratote illos dies cum conjugi-

can be referred. [But there is no occasion for any alteration in the text. We may simply supply *commissa esset* to the first clause from the second; the construction will then run thus, *Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio—tanta, res tam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris—nunquam esset commissæ nisi a Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus, literæque nunquam essent commissæ nisi, &c.*; i. e. That tampering with the Allobroges,—so important a matter so madly entrusted to those who were both strangers and enemies—would never have been risked by Lentulus and our other foes within the walls, &c.]

¹ *Ut homines Galli, &c.* Supply before *ut* the words *anne putandum est*, or something equivalent. “Is it not to be imagined that the fact of Gauls,” &c.—*Male pacata.* “Hardly brought to subjection.”

² *Spem imperii, &c.* “The hope of dominion and of the most extensive aggrandizement.”—*A patriciis hominibus.* Alluding to Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators.

³ *Suis opibus.* “To their own interest.”—*Id non, &c.* The common text has *nonne*. We have given *non* with Grævius, on MS. authority—*Divinitus.* “By the interposition of Heaven.”

⁴ *Præsertim qui nos, &c.* “Especially since they might have overcome us, not by fighting, but by remaining silent,” i. e. by keeping the secret of the conspiracy. *Superarent* is here equivalent to *superare potuissent*, and the subjunctive mood is required by the relative, which is here the same as *quum illi*. The common text has *superare potuerunt*.

⁵ *Ad omnia pulvinaria.* “At all the shrines.” The primitive meaning of this term is “a cushion,” or “pillow,” for a couch. It is then taken to denote the couch itself: and finally it signifies, from peculiar custom among the Romans, a “shrine” of the gods. When thanksgiving was decreed by the senate, what was called a *Lectisternium* took place, couches being spread for the gods, as if about a feast, and their statues being taken down from their pedestals and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. Hence the meaning attached to *pulvinaria* in the text. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. and SCHÜTZ, *Ind. Lat.* s. v.

bus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sæpe honores diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine cæde, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione, ⁷ togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed has, quas vosmet ipsi meministis et vidistis. ⁸ L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, ⁹ custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. ¹⁰ Cn. Octavius, consul, armis expulit ex urbe collegam suum: ¹¹ omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario;

⁶ *Celebratote.* Boys crowned with garlands, virgins, and matrons, moved in procession through the streets, singing hymns in honour of the gods.—*Illos dies.* A thanksgiving often, as in the present instance, lasted for several days.

⁷ *Togati, me uno togato, &c.* “Wearing the toga, with me alone, likewise wearing it, for your leader and commander.” Consult note 1, page 88.

⁸ *L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit.* [Publius Sulpicius, *Trib. Pop.* when Sulla, who had been appointed to conduct the war in Asia against Mithridates, was delayed at Nola) proposed several laws; among others, 1. That all exiles should be restored. 2. That new citizens and the Libertini should be enrolled among all the tribes. . And that Marius should be chosen to conduct the war against Mithridates. When the consuls opposed him, he resisted their attempts with violence. In the fray the son of the consul Q. Pompeius Rufus, and son-in-law of Sulla, was slain. At once Sulla hastened back to Rome, in whose streets a conflict ensued, which ended in the expulsion of the Marian party. Sulpicius was dragged from his villa and slain by the knights in the Laurentine marshes. Marius fled to Minturnæ, A.U.C. 666.]

⁹ *Custodem hujus urbis.* “The preserver of this city.” Alluding to his victories over the Cimbri and Teutones.

¹⁰ *Cn. Octavius.* [In A.U.C. 667, when L. Cornelius Cinna proposed a law that all new citizens should give their votes in all the tribes, country as well as city, and endeavoured to carry the measure by force of arms, Cneius Octavius burst with a troop of men into the forum, expelled Cinna from the city, and deposed him from his office. In this affray not less than 10,000 of the newly enrolled citizens were slain.]

¹¹ *Omnis hic locus.* The forum, where the contending factions had met in conflict, and much blood had been spilt.—*Redundavit.* This verb has here two meanings, one for *acervis corporum*, (“was filled,”) and another for *sanguine civium*, (“flowed.”) Grammarians call this construction a *zeugma*.

tum vero, ¹ clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriæ crudelitatem postea Sulla: ne dici quidem opus est, ² quanta deminutione civium, et quanta calamitate rei publicæ. Dissensit ³ M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo; attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicæ luctum, quam ceterorum. ⁴ Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, erant hujusmodi Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam ⁵ pertinerent: (non ⁶ illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes: neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt;) atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium rei publicæ ⁷ quæsit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordia, sed internecione civium adjudicatæ sint. In hoc autem mo

¹ *Clarissimis viris.* [When Cinna and Marius, accompanied by Carbo and Sertorius were received into Rome, they permitted their followers to plunder it as if it were taken by storm. Cn. Octavius, the consul, and many of the very highest nobility being slain, among them M. Antonius the celebrated orator and grandfather of the Triumvir, A.U.C. 667, 668.] Cicero refers to Q. Catulus, Scaevola, and the orators Crassus, Antonius, and C. Cæsar.

² *Quanta deminutione civium.* If we may credit so declamatory a writer as Florus, the number slain on this occasion exceeded seventy thousand. (3, 21, 24.) [See *Pro Rosc.* 32.]

³ *M. Lepidus.* Lepidus and his colleague Catulus had at first a warm contest about the interment of Sylla, the former endeavouring to prevent his being buried in the Campus Martius. Afterwards, placing himself at the head of the Marian faction, he strove to procure the abolition of all Sylla's public acts, and was driven out in consequence by Catulus, after the two parties had come into open and violent collision.

⁴ *Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, &c.* Matthiæ adopts the emendation proposed by Ernesti, throwing out the words *erant hujusmodi* before *Quirites*, introducing a parenthesis from *non illi* to *voluerunt*, and making *atque illæ tamen* a repetition from the first clause. *Tamen*, in such constructions, after a parenthesis, has the force of *inquam*, or *igitur*. Consult ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. [Anthon followed Matthiæ; we have restored the old reading with Steinmetz, Madvig, and Orelli.]

⁵ *Pertinerent.* The subjunctive is here employed after the relative, as stating, not an assertion of Cicero's, but of the individual actors themselves, as it had come down to his times. Hence *quæ pertinerent* may be rendered, "which tended as was alleged." After this comes the declaration of the orator himself, based upon this allegation, when the indicative is employed.

⁶ *Illi.* "The actors in those scenes."—*Esse principes.* "To be the leading men."—*Hanc urbem conflagrare.* "That this city should be wrapt in flames."—*Florere.* "Should rule." This meaning is derived

post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum ⁸nulla unquam barbaria ⁹cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex hæc fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, et Cassio, ¹⁰constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur; ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini: et cum hostes vestri ¹¹tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitæ cædi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma ¹²obire non potuisset: et urbem, et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. QUIBUS ¹³pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulabo, præterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos

from the intermediate one of excelling, which *floreo* often has in Cicero and other writers.

⁷ *Quæsit.* "Had in view."—*Ut non reconciliatione concordie, &c.* "That they were terminated, not by the reconciliation which concord is wont to bring, but by the massacre of citizens," i. e. not by reconciliation and concord, but by the loss of many lives.—Cicero's meaning, as it is carried out in the succeeding clause, is this: that the civil dissensions enumerated by him, though they had in view merely a change of affairs, were nevertheless only terminated after much bloodshed; whereas the conspiracy of Catiline, which aimed at the total subversion of the government, and the destruction of all, had been brought to an end by him without the loss of any lives on the part of his fellow citizens.—[*Dijudicatæ sint.* "Were decided." A word transferred from legal to military proceedings.]

⁸ *Nulla barbaria.* "No barbarian land." *Barbaria* means any territory inhabited by barbarians. The Romans employed the term in general to denote any country except Greece and Italy. Compare Cic. *de Fin.* 2, 25: "*A quo non solum Græcia et Italia, sed etiam omnis barbaria commota est.*"

⁹ *Cum sua gente.* "With its own race."

¹⁰ *Constituta fuit.* "Was laid down."—*Salva urbe.* "In case the city were safe."

¹¹ *Tantum civium, &c.* "That only so many citizens would survive, as should remain after boundless massacre." Literally, "as many as should have withstood boundless massacre." Burmann, *ad Anthol. Lat.* vol. ii. p. 180, suggests *infinita e cæde* in place of *infinitæ cædi*. In this case, *restitisset* would come from *restare*, and the literal meaning would be the same with what we have first given, "should remain after," &c. The common reading, however, conveys the same sense and is better in point of Latinity.

¹² *Obire non potuisset.* "Might not have been able to reach."

¹³ *Pro.* "In return for."—*Rebus.* "Services."—*Insigne honoris.*

meos, omnia ¹ ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. ² Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejusmodi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, ³ nostræ res alentur, sermonibus crescent, literarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: ⁴ eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, et ad salutem urbis, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagatam: unoque tempore in hac re publica ⁵ duos cives exstitisse, ⁶ quorum alter fines vestri imperii, non terræ, sed cœli regionibus terminaret; alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. SED, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi non

"Mark of honour." As, for example, a triumph. Thus, a little after, he remarks, "*in animis vestris omnes triumphos meos*," &c.

¹ *Ornamenta honoris*. "Badges of honour."—*Laudis insignia*. "The trophies of my renown."

² *Nihil mutum*. "No mute memorial," as, for example, a statue.

³ *Nostræ res alentur*. "My actions will be fostered."—*Sermonibus*. "In your daily converse."—*Literarum monumentis*, &c. "They will become identified, through lapse of time, with, and will be rendered more and more enduring by, your national annals." *Inveterasco* means literally, "to grow old in," "to gather strength by age or time," "to become deeply rooted," &c. Compare, as regards the force of *monumentis* in this passage, *Pro Sext.* 48: "*Hæc monumentis annalium mandantur, posteritati propagantur*."

⁴ *Eandemque diem*, &c. [The whole difficulty of this passage depends on the meaning given to *propagatam*. From the notion of producing by layers, *propagare* takes that of "continuing" for a period. Thus we have *propagatur Provinciæ* (*Att.* viii. 3) used of him who retains a person in the government of a province, and keeps him from giving it up at the usual time. Comp. *Cat.* 2, § 11, *non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa sæcula propagavit rei publicæ*. Cicero wishes to impress on his auditory that a period of anarchy and confusion has been purposely continued by fate for two things; first, to save the republic; and, secondly, to record his consulship:—it has been continued to save the city, for had the conspiracy burst out sooner there would have remained still the *seminarium Catilinarium* in the city, but by being continued till their guilt had come to a head, and until Cicero was consul, it would be crushed at once and for ever. Compare *1 Cat.* xiii. *init.* *Etenim jamdiu in his periculis conjurationis et insidiis versamur; sed, nescio quo pacto, omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Etenim si P. Lentulus secum nomen, inductus a vatibus fatale ad perniciem populi Romani fore putavit, cur ego non lætor meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicæ prope fatalem exstitisse*. But you will say, how could Cicero hope that such a period would be *eternal*? Simply because such a period, although one of danger and anarchy, was really beneficial to the state, inasmuch as the concealed and smothering treason of the guilty

⁷eadem est fortuna atque conditio, quæ illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt; quod mihi cum iis vivendum sit, quos vici ac subegi; illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, ⁸si ceteris recte facta sua prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. ⁹Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam ¹⁰ab istis noceri potest. Magnum enim est ¹¹in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est: magna in re publica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet: magna vis conscientiæ, quam qui negligent, cum me violare

was gradually coming to a head, and in the outbreak would be crushed. Translate, then, "And my opinion is, that this same propitious period, one which I hope now will last for ever, has been purposely continued so long by fate, in order to preserve the city and to record my consulship, (and I understand this period has been continued so long, by fate) that at the same moment," &c. The above is mainly Steinmetz's explanation. Other commentators alter the text; Grævius, Beck, &c., give *Eandemque diem intelligo, et ad salutem urbis, quam spero æternam fore, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagandam, unoque*, &c. Heumann reads, *Eandemque (literarum monumenta) intelligo et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus propagatum unoque*, &c. This is received by Matthiæ. Orelli proposes *Eandemque intelligo atque spero æternam fore—propagatum iri, unoque tempore*. Madvig reads, *Eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore*, &c.; adding in his note, *nox excidisse aliquid videtur; omnique tempore (sic Codd. aliquot) hoc prædicatum iri, unoque tempore*, &c.]

⁵ *Duos cives*. Himself and Pompey, who had brought the piratical war to a close, and also conquered Mithridates.

⁶ *Quorum alter*. Pompey.—*Non terræ, sed cæli regionibus*. An oratorical hyperbole, by which Pompey is described as having carried the Roman arms to the very limits of earth and sky, i. e. to have filled even the distant horizon with the fame of Roman power. Render, "not by the regions of earth, but by the very horizon."

⁷ *Eadem est fortuna atque conditio*. The verb is in the singular, as the two nouns express merely different shades of the same idea.—*Quæ illorum*. "As is that of those."

⁸ *Si ceteris*, &c. The indicative mood is here employed as denoting certainty, and referring to what has actually taken place. By *ceteris* are meant the Roman commanders who have been engaged in foreign wars.

⁹ *Mentes*. "Designs."

¹⁰ *Ab istis*. The pronoun denotes contempt. "By those men," i. e. by those guilty wretches.

¹¹ *In bonis*. Understand *civibus*.—*Dignitas*. "Majesty." Referring to the authority of the senate and the power of the laws.

volent, ¹se ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis ²is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciæ cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper laccessamus. Quodsi omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis, se in me unum ³converterit; vobis erit providendum, Quirites, ⁴qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiæ periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ⁵ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim cum neque ⁶in honore vestro, neque in gloria virtutis, ⁷quidquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat adscendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ⁸ea, quæ gessi in consulatu,

¹ *Se ipsi indicabunt.* "Will only be exposing themselves," i. e. will only be turning informers against themselves, and exposing to view their secret sentiments. They will be driven by the force of conscience to make the same disclosures, and to act in the same way as Lentulus did before the Roman senate.

² *Is animus.* "Such a determination." *Is* elegantly used for *talis*.

³ *Converterit.* We have here given the reading of Manutius, Grævius, and Beck, which Schütz also adopts. The common text has *converterint*, and for *omnis* and *depulsus* reads *omnes* and *depulsi*, making *impetus* plural of course. There is less spirit, however, in this.

⁴ *Qua conditione, &c.* "In what situation you may wish those to be in future days," &c., i. e. what effect your action may have upon the situation of those in after days, who shall stand forth as the assertors of your freedom, and the defenders of your lives and fortunes. The meaning of Cicero is this: that if any attack be made upon him by his private foes, for the part he has taken in crushing the conspiracy, he looks to the people for their prompt interference in his behalf; not because he actually stands in need of this, since the high honours thus far conferred upon him by his countrymen will always be a sufficient defence against such opponents, but in order that a bad effect may not be produced upon others, by his being exposed unaided to the onsets of the wicked, and that those who may wish, hereafter, to serve their country, may not be discouraged from doing so by seeing what has happened to himself.

⁵ *Ad vitæ fructum.* "For the enjoyment of existence."—*In honore vestro.* "Amid the honours in your gift."

⁶ [*In honore.* "*Honorum populi finis est consulatus.*" *Pro Planc.* 25. STEINM.]

⁷ *Quidquam altius.* Cicero had now attained to the summit of a true Roman's ambition, the consulship. He had saved his country, and a thanksgiving had been declared in his name, although he was arrayed at the time in the robe of peace, or, in other words, acting merely as a civil magistrate. [There was still one office which he had not obtained, the dictatorship; he hints at this in the words *quo mihi LIBEAT adscendere*. With the beginning of the sentence, compare PHIL. 1, 16, *mihi fere satis est, quod vixi, vel ad ætatem, vel ad gloriam.*]

privatus tuear atque ornem: ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, lædat invidos, ⁹ mihi valeat ad gloriam. Deinde ita me in re publica tractabo, ¹⁰ ut meminerim semper, quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini ¹¹ illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam iam periculum est depulsum, tamen æque ac priori nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

⁹ *Ea, quæ gessi in consulatu.* "The principles on which I acted during my consulship."—*Privatus.* "In private life."

¹⁰ *Mihi valeat ad gloriam.* "May but advance my glory," i. e. may only redound the more to my own fame, by making my public services, if possible, more conspicuous.

¹¹ *Ut meminerim, &c.* "As ever to be mindful of my past actions."—*Virtute.* "From patriotic motives." From the dictates of public virtue. [Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 5, 2: "*Hujus ego temeritati si virtute etque animo non restitisssem, quis esset qui me non casu potius existimaret, nam consilio fortem fuisse?*" "Had I not acted then with spirit in opposition to his ill-considered measures, would not the world have thought and thought too with reason), that the courage I exerted in my consulate was merely accidental, and not the result of a steady and rational fortitude?"—MELMOTH.]

¹² *Illum Jovem.* "Yon Jove." Pointing in the direction of the temple of Jupiter Stator, in which he had delivered his first oration against Catiline.—*Providebo.* Whatever the decree of the senate shall be, he will, as consul, see it fully executed, and will place the safety of his fellow citizens beyond the reach of the wicked, by inflicting on the latter a well-merited punishment.

M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM
QUARTA,
HABITA IN SENATU.

¹ [Livy, in the first chapter of his second book, seems to offer a conjectural account of the origin of the expression PATRES CONSCRIPTI, which the senators, when assembled, were invariably addressed, receiving the term *Patres* to be applicable to those senators who survived the cruelties of Tarquinius Superbus, and *Conscripti* to describe those recently enrolled by the consuls, to make up the number of 300.

This, although evidently conjectural, and given with appearance (*traditum fertur*) by the author himself, who flourished about 500 years after the events which he there records, is, I believe, a conjecture generally received by men of letters. And yet it is not without some foundation. 1. That the senators were invariably addressed *patres conscripti*, though nothing but this last mode of address can justify his conjecture. 2. That the edict for convoking the senate was ordered . . . *ut vocentur in curiam* . . . not *patres et conscripti*. SENATORES, QUIBUSQUE IN SENATU SENTENTIAM DICERE LICERET. b. xxiii. c. 32, *et alibi passim*: and A. Gellius, b. iii. c. 18. Now, as I have been able to discover, is there any evidence that the form of convoking the senate was, at any time, such as is given in the passage referred to. I am inclined to think, therefore, that Cicero has rather sought than found the reason why the senate was invariably addressed in the terms *patres conscripti*: that by these terms he meant, agreeably to their literal import, the Fathers whose names were contained in the roll of the senate, who alone had a decisive vote: the right of deciding on every question submitted to their consideration: and that the terms were employed, not only as the most full and honourable form of address, but likewise to distinguish the senators on the roll from the other persons present . . . *in senatu sententiam dicere licebat* . . . who joined in the deliberation, *having the jus sententiæ*, though not the *jus suffragii*, a deliberation, but not a decisive voice in the question.—HUNTER.]

² *Ora atque oculos.* Every eye was fixed upon Cicero in a

I. VIDEO, ¹ patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrûm ² ora atque oculos esse conversos: video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicæ, verum etiam, ³ si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis et grata in dolore ⁴ vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales! ⁵ deponite, atque, obliti salutis meæ de vobis ac de liberis vestris cogitate. Mihi si ⁶ hæc conditio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem; feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano ⁷ dignitas salusque pariat. Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui ⁸ non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur; ⁹ non

pectation, to see whether he would advocate the opinion of Silanus. The senate was convened, on this occasion, in the temple of Jupiter Stator.

³ *Si id depulsum sit.* "If that be warded off," i. e. by the punishment of those in custody.—*De meo periculo.* Especially if Cicero should have adopted the opinion of Silanus.

⁴ *Vestra erga me voluntas.* "Your kind wishes in my behalf." The generous interest you take in my welfare. *Voluntas* is here used for *favor*, *benevolentia*, or *caritas*. [*Eam*, not to be referred to *voluntas*, but to *cura* or *sollicitudo* implied in the sentence. It is a *constructio præcognominis*.]

⁵ *Deponite.* He is afraid lest, prompted by a wish to relieve him from the burden of public odium, for the summary steps he may have taken against the accused, the senate pursue some course prejudicial to the state.

⁶ *Hæc conditio consulatus.* "This condition of enjoying the consulship."—*Omnes acerbitates.* "Every bitter infliction."

⁷ *Dignitas salusque.* "Dignity and safety." By *dignitas* is here meant that exercise of authority which is *worthy* of a people enjoying a regular form of government. Compare Cicero's definition (*De Inv.* 2, 55): "*Dignitas est alicujus honesta auctoritas, et cultu, et honore, et verecundia digna.*"—[*Pariatur.* He carries on the metaphor in *laboribus*.]

⁸ *Non forum.* He had been in danger from Catiline even in the forum.—*In quo omnis æquitas continetur.* In the forum the courts of law were held, and justice, according to Cicero, had here her abode. As regards the distinction between *justitia* and *æquitas*, it may be remarked, that the latter is the generic term, including what we owe to God and man. Cicero considers it, in its principle or foundation, as *tripartita*, divisible into three parts (*Topica*, c. 23,) "*Una pars legitima est,*" "what is founded in law;"—" *altera æquitati conveniens,*" "what is consonant with equity, or founded on our own natural perceptions of what is right and wrong;"—" *tertia moris vetustate confirmata,*" "what is founded on long and established usage."

⁹ *Non campus.* Cicero had appeared in the Campus Martius, during

campus ¹ consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia, ² summum auxilium omnium gentium; ³ non domus, commune perfugium; ⁴ non lectus, ad quietem datus; non denique ⁵ hæc sedes honoris, sella curulis, unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego ⁶ multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore ⁷ in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, patres conscripti, populumque Romanum ex cæde ⁸ miserrima; conjuges, liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales ⁹ ex acerbissima vexatione; templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma; totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate

the consular election, when Silanus and Murena were chosen, with a coat of mail under his robe, to guard against the risk of assassination from Catiline. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 14.)

¹ *Consularibus auspiciis consecratus.* At the comitia centuriata, the auspices were always first taken before they proceeded to the election of the consuls and the higher magistrates. Hence the Campus Martius is said to be "hallowed" by the "consular auspices" taken in it.

² *Summum auxilium.* "The chief refuge."

³ *Non domus, commune perfugium.* "Not my own home, the asylum of all." According to the principles of the Roman law, it was unlawful to enter any man's dwelling for the purpose of forcing him to court, because his house was esteemed his sanctuary. But if any one lurked at home to elude a prosecution, he was summoned three times, with an interval of ten days between each summons, by the voice of a herald, or by letters, or by the edict of the prætor, and if still he did not appear, the prosecutor was put in possession of his effects.—ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 186. (HEINECC. *Antiq. Rom.* 4, 6, 16, p. 671, ed. HAUBOLD.) As regards the sanctity of a man's home, compare the eloquent language of Cicero (*pro Dom.* c. 41,) "*Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusque civium? hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dei Penates, hic sacra, religiones, caerimoniae continentur, hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.*"

⁴ *Non lectus.* Alluding to the attempt made to assassinate him at his own home, early in the morning, and before he had yet risen. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 28, and *Or. in Cat.* 1, 4.

⁵ *Hæc sedes honoris.* After these words follow *sella curulis*, which, though found in all MSS. are rejected by Ernesti, as a gloss.

⁶ *Multa tacui.* Muretus very correctly supposes, that this prudent silence, on Cicero's part, might be dictated by the suspicion, that many persons of rank, such as Cæsar and Crassus, for example, were implicated in the conspiracy.

⁷ *In vestro timore.* "In the midst of alarm on your part," i. e. whilst your alarm prevailed. Lipsius (*V. L.* 3, 22,) conjectures "*sine vestro timore,*" of which Heumannus approves.

⁸ *Miserrima.* We have given this, on the authority of some MSS., in

riperem: ¹⁰quæcunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, sub-
atur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, ¹¹inductus a
atibus, ¹²fatale ad perniciem Populi Romani fore putavit;
ur ego non læter meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicæ
rope fatalem exstitisse?

II. QUARE, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, ¹³prospicite
patriæ, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos, fortunasque vestras,
populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere,
ic de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare
¹⁴omnes deos, qui huic urbi præsident, ¹⁵pro eo mihi, ac
mereor, relatores esse gratiam: deinde, ¹⁶si quid obtigerit,
equo animo paratoque moriar. ¹⁷Nam neque turpis mors

place of the common reading *misera*. The emendation is approved of
by GÖRRENZ, *ad Cic. de Fin.* 1, 4.

⁹ *Ex acerbissima vexatione*. "From the most cruel outrage." —
Templa atque delubra. Compare note 10, page 73.

¹⁰ *Quæcunque fortuna*. "Whatever lot."

¹¹ *Inductus a vatibus*. Referring to the Sibylline books and the inter-
pretation of the aruspices. Compare *Or. in Cat.* 3, 4.

¹² *Fatale*. "Fated." The fated name was Cornelius, which was the
nomen of Lentulus, his full appellation being Publius Cornelius Len-
tulus Sura. Compare note 5, page 80.

¹³ *Prospicite patriæ*. "Provide for the welfare of your country."

¹⁴ *Omnes deos, &c.* Every city, in ancient times, had its peculiar
deity or deities, who presided over it, and under whose special protec-
tion it was considered to be. Hence when a town was besieged, and
on the point of being taken, the besiegers always used to call out
(*evocare*) in solemn form the god or gods who exercised a guardianship
over it, while the besieged, on their part, in order to prevent this, were
wont to chain the statue or statues to the pedestal. (Consult MACRO-
BIUS, *Sat.* 3, 9.)

¹⁵ *Pro eo mihi, &c.* "Will reward me according to my deserts."
In point of Latinity, *ut* would be better here than *ac*, and perhaps we
ought to read so.—[*Relatores gratiam*. "Will benefit me." *Gratia* is
not here used in the meaning of "gratitude," but of "service,"
"benefit." Cf. MUREN. 20. *Provincia Murenæ multas bonas gratias*
attulit: very frequently the phrase *referro gratiam* means "*ulscisci*."
Pro Sull. 16.]

¹⁶ *Si quid obtigerit*. "If any thing adverse shall befall me." A
euphemism for *si moriar*. The preposition *ob* here denotes, literally,
"against," and the strict meaning of the phrase is, "if any thing shall
happen against, or adverse to, my wishes." Compare PLAUTUS, *Me-
necm.* 5, 5, 1, "*Ædepol næ hic mihi dies pervorsus atque adversus*
obtigit." Ernesti regards *obtigerit*, in the text, as of doubtful authority,
the more usual form being *acciderit*. But the above explanation of
obtigerit is a sufficient answer to the objection, and besides all the
MSS. give this latter form.

¹⁷ *Nam neque, &c.* Death can bring with it no disgrace to a brave

forti viro potest accidere, ¹neque immatura consulari, misera ²sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ³ille ferreus, ⁴fratris carissimi atque amantissimi præsentis mœrore movear, horumque omnium lacrymis, a quibus me ⁵circum sessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum s revocat ⁶exanimata uxor, et ⁷abjecta metu filia, et ⁸parvi filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica ⁹tamquam obsidem consulatus mei: neque ille, qui exspectans hunc exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo ¹⁰gener. ¹¹Moveor rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam illi et nos una rei publicæ peste pereamus. Quare, patres conscripti, ¹²incumbite ad rei publicæ salutem: circumspi-

man, since even in death he will find only additional glory. Some of the authority of Quintilian (6, 3, 109,) read *gravis* instead of *tutus*, but it is too general an epithet. [*Nam neque mors, &c.* Cf. *Phil.* 11, *Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo (Concordiæ, neque posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, &c.)* Ahrens thinks the allusion in the *Phil.* is to some speech delivered in 692, when Cicero would be really a *consularis*, he was consul now. Orelli takes this as an argument against the genuineness of the present oration; but such as the term of Cicero's office was just at its close, he might call himself *vir consularis*.]

¹ *Neque immatura consulari.* "Nor a premature one to a man who has been gifted with the office of consul." The consulship was the highest of all the offices in the gift of the people; and hence one who enjoyed it might be said to descend to the grave in public honours.

² *Sapienti.* "To one acquainted with the lessons of philosophy," those lessons which teach us to regard death as the road merely to a better and happier land. This idea is beautifully followed out in the first book of the Tusculan Disputations.

³ *Ille ferreus qui.* "So iron-hearted as," i. e. with a heart so set against every gentle emotion. *Ille* is here used for *talīs*, or *ejusmodi*, which is more commonly the case with the pronoun *is*.

⁴ *Fratris.* His brother Quintus. — *Amantissimi.* "Most affectionate." [The writer here mentions his brother Quintus, his daughter Terentia, his son Marcus then only two years old, his son-in-law Calpurnius Piso Frugi, to whom in 689 he had betrothed his daughter Tullia, but who died 697 before the restoration of his father-in-law. Since Piso was not at this time a senator, he is represented as standing at the door of the temple of Concord.—ORELLI.]

⁵ *Circumsessum.* The reference here is to some of the equites, and other friends of Cicero, who stood around his chair, and in fact encompassed the whole senate both within the temple and without, for the sake of their personal safety while debating on the punishment of the conspirators.

mnes procellas, quæ impendent, nisi providetis. ¹³ Non Tib. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit: non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod tque in vestræ severitatis judicium adducitur: ¹⁴ tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cædem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romæ restiterunt. Tenentur literæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio; ¹⁵ sollicitantur Allobroges: servitia excitantur: Catilina arcessitur: id est initum consilium, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem Populi Romani nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. HÆC omnia indices detulerunt, ¹⁶ rei confessi sunt:

¹ *Exanimata uxor.* "My wife disheartened with terror." The allusion is to Terentia, whom he subsequently divorced for infidelity during his banishment, and who married the historian Sallust.

¹ *Abjecta metu filia.* "My daughter prostrated by apprehensions." Alluding to Tullia.

⁸ *Parvulus filius.* Marcus Cicero, then two years old. He was born in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus. (*Ep. ad Att.* 1, 3.)

⁹ *Tamquam obsidem, &c.* "As the pledge of my consulship," i. e. as a pledge, that I will do every thing in my power for preserving the public safety, if not on my own, yet on my son's account.

¹⁰ *Gener.* C. Calpurnius Piso. He had been united to Tullia two years before, and was the first of three husbands whom she married.

¹¹ *Moveor his rebus omnibus, &c.* "I am moved by all these things, but it is with this feeling solely, that they whom I have mentioned may all be saved along with you, even though some act of violence may have crushed me," &c.

¹² *Incumbite.* "Bend all your energies."—*Circumspicite.* "Look round and behold."

¹³ *Non Tib. Gracchus, &c.* "It is no Tiberius Gracchus, because he wished to become a second time tribune of the commons: no Caius Gracchus, because he endeavoured to excite the partisans of his Agrarian law: no Lucius Saturninus, because he has slain a Caius Memmius, that is now exposed to the risk of a prosecution, and to the sentence of your severity."—[*Quod*, ORELLI; others read *qui*.—*C. Memmium*. In conjunction with Glaucia he sought for the consulship A.U.C. 654, and had every probability of success.]

¹⁴ *Tenentur ii.* "They are held in custody."—*Tenentur literæ, &c.* "Their letters, their seals, &c. are in our possession."

¹⁵ *Sollicitantur Allobroges, &c.* "The Allobroges are tampered with, our very slaves are excited to insurrection."

¹⁶ *Rei confessi sunt.* "The accused have themselves confessed."—*Vos multæ, &c.* "You yourselves have already decided upon the point by many decrees. [Anthon had adopted *indiciis*, the reading of Badius, but most MSS. have *judiciis*, referring to the "determinations" of the

vos multis jam judiciis judicastis : primum, quod mihi gratias egistis ¹ singularibus verbis : et ² mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem esse patefactam decrevistis : ³ deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret prætura, coëgistis : tum quod eum, et ceteros, ⁴ de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis : maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos ⁵ togato habitus ante me est nemini : postremo hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum, Titoque Vulturcio dedistis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis ⁶ damnati esse videantur.

⁷ Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto, quid judicetis, et de poena, quid censeatis. ⁸ Illa prædicam, quæ sunt consulis. Ego mag-

senate on the several occasions enumerated immediately after. [Comp. SALL. 50. *Paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat, eos contra rem publicam fecisse*; and a little above, *Legatis Allobrogum et T. Vulturcio comprobato eorum indicio præmia decernuntur*.]

¹ *Singularibus verbis*. "In unparalleled terms." Alluding to the *supplicatio* decreed in his name, "*Quod urbem incendiis, cæde ciuium Italiam bello liberasset*." (In *Cat.* 3, 6.)

² *Mea virtute atque diligentia*. "By my public spirit and vigilance."

³ *Deinde quod P. Lentulum, &c.* A very dangerous assumption of authority on the part of the senate, and only to be resorted to in extreme cases like the present. See SALL. chap. 47.

⁴ *De quibus judicastis*. "On whose cases you have pronounced an opinion."

⁵ *Togato*. Consult note 1, page 88.

⁶ *Damnati esse videantur*. Compare SALLUST (*Cat.* 50 :) "*Eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse*."

⁷ *Sed ego institui, &c.* "I have resolved, however, Conscript Fathers, as if the matter were still untouched, to consult you in relation both to the affair itself, what you may determine respecting it, and the punishment to be inflicted, what you may think that ought to be."

⁸ *Illam prædicam, quæ sunt consulis*. "But before I do this, I will state what it is the duty of a consul to mention." The student will observe the force of *præ* in composition with *dico*.

⁹ *Versari*. "To be prevalent."—*Et nova quædam, &c.* "And the certain evils, before unknown, were aroused and called into action." He alludes to the prevalence of disaffection, and the introduction of principles of insubordination hostile to the well-being of the state.

¹⁰ *Quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant, &c.* Ernesti thinks that *quocumque* is here put for *quo*, and that for *inclinant* we ought to read *inclinent*. It is much simpler, however, to consider the words *quocumque vestræ, &c.* as merely explanatory of *quidquid est*, and requiring of course the indicative *inclinant*.

num in re publica ⁹ versari furorem, et nova quædam misceri
 & concitari mala jampridem videbam: sed hanc tantam, tam
 vitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus, numquam putavi.
 Nunc, quidquid est, ¹⁰ quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant
 itque sententiæ, ¹¹ statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quan-
 tum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis: ¹² huic si paucos pu-
 tatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione dis-
 seminatum est hoc malum: ¹³ manavit non solum per Italiam,
 verum etiam transcendit Alpes, et, ¹⁴ obscure serpens multas
 jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi ¹⁵ sustentando ac pro-
 latando nullo pacto potest. Quacumque ratione placet,
 celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. VIDEO duas adhuc ¹⁶ esse sententias: unam D: Silani,
 qui censet, eos, ¹⁷ qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse
 multandos: alteram ¹⁸ C. Cæsaris, ¹⁹ qui mortis pœnam remo-
 vet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur.

¹¹ *Statuendum vobis ante noctem est.* Both because no decree of the senate was legal if pronounced before sunrise or after sunset (AUL. GEL. 14, 7), and because the risk was also greater of a forcible rescue, or of an escape of the prisoners, by night than by day.

¹² *Huic si paucos, &c.* "If you imagine that only a few are implicated in this." For other instances of *affinis* with the dative, compare *Or. pro Cluent.* 45, "*affinis turpitudini*;" *de Inv.* 2, 10, "*honestæ rationi affinis*."

¹³ *Manavit non solum, &c.* "It has not only spread slowly throughout Italy." *Manavit* expresses the slow but steady progress of the conspiracy, like a slowly-rolling stream.—[*Transcendit* is applied to the crossing of mountains.—VERBURG.]

¹⁴ *Obscure serpens.* "Creeping onward unperceived."

¹⁵ *Sustentando ac prolutando.* "By delay and irresolution." Literally, "by still enduring it, and still putting off (the moment of action)."

¹⁶ *Esse.* "Are before you," i. e. have been proposed.—*Unam D. Silani.* "The one, that of Decimus Silanus." [Silanus afterwards voted for the motion of Tib. Nero, namely, that the conspirators should be confined until the forces of Catiline were crushed, and that then a decision should be come to regarding the extent of their punishment.]

¹⁷ *Qui hæc delere, &c.* "Who have endeavoured to blot out all this from existence." *Hæc* refers to the Roman city and state, and the gesture of the orator corresponds as he points slowly around. Ernesti is in favour of *conati sint*, and Beck has adopted the emendation; but the true reading is undoubtedly *conati sunt*, since there was no doubt respecting the crime itself or its intended perpetrators.

¹⁸ *C. Cæsaris.* Julius Cæsar, who was now Prætor elect.

¹⁹ *Qui mortis pœnam removet, &c.* "Who puts aside the punishment of death, but embraces all the severities of remaining punishments."

Uterque et ¹pro sua dignitate, et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. ²Alter eos, qui nos omnes qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui de imperio, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et ³hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere: atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. ⁴Alter intelligit mortem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa contumeliam: sed aut ⁵necessitatem naturae, aut laborum ac mularum quietem esse. Itaque eam ⁶sapientes numquam vitii, fortes etiam saepe libenter ⁷appetiverunt. ⁸Vincula vero, &c.

i. e. who is against the punishment of death, but in favour of severest one that remains after this is excluded.

¹ *Pro sua dignitate, &c.* “Consistently with his own high rank, the importance of the crisis.”—*Versatur.* “Insists.”

² *Alter.* Silanus.—*Conati sunt.* Ernesti here again recommends *conati sint.* But consult note 17, p. 111.—*Punctum temporis.* [“During a moment of time enjoy.” *Punctum* is the accusative of duration time.]

³ *Hoc communi spiritu.* “This air that we all breathe.”—*Recordatur.* “He reminds us.”

⁴ *Alter intelligit.* “The other has this view.” Julius Cæsar maintained, in his remarks before the senate on this occasion, that death was mortal, and death an eternal sleep; consequently, that loss of life was a blessing rather than a punishment, since it freed us from all evils of existence. Compare the speech which Sallust assigns to Cato in the debate on this same question relative to the conspirators.

⁵ *Necessitatem naturae.* “As a necessary law of nature.”

⁶ *Sapientes.* By the “wise” are here meant those imbued with wisdom which Cæsar regards as the true principles of philosophy! The Stoics, especially, although they believed in a future state, regarded death as a thing rather than a source of terror. According to them, a wise man might justly and reasonably withdraw from life whenever he found it expedient; not only because life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent (*ἀδιάφορα*), but also because life may be less consistent with virtue than death. Cæsar, who was Epicurean, if he was any thing at all, artfully avails himself of the fact of many of the Stoic sect having actually put an end to their existence, and applies it to the establishment of his peculiar doctrine.

⁷ *Appetiverunt.* “Have courted it.” Among the “*fortes*” may be enumerated Codrus, the Athenian, the Roman Decii, Curtius, &c.

⁸ *Vincula vero, &c.* “Imprisonment, however, and that too for life was invented in his opinion for the express punishment of abandoned guilt.”

⁹ *Municipiis.* “Throughout the municipal towns.” Equivalent to *in municipia.* Cæsar’s proposition was, that the conspirators who had been arrested should be “distributed” throughout these towns, and

vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem pœnam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. ⁹ Municipiis dispertiri jubet. ¹⁰ Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare: decernatur tamen, si placet. ¹¹ Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suæ dignitatis recusare. ¹² Adjungit gravem pœnam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: ¹³ horribiles custodias circumdat, et digna scelere hominum perditorum sancit, ne quis eorum pœnam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum, aut per populum levare possit. ¹⁴ Eripit etiam spem, quæ sola homines in miseriis

there confined for life. His true object was to save their lives, and trust to some future chance for their liberation.

¹⁰ *Habere videtur, &c.* The use of *ista* in this sentence shows the gesture of the orator, who in making the remark turns towards Cæsar. "That proposition of yours seems to carry with it injustice, if you wish to demand it of them; a difficulty if you are inclined to ask it as a favour. However, let a decree be passed to this effect, if such be your pleasure." Cicero's meaning is this: if you exercise your power and demand of the free towns, that they receive these prisoners and keep them in confinement, you will be imposing an unjust burden upon them; while, on the other hand, if you only request it as a favour, you may meet with a difficulty in their declining to accede to your request.

¹¹ *Ego enim suscipiam, &c.* "For I will take it upon myself to see, that what you wish shall be accomplished, and I will find, as I hope, some who will not think it suitable to their dignity to refuse," i.e. I will find municipal towns that will have no objection, I trust, to receive them.—With *suscipiam* understand *rem*, so that the literal translation will be, "I will undertake the affair," alluding to the execution of the decree which shall be passed.

¹² *Adjungit.* The orator returns to Cæsar, and gives the rest of his opinion. "He is for adding a heavy penalty on the inhabitants of the municipal towns."—*Eorum.* "Of the criminals." Referring to the conspirators.

¹³ *Horribiles custodias circumdat.* "He is for throwing around them frightful imprisonment. He decrees all that is worthy of the guilt of abandoned wretches, in order that no one hereafter may be able, either through the senate or people, to mitigate the punishment of those whom he is in favour of condemning." [For *digna* some copies have *dignas*.]

¹⁴ *Eripit etiam spem.* "He even deprives them of hope," i. e. by making their confinement one for life.—*Quæ sola homines, &c.* Compare the beautiful language of TIBULLUS (2, 6, 25):—

"*Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum,
Crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus.*"

"By hope, the fetter'd slave, the drudge of fate,
Sings, shakes his irons, and forgets his state."—GRAINGER.

consolari solet. ¹ Bona præterea ² publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus: ³ quam si eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi atque corporis, et omnes scelerum pœnas ademisset. ⁴ Itaque, ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt: quod ⁵ videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. NUNC, patres conscripti, ego ⁶ mea, video, quid intersit.

¹ *Bona præterea, &c.* As regards Cicero's account of the opinion held by Cæsar on this occasion, before the Roman senate, compare the language of SALLUST (*Cat. c. 51*), "*Sed illa censeo*," &c. ["But my opinion is this; that their estates be confiscated; their persons closely confined in the most powerful cities of Italy; and that no one move the senate or the people for any favour towards them, under the penalty of being declared by the senate an enemy to the state, and the welfare of its members."—ROSE.]

² *Publicari.* ["To be confiscated to the state, properly to be brought into the public chest, the *publicum* or treasury of the burghers. The *ærarium* was the treasury of the plebs. Under the emperors the phrase was *confiscare*, in allusion to the emperor's treasury, *fiscus*.]

³ *Quam si eripuisset.* "For had he taken away this."—*Multas, uno dolore, &c.* "He would have ended, by a single pang, many sufferings of mind and body, and all the punishments due to their crimes." There is some doubt as to the true reading of this passage. Ernesti reads *multas* in place of *multos*, making the genitives *animi* and *corporis* depend upon *pœnas* understood, in the sense of "sufferings." Some MSS. give *multos*, which induced Grævius to suggest, as an emendation, *multos, uno dolore, dolores animi atque corporis, et, &c.* This correction has been received by Matthiæ, Schütz, and others; but in truth the juxtaposition of *dolore dolores* sounds like any thing else rather than Ciceronian Latinity. [We have followed the reading of Orelli: last edit.]

⁴ *Itaque, ut aliqua, &c.* "Hence, on this account, that there might be some fear remaining for the wicked in life, the men of earlier times favoured the idea, that punishments of this kind were appointed for the wicked in the lower world." [*Itaque*, "and so," "accordingly he thinks that." This is an ironical summary of Cæsar's opinions, not Cicero's. The connection of *itaque* was wholly mistaken by Anthon and others.]

⁵ *Videlicet.* "No doubt." There is a tinge of irony in the use of this word.

⁶ *Mea quid intersit.* ["What a vast difference it makes to me." Below, *Intellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem, &c.*]

⁷ *Hanc in re publica viam.* "That course in public affairs." *Popularis.* "A popular one," i. e. calculated to gain the favour of the people. There is here a sarcasm against Cæsar's love of popularity.

⁸ *Hoc auctore et cognitore, &c.* "With him as the author and sup-

i eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam ⁷ hanc is in
 a publica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, for-
 asse minus erunt, ⁸ hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sen-
 tentiæ, mihi ⁹ populares impetus pertimescendi. Sin ¹⁰ illam
 alteram; ¹¹ nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur.
 Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei
 publicæ vincat. ¹² Habemus enim a C. Cæsare, sicut ¹³ ipsius
 dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam

porter of this opinion." By *auctore sententiæ* is meant the original pro-
 poser of a measure; by *cognitor*, one who acknowledges it to be his, and
 starts himself to defend and substantiate it.

⁷ *Populares impetus*. "Any onsets of the people," i. e. any out-
 breakings of popular violence, through sympathy for the condemned.
 Cicero's meaning is, that Cæsar's popularity will shield him from this
 risk, and that on this side his true interest lies.

¹⁰ *Illam alteram*. "The other." *Ille* here answers to our definite
 article. Literally, "that other one," i. e. the opinion of Silanus.

¹¹ *Nescio an, &c.* "I know not whether additional trouble will not
 that event be incurred by me." *Amplius negotii*, literally, "more
 trouble." It is a very rare thing for *amplius* to have after it a genitive
 case. A similar construction occurs in CÆS. B. G. 6, 9: "*Amplius
 idum*." Cicero apprehends some trouble on the part of the lower
 orders if the opinion of Silanus be adopted, but still he is in favour of
 —As regards the expression *nescio an* (otherwise, and more commonly
 written, *haud scio an*), it may be remarked, that the "*usus loquendi*"
 among the Romans made it equivalent to *nescio an non*. It is em-
 ployed to express a modest degree of doubt, &c., and may often be
 rendered by our English term "perhaps." Ernesti goes too far when
 he makes it equivalent to a simple affirmation (*Clav. Cic. s. v. haud.*)
 The more correct doctrine is laid down by Scheller (*Præcept. Styl.* vol. i.
 490).

¹² *Sed tamen meorum periculorum, &c.* "Still, however, let the in-
 terests of the state overcome all considerations of my danger," i. e. let
 the welfare of the state triumph over every personal consideration.
 The common expression would be, "*attamen salus rei publicæ antepo-
 nenda est meis periculis*."

¹³ *Habemus enim, &c.* The connexion in the train of ideas is as fol-
 lows: Cicero has just been remarking, that considerations of personal
 safety, on his part, must yield to the public good. Now, as his per-
 sonal safety would have been secured by adopting the opinion of
 Cæsar, it might be inferred that he regarded Cæsar's opinion as clash-
 ing with the public welfare. In order, therefore, to avoid such an in-
 ference, he immediately adds, that the opinion expressed by Cæsar,
 though the public interests will not allow him to embrace it, seems
 to him worthy in every way of the high rank of its author, and a sure
 proof of his sincere attachment to the state. The compliment is very
 artfully turned, and shows great policy on the part of Cicero.

¹⁴ *Ipsius dignitas*. "His own high rank."—*Amplitudo*. "The illus-

tamquam obsidem perpetuæ in rem publicam voluntatellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem contionis et animum vere popularem, salutis populi consuevit. Video de ²istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum tentiam ferat. Is et ⁴nudiustertius in custodiam Romanos ⁵dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit,

trious character."—*Tamquam obsidem*, &c. "As a pledge of his attachment to the state."

¹ *Intellectum est*, &c. "By this has it been rendered apparent that there is a difference between the insincerity of mere public display and a heart truly attached to the people, and consulting their welfare." Another artful compliment. Cicero remarks, that the opinion shows the true friend of the people, and not the hollow one, the demagogue, who is seeking their favour for his own ends.

² *Istis*. The pronoun here denotes contempt.—*Populares*. In a wrong sense of the term.

³ *Non neminem*. "A certain person." [The Scholiast of Cicero thinks Q. Metellus Nepos is intended: but the Schol. Bobiensis says, *Erant autem P. Clodius, L. Calpurnius Piso et Aulus Gabinus, qui senatum venire noluerunt, ne quod in conjuratos supplicium cogherentur, quos scilicet assentatores Catilinæ fuisse compertum est.*]

⁴ *Nudiustertius*. "The day before yesterday." A contra nunc dies tertius (i. e. est).

⁵ *Dedit*. "Consigned," i. e. was in favour of consigning; that effect.—*Cives Romanos*. The conspirators who had been consigned.

⁶ *Indices*. The Allobroges and Vulturcius. — *Affecit*. "Compensated," i. e. voted for recompensing.

⁷ *Jam*. Marking the conclusion to which Cicero fairly arrived, one, who had gone as far as this particular senator, had already expressed his opinion, in fact, on the merits of the case at length, ought, therefore, to have been present, since he gained nothing by his absence.

⁸ *Quæsitore gratulationem*. "A vote of thanks to the individual who instituted an inquiry," i. e. who inquired into, and ascertained the existence of a conspiracy. Cicero uses the term *quæstor*, in an unusual sense. It generally signifies, when applied to a public person, a person appointed by the senate or people to preside at public games of a capital nature. [Ahrens considers the term *quæstor* applicable to Cicero, seeing that he conducted no judicial process against the conspirators, nor had been elected by the people for the business: and in fact no regular *judicium*, which would require a *quæstor*, had been appointed.]

⁹ *At vero*, &c. "But of a truth, Caius Cæsar considers the Sempronian law was indeed enacted for the benefit of Roman citizens." &c. Cicero sets the conduct and sentiments of Cæsar, on this occasion, in opposition to those of the senator just mentioned.

res hesterno die maximis præmiis affecit. ⁷ Jam hoc mini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, ⁸ quæsitori gratulamem, indici præmium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa dicarit. ⁹ At vero C. Cæsar intelligit, legem Semproniam de civibus Romanis constitutam: qui autem rei publicæ hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique ¹⁰ ipsum latorem legis Semproniae ¹¹ jussu populi poenas rei publicæ

so doing, shews that a part of Cæsar's oration makes against the speaker himself. Cæsar had laid great stress upon the Porcian and Sempronian laws, the latter of which ordered that no Roman citizen should be capitally punished without the command of the people; and the former, that no citizen should be put to death at all, but that the alternative of exile should be allowed him. It would seem from the agreement that the Sempronian law also included some enactment against the imprisonment of Roman citizens, and that Cæsar, merely to obviate *that particular portion* of the law stated that no public enemy could be deemed a citizen. Cicero then turns this argument against Cæsar, as regards the care of death. [*Semproniae leges. O Porcia leges que Semproniae! Ver. v. 63. C. Gracchus legem tulit, ut de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro (populi Romani) judicaretur*, i.e. directed that no magistrate should, without the express order of the people, *convene a court* for the trial of a Roman citizen upon a capital charge. This is very different from the meaning given by the Schol.: *ut ne quis in civem Romanum capitale sententiam diceret*.—ORELLI.]

¹¹ *Ipsum latorem*, &c. "That the very proposer himself of the Sempronian law rendered atonement to the state by the order of the people." The meaning of Cicero is this, that even Caius Gracchus himself, who brought in the Sempronian law, was not allowed to avail himself of the provisions of that law, but suffered the punishment due to the violation of public order, on the ground of his being a public enemy, and that too by an express decree of the state. All the MSS., and all the early editions, without a single exception, read *jussu*, and so the text remained until Ernesti, on mere conjecture, substituted *injussu*. His argument is, that Gracchus, the proposer of the Sempronian law was not put to death by the order of the people, but by an act of violence on the part of the nobility headed by Scipio Nasica. In this remark, however, there is an historical error, since Caius Gracchus was slain by the party of the consul Opimius, after a decree of the senate had been passed, entrusting the republic to his care. [But see next note.]

¹² [*Jussu populi*. This is opposed to fact; whence some have endeavoured to remove the difficulty, by supposing that since the state was committed to the charge of Opimius, therefore Gracchus was slain by order of the people. A strange explanation indeed, as if the people could be said *to order*, what the senate *decreed*.—AHRENS. Some one has conjectured *visu populi* for *in conspectu populi*, *inspectante populo*, which is not even Latin.—ORELLI.]

dependisse. ¹ Idem ipsum Lentulum, ² largitorem, gum non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, ex urbis tam acerbe, tamque crudeliter cogitarit, etiam posse popularem. Itaque ³ homo mitissimus atque lenon dubitat P. Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculis dare, ⁴ et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicis se jactare, et ⁵ in pernicie populi Romani posthac jesse possit. ⁶ Adjungit etiam publicationem boni omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas acitas consequatur.

VI. ⁷ QUAMOBREM sive hoc statueritis, dederi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque jucundum Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque

¹ *Idem ipsum, &c.* "The same individual is of opinion, tulus himself, the lavish and prodigal, cannot be called the friend, when he has with so bitter cruelty plotted the destruction of the Roman people, the ruin of this city." The reference in *prodigum* is to public shows, and other entertainments, the purpose of securing popularity. Compare, as regards the *prodigum*, the definition of CICERO, *De Off.* 2, 16.

² *Largitorem.* Comp. PLUT. *Cic.* 17. Κορνήλιος Λέντυλος ἐπὶ κλησίν, δι' ἀσέλγειαν ἐξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερον 684, by L. Gellius and Lentulus Spinther, Censors) ἐν Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμιεύων (*Quæstor*) συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρε.]

³ *Homo mitissimus atque lenissimus.* "Although a very merciful man." Referring to Cæsar.—*Non dubitat.* "He does not."

⁴ *Et sancit in posterum.* "And enacts for the time to come." *jactare.* "To display himself."

⁵ *In pernicie populi Romani.* "In a matter that involves the ruin of the Roman people."

⁶ *Adjungit etiam, &c.* Cicero purposely lays great stress on the verity of Cæsar. The latter had said that he was in favour of the most rigorous punishment. The consul understood him and takes him at his word. Cæsar cannot retract, and if a still more rigorous punishment can be discovered than that already thought of, he may decree to that effect, and Cæsar must of course approve. Cicero adroitly manages to draw this inference from the words of Cæsar, which involves the latter in his own subtleties.

⁷ *Quamobrem sive hoc, &c.* "Whether, then, should you do as Cæsar recommends, you will thus have given me, in him, a precedent to the public assembly, dear and acceptable to the people, which will have adopted an opinion, which will find in him a zealous and successful advocate, before the assembled people."

crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano exsolvetis ⁸ atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quæ potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? ⁹ Ego enim de meo sensu judico.

¹⁰ Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. ¹¹ Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque ¹² arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem: cerno animo ¹³ sepultam patriam, miseros atque insepultos acervos civium: ¹⁴ versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi, et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis. Cum vero ¹⁵ mihi proposui

⁸ *Atque obtinebo, &c.* "And I will make it appear to have been the milder opinion of the two."—*Quamquam.* "And yet."

⁹ *Ego enim de meo sensu judico.* "For I judge from my own feelings," i. e. in what I am going to say, I will give utterance frankly to my real and honest feelings.

¹⁰ *Nam ita mihi, &c.* "For so it may be allowed me to enjoy, along with you, the republic in a state of safety, as I am now, because I show more severity than usual in the present affair, not influenced by any cruelty of spirit, (for who is in fact milder than myself?) but by an extraordinary humanity and pity," i. e. may I never enjoy, in common with you, the benefits resulting from my country's safety, if the eagerness which I display in this affair proceeds from any cruel spirit, (for no one has less of that than myself,) but from a feeling of humanity and pity towards my countrymen.

¹¹ *Videor mihi videre.* "Methinks I see." The orator is here entering on the figure which grammarians call *diatyposis*.

¹² *Arcem omnium gentium.* "The capital of all nations." *Arcem* is here equivalent to *caput*. [There is no reference to the *Asylum* of Romulus as Ruxæus supposed.]—*Subito uno incendio concidentem.* "Suddenly sinking amid one universal conflagration."

¹³ *Sepultam patriam.* "My ruined country." *Sepultam* is here equivalent to *eversa* or *vastata*.—*Miseros atque insepultos.* No article of popular belief was more strongly established in the ancient world, than that the soul wandered for a hundred years around the banks of the Styx or the dead body itself, whenever the latter was deprived of the rites of burial. Hence the peculiarly mournful ideas attached to the circumstance of a corpse remaining neglected and unburied, and of which Cicero here happily avails himself, in order to heighten the effect of the gloomy picture which he draws.

¹⁴ *Versatur mihi ante oculos.* "Flits before my view."—*Et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis.* "And his wild fury as he revels amid your blood."

¹⁵ *Mihi proposui.* "But when I pictured to myself."—*Ex fatiis.* "From the Sibylline predictions."

regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis speras fessus est, ¹purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium, cum e venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrumfamili fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac ²vexationem vi Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi ³vehement videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque ⁴] Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias liberis suis interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium ⁵d quam acerbissimum sumserit; utrum is clemens ac cors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse vi ⁶Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac ⁷nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos

¹ *Purpuratum esse*, &c. "This Gabinius, arrayed in purple refers to Gabinius as having been before them on a recent not as actually present at the time. Compare *Or. in Cat.* 3, Gabinius is called *purpuratus*, as one of the titled attendant future royal court of Lentulus. Compare Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* FLOR. 1, 13; LIV. 30, 42.

² *Vexationem virginum Vestalium*. "The outrages offered Vestal virgins."

³ *Vehementer misera atque miseranda*. "In the highest deplorable and worthy of compassion."—*Ea perficere*. "To bring to pass."

⁴ *Præbeo*. "I prove myself." Anthon had *præbebo*, the which Grævius adopted from some of his MSS., and which found in three of his.

⁵ *De servis*. We would naturally expect here *de servo*, since singular *servo* precedes. But the allusion here is to the Roman law which it was ordained, that if the master of the house or any of his family were murdered, and the murderer not discovered, slaves composing the household should be put to death. He find in TACITUS (*Ann.* 14, 43) no less than 400 in one family put on this account.—ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* 31.

⁶ *Mihi vero*, &c. What Cicero here justifies, viz., to seek to escape the smart of anguish by the sufferings and torture of him who occasioned it, he would on another occasion, where greatness of the theme, have openly condemned. Here, however, it suits his purpose to assert what he has in the text.

⁷ *Nocentis*. This would appear at first view to clash with the preceding. But it in fact confirms that reading, since "the guilty one" is sure of being punished, if all the slaves composing the household be put to the torture.

⁸ *Hoc universum*, &c. "And this common home of the Roman people, i. e. this city, the dwelling-place of a whole people."

⁹ *Qui id egerunt, ut collocarent*. "Who have aimed at establishing"

ire voluerunt: qui singulas uniuscujusque nostrum
 et ⁸ hoc universum rei publicæ domicilium delere
 sunt: ⁹ qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in
 is hujus urbis, atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collo-
 : si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habe-
 : sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis
 itatis ¹⁰ in patriæ civiumque perniciæ fama subeunda
 Nisi vero cuipiam ¹¹ L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et aman-
 as rei publicæ, ¹² crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cum
 ris suæ, feminæ lectissimæ, ¹⁴ virum præsentem et
 item, vita privandum esse dixit; ¹⁵ cum avum jussu
 is interfectum, filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a
 missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. ¹⁶ Quorum quod
 factum? Quod ¹⁷ initum delendæ rei publicæ consi-
¹⁸ Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est,

“Even if.”—*Misericordes*. Because no punishment is adequate
 r crime, and any infliction of it therefore will only appear

patriæ, &c. “In a case that involves the ruin of our country
 ow citizens.”—*Fama*. “The imputation.”

Cæsar. L. Julius Cæsar, who was consul with C. Marcius
 .A.U.C. 689. He was uncle to Julius Cæsar.

delior. “Too cruel.”

oris suæ. Julia, who had married Lentulus, after having been
 ow of M. Antonius Creticus. By her first marriage she had
 the mother of Mark Antony, the triumvir. The punishment
 econd husband, Lentulus, was the origin, according to Plutarch,
 enmity that prevailed between Antony and Cicero. (*Vit.*
 2.)

rum. Lentulus.

avum, &c. L. Cæsar, in his remarks before the senate, on
 mion alluded to by Cicero, in order to shield himself from the
 lion of undue severity in voting for the punishment of Lentulus,
 served, that “his own grandfather” was once put to death by
 f a Roman consul, and a son of the former, although sent to
 peace, was imprisoned and slain. Cæsar alluded to M. Fulvius
 , who was his grandfather on the mother’s side, and who was
 y order of the consul Opimius, together with his son, during
 ir of Caius Gracchus.

orum quod simile factum? “And yet what act on their part was
 like the conduct of these conspirators?” Literally, “Of whom,
 ct was similar?” i. e. what comparison will the offence of Fulvius
 s and his son bear with that of Lentulus and his colleagues?

atum. “Was formed by them.” Referring to Flaccus and his

argitionis voluntas, &c. “A desire to gratify the people by

et partium quædam contentio. Atque illo tempore ¹hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est percussus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ²ne quid summa re publica minueretur: ³hic ad evertenda fumenta rei publicæ Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ. ⁴Vereamini, censeo in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando, ⁵nimis aliquid severe statuuisse videamini; multo magis sit verendum, ne ⁶remissione poenæ crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animi aversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fieri videamur.

largesses, and a certain violence of parties, were then prevalent in state." The allusion in *largitionis voluntas* is to the movements of Gracchi, in conciliating the favour of the people. C. Gracchus, for example, was the author of a *lex frumentaria*, for a distribution of corn among the people; and he and his elder brother Tiberius were well-known advocates of the Agrarian law.

¹ *Hujus avus Lentuli*. Alluding to P. Lentulus, whose image was on the seal of his grandson, and to whom Cicero also refers in the third oration (c. 5), "*Est vero, inquam, signum notum, imago avi tui,*" &c. As regards the occurrence mentioned in the text, compare the words of VALENTINUS MAXIMUS (5, 3, 2): "*P. Lentulus, clarissimus et amantissimus rei publicæ civis, cum in Aventino C. Gracchi nefarios conatus, et aciem, pro fortis pugna, magnis vulneribus acceptis, fugasset,*" &c.

² *Ne quid de summa*, &c. "That no portion of the public ~~sanctitas~~ might be impaired." *Summa re publica* is here equivalent to what elsewhere given as *summa rei publicæ*, and this latter phrase is the same as "*res a qua salus universæ rei publicæ pendet.*" Compare note p. 85. The common text has *de summa rei publicæ dignitate*. The reading is that of Grævius, Ernesti, Beck, and Schütz, supported by good manuscripts.

³ *Hic*. "This his descendant."—*Attribuit nos*. "Gives us over."

⁴ *Vereamini, censeo*. "You are afraid, I suppose." The common text and MSS. have *vereamini*. Anthon's reading is that of Ernesti, who found the words *vere enim censeo* in one of the MSS., from which he conjectured *veremini*. This would be rather feeble authority for emendation, unless the sense required the indicative, which it does not.

⁵ [*Nimis aliquid severius*. Thus the vulgar text and Orelli. Anthon following Ernesti, omitted *nimis*.]

⁶ *Remissione poenæ*. "By any relaxation of punishment."—*Severitatis animadversionis*. "By any severity of vengeance."

⁷ *Quæ exaudio*. Ernesti remarks, that *exaudio* is rarely employed when speaking of rumour or mere report. Cicero, however, expresses the compound form on the present occasion, to impart additional

VII. SED ea, ⁷quæ exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. ⁸Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, ⁹eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia ¹⁰et provisa et parata et constituta sunt patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, ¹¹tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum, et ad communes fortunas conservandas, voluntate. Omnes adsunt, omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique statum: plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus ¹²hujus loci ac templi. Causa est enim post urbem conditam hæc inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem ¹³præter eos, qui, cum sibi viderent

strength to the clause. It is the same as saying, that he hears the reports alluded to so distinctly as to be incapable of any longer misunderstanding them.—[*Dissimulare*. “Pretend ignorance of.”]

⁸ *Jaciuntur enim voces*. “Remarks are thrown out.” Some editions have *jactantur*, but Grævius altered this to *jaciuntur*, on the authority of many MSS., and as required by the context. *Jactantur* would denote a frequent and active circulation of rumours, such as would suit the enemies, not the friends, of Cicero; *jaciuntur*, on the contrary, refers to what is said by the well-disposed but timid.

⁹ *Eorum, qui, &c.* “On the part of those who seem to be apprehensive that I have not a sufficient force,” &c. After the verbs *metuo*, *timeo*, *vereor*, *ne* is used when we are afraid lest a thing may take place which we do not want to happen, and *ut* when we wish it to happen, but are afraid it will not. Thus, *metuo ne facias* is, “I am afraid lest you will do it,” but *metuo ut facias*, “I am afraid you will not do it.” The solution of this apparent anomaly is as follows: *metuo ne facias* is the same as *metuo ut non facias*, “I am afraid in order that you may not do it,” i. e. I do not wish you to do the thing in question, but fear lest you will; whereas *metuo ut facias* is literally, “I am afraid in order that you may do it,” i. e. I wish it done, but am afraid you will not do it.

¹⁰ *Et provisa, &c.* “Have been both provided for, and prepared, and fully settled.”—*Cum*. “As well.”—*Diligentia*. “Vigilance.”

¹¹ *Tum multo etiam, &c.* “As by the still greater zeal, displayed on the part of the Roman people, for,” &c.

¹² *Hujus loci ac templi*. The senate was assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator. [Compare, as to the facts, PHIL. ii. 7. *Quis eques Romanus, quis præter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolini non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? Quamquam nec scribæ sufficere, nec tabulæ nomina eorum capere potuerunt.* STEINM.]

¹³ *Præter eos, qui, &c.* He refers to those whom in the 10th chapter of the second oration he comprehends in the fourth class of disaffected

esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter, neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, ¹qua virtute ad communem dignitatem salutemque consentiunt? Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? ²Qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicæ certent: quos, ³ex multorum annorum dissensione ⁴hujus

persons, men who are weighed down by debt, and who see but too clearly that these debts will prove their ruin.

¹ *Qua virtute.* "With what courage."—*Consentiunt.* "Do they all unite?"

² *Qui vobis ita, &c.* "Who so yield to you the precedence in rank and counsel, as still to vie with you in love for the republic." *Consilii* refers to the administration of public affairs.—The use of *summam*, in this passage, in the sense of superiority, or taking the lead, is of very rare occurrence. Hence Scheller suspects, that perhaps *auctoritatem* has been dropped from the text.

³ *Ex multorum annorum dissensione.* Judges were first selected from the senate. In consequence, however, of the venality of that order, the right of judging was taken from them by the Sempronian law and given to the equites. It was restored to the senate by a law of Sylla, and subsequently, by a law of Cotta, the prætor, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, it was shared between the senate, equites, and tribunes of the treasury, (*Tribuni ærarii*.) This latter ordinance produced a very powerful effect, in healing the differences which the others had caused between the two orders, and Cicero exerted himself very zealously in completing the reconciliation. [AHRBENS remarks that the senate were offended by the Aurelian law, and the knights received no additional honour or power, (the only body then benefited being the *Tribuni ærarii*). Besides, the Aurelian law had now been in force for seven years, whence it cannot be to the influence of this law that Cicero uses the expressions *hodiernus dies, &c.*]

⁴ *Hujus ordinis ad, &c.* "To an alliance and union with this order." Alluding to the change of feeling which had been produced by the Aurelian law of Cotta. [See preceding note, *ad fin.*]

⁵ *Hæc causa.* Alluding to the conspiracy.—*Conjungit.* "Reconciles"

⁶ *Confirmatam.* "Placed on a sure basis."—*Confirmo vobis.* "I confidently declare to you."

⁷ *Nullum posthac malum, &c.* Cicero imagined that he had placed the authority of the senate on a solid basis, by uniting it with the equestrian order, thus constituting what he calls "*optima res publica*," and he ascribes the ruin of the republic to that coalition not being preserved. The cause of the rupture, which was a very speedy one, was the senate's refusing to release the equites from a disadvantageous contract concerning the Asiatic revenues. [In Cæsar's consulship they were relieved from this contract, and this kindness on his part effected

ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos, hodiernus dies vobiscum atque ⁵hæc causa conjungit: quam si conjunctionem, in consulatu ⁶confirmatam meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus; confirmo vobis, ⁷nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicæ partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ rei publicæ convenisse video ⁸tribunos ærarios, fortissimos viros; ⁹scribas item universos; quos ¹⁰cum casu hic dies ad ærarium fre-

tally gained over the powerful party of the knights, and broke up this union so vaunted by Cicero.] (Cic. Ep. ad Att. 1, 17.)

⁸ *Tribunos ærarios.* These were of plebeian origin, and through them the pay passed to the army. (*Pro Planc.* 8.) Compare VARRO, *L. L.* 4, 5, p. 180. "*Tribuni quoque quibus attributa erat pecunia, ut militi redderent, Tribuni ærarii dicti.*"

⁹ *Scribas item universos.* "And likewise the whole body of scribes." Among the Romans there were two kinds of scribes, private and public: the former were the slaves of private individuals; the latter were free, but of plebeian rank, and generally freedmen. These last were divided into *decuriæ*, and received pay from the public treasury. They were distributed among the different magistrates, and hence were called *consulares, prætorii, ædilitii, quæstorii*, &c. [See next note. *ad fin.*]

¹⁰ *Cum casu hic dies, &c.* "When this day had, by chance, assembled them in great numbers," i. e. at the public treasury. *Frequentare* is here employed in an unusual sense, for *frequentes convocare*. Compare *Pro Dom.* c. 33.—The scribes were assembled on this day, the nones of December, or 5th of the month, at the public treasury, to divide among themselves by lot (?) the offices of the ensuing year, that is, to determine who should be secretaries to the consuls, who to the prætors, &c. This was done annually. While thus employed, they saw the prisoners led by to the senate-house, and immediately, abandoning all their private concerns, they came and made an offer of their assistance for securing the public safety. [The above is the usual explanation, but the whole passage labours under considerable difficulty.]

1. The office of *scriba* was purchaseable, hence no room for *allotment* in obtaining the office.

2. Each magistrate had the privilege of selecting his own *scriba*; no room for allotment here.

3. It is unlikely they would have assembled on this particular day, even supposing all was determinable by lot, since they must have known that all the magistrates were in the senate and otherwise engaged.

4. *Frequentare* is never found in Cicero in the sense of *congregare*. The *Oratio Pro Dom.*, cited by Anthon and others, is acknowledged to be spurious.

5. Who could believe that all the scribes were assembled *casu*?

Orellius, believing this oration to have been written by a scribe, and

quentasset, video ¹ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. ²Omnis ingenuorum aders multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa, et hoc commune patriæ solum, cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. OPERÆ pretium est, patres conscripti ³libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere; ⁴qui, sua virtute fortunam civitatis consecuti, vere hanc suam patriam esse judicant: hujus quam ⁵quidam hic nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam

that no one would make such a statement as the above without some grounds, within a few years after Cicero's death, thinks that on these days on which the senate assembled, the different scribes used to meet at the treasury to determine by lot *who should write out the decree of the senate*, an office of some emolument, and as appertaining to the whole senate, left to allotment; but even here, unless we take *casu* in an unusual sense, "providentially," the objection above stated still remains.]

¹ *Ab expectatione sortis.* "From all expectation of the offices to be allotted to them." Consult preceding note. ●

² *Omnis ingenuorum, &c.* "The whole body of freeborn citizens is here, even those of the humblest degree." By *ingenui* the Romans meant those who were born of parents that had always been free. Such at least seems to have been the case originally. In the Institutes of Justinian, however, the strictness of the ancient rule on this subject is very considerably modified: "*Ingenuus est is, qui, statim ut natus est, liber est,*" &c. *Inst. 1, tit. 4.*) [The term *ingenuus* denotes a person who is free at the instant of his birth, by being born in matrimony of parents who are both *ingenuus*, or both *libertines*; or of parents who differ in condition, the one being *ingenuus*, and the other a *libertina*. But when the mother is free, although the father is a slave, or even unknown, the child is *ingenuus*; and when the mother is free at the time of the birth of her infant, although she was a bondswoman when she conceived it, yet such infant will be *ingenuus*. Also, if a woman, who was free at the time of conception, is afterwards reduced to slavery, and delivered of a child, her issue is, notwithstanding this, free-born; for the misfortune of the mother ought by no means to prejudice her infant.—HARRIS.]

³ *Libertinorum hominum, &c.* The Romans distinguished between the terms *libertus* and *libertinus* as follows: when referring to the patron or former master, they used *libertus*, thus, *libertus Cæsaris*, "Cæsar's freedman," *libertus Ciceronis*, &c.; but when they meant to designate a freedman generally, they employed *libertinus*, as *libertinus erat*, "he was a freedman," *libertinum vidi*, &c. Compare the remarks of ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v.*; and TAYLOR, *Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 430.

⁴ *Qui, sua virtute, &c.* "Who, having by their merit attained to the

suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed ⁶quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas ea, quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, ⁷ qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non hæc stare cupiat; qui non tantum, quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad communem salutem ⁸ voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrum ⁹ forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, Lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas,

condition which the right of citizenship bestows." By *virtute* is meant their fidelity and attachment to their masters. There is great variation here in the MSS. We have adopted the reading of Gruter, Grævius, and Ernesti. Muretus prefers "*qui fortuna sua hujus civitatis jus consecuti*," which is supported by some MSS. Lambinus gives "*qui me virtute ac fortuna hujus civitatis jus consecuti*."

⁶ *Quid*. Referring not only to Lentulus, Cethegus, and their colleagues, but to other and more secret partizans of the conspiracy, whose names he could mention if he felt inclined.—*Quidam* differs from *aliquis*, by implying that the object designated is definitely known, though indefinitely described. This indefinite description is sometimes resorted to for the purposes of oblique sarcasm. (ZUMPT, L. G. p. 247.)

⁷ *Quid . . . commemoro*. "Why need I mention," i. e. why waste time in speaking of.—Matthiæ, Weiske, Schütz, &c., read *commemoro*, on the authority of some MSS.

⁸ *Qui modo tolerabili*, &c. "Provided he enjoy only a tolerable condition of servitude." Cicero means, that no slave, whose burden of servitude is in any way tolerable, will feel inclined to abandon his present state, and obtain freedom under the auspices of Catiline, since universal ruin must result from the success of his daring schemes.

⁹ *Voluntatis*. The choice of words here is extremely appropriate. It belongs not to slaves to intermeddle in the affairs of citizens; they can, therefore, only indulge in good-will (*voluntatis*) for the preservation of the state. And they dare not even indulge in this feeling, without bearing in mind, at the same time, their real condition (*quantum audet*), for they well know how little they can effect by their own unaided resources (*quantum potest*).

¹⁰ *Forte commovet*. "Happens to alarm."—*Lenonem quendam*. "That certain worthless tool."

¹¹ [*Lenonem Lentuli*. This is a phrase without a parallel; what the writer means is plain enough, but the expression is not genuine Latin. Sallust mentions the incidents with greater accuracy, (c. 50.) *Dum hoc (i. e. on the preceding day) in senatu aguntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad rem eripiendum sollicitabant*. Appian also mentions that this circumstance hastened the catastrophe, and urged Cicero to execute quickly

pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum; est id quidem cœptum atque tentatum, sed ¹ nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri, aut voluntate periti, qui non ² illum ipsum sellæ atque operis et quæstus quotidiani locum; qui non cubile ac lectulum suum; qui denique non ³ cursum hunc otiosum vitæ suæ, salvum esse vellent. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt; nisi vere, (id enim potius est dicendum,) genus hoc universum, amantissimum est otii: etenim ⁴ omne instrumentum, omnis opus atque quæstus, frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quæstus, ⁵ occlusis tabernis, minui solet, ⁶ quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

punishment upon the conspirators.]—*Concourseare*, &c. "Is running around among the shops of the artisans." Compare APPIAN, *B. C.* 2, 5: αὐτοῦ δὲ Δέντυλου θεράποντες τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι χειροτέχνας πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες κατ' ὀπισθίας ὁδοὺς περιήσαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν οἰκίας, ὡς τοὺς δεσπότας ἔξαρπασόμενοι.

¹ *Nulli sunt inventi*, &c. Appian, on the contrary, states, that the slaves and freedman of Lentulus and Cethegus, having been joined by a large number of working-people, (χειροτέχνας πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες,) endeavoured to break into the houses of the prætors, by the rear, and rescue their masters who were confined within. The moment Cicero was informed of this, he hastened from the senate-house, stationed guards in the different quarters of the city, where any attack was to be apprehended, and then returned to the senate and expedited the debate. (APPIAN, *B. C.* 2, 5.)

² *Illum ipsum*, &c. "That same spot where his seat is fixed, and his labours are performed, and his daily bread is earned."—*Cubile ac lectulum suum*. "His dormitory and humble couch." *Cubile* is here equivalent to *cubiculum dormitorium*.

³ *Cursum hunc*, &c. "The peaceful life which he at present leads." More literally, "this his peaceful course of life."

⁴ *Omne instrumentum*, &c. "Every thing with which they pursue their daily employment, all their industry and daily gains, are supported by a crowded population, are fostered by a state of public repose." For *sustentatur* some editions have *sustinetur*, which amounts to the same thing.

⁵ *Occlusis tabernis*. "When their shops are closed." The shops at Rome were closed during times of public confusion and alarm, and also of public sorrow, by an edict of the consul. Consult ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Taberna*.

⁶ *Quid tandem*, &c. "What then will be the result when they are burnt?" If Catiline succeed, the whole city will be wrapped in flames, and the shops of the artisans, even though they favour his cause, will share the common ruin. Most MSS. and editions have *futurum fuit*. ERNESTI prefers *futurum esset*, but retains *futurum est*. Beck thinks that Cicero wrote merely *futurum*, and hence he encloses it in

X. QUÆ cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi
 ani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse
 amini, provide. Habetis ⁷consulem ex plurimis peri-
 et insidiis, atque ex media morte, non ad vitam suam,
 ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad con-
 andam rem publicam ⁸mente, voluntate, studio, virtute,
 consentiunt: obsessa facibus et telis impiæ conjura-
 s ⁹vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis: vobis
 obis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium,
 s ¹⁰aras Penatium, vobis ¹¹illum ignem Vestæ ¹²sempiter-
 , vobis omnia deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros
 e urbis tecta commendat. Præterea de vestra vita, de

sets. The form *est futurum* is undoubtedly preferable, if it were
 l in MSS.; and would strengthen what is said, as if the fire were
 actually about to be applied.

Consulem. Meaning himself.—*Atque ex media, &c.* Alluding in-
 cular to the attempt made to assassinate him at his own house.

mente, voluntate, &c. “In sentiment, in inclination, in zeal, in
 age, in open declarations of attachment.”

Vobis supplex, &c. To produce a stronger impression on the minds
 s hearers, the orator has recourse to a most beautiful and striking
 nification.

Aras Penatium. The *Lares* were the ordinary household deities,
Penates were gods of a higher class. The latter were of two kinds,
 ic and private; but in fact the same deities, that is, the same gods,
 worshipped as *Penates* by both an entire city, with public honours,
 by the individual families in that city, with private or domestic
 ings. The *Lares* were worshipped in the *atrium*, or hall; the
ates in an inner part of the dwelling, called *impluvium*, and, for the
 t part, open to the upper air. Cic., *Nat. Deor.* 27, derives “Pe-
 s” from “*penus*,” a general name for food; or from “*penitus*.”

Illum ignem, &c. A sacred fire was always kept burning in the
 ple of Vesta, and it was one of the offices of the Vestal virgins to
 sh this fire day and night. Whoever allowed it to go out was
 rged by the Pontifex Maximus. This accident was always esteemed
 icky, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire
 lighted up again, not from another fire, but from the rays of the

Compare LIPSIVS, *De Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma*, c. 8, seq.

Sempiternum. Many MSS. have merely this word, omitting *per-*
um ac which precede in a few, and Lambinus and Grævius have
 pted the reading: on the ground that *perpetuus* and *sempiternus*
 not here synonymous. *Ignis perpetuus* denoting a fire that is fed
 constant succession of fresh fuel; whereas by *ignis sempiternus* is
 nt one which is to be continued to future ages. Anthon retaining
 epithets in question, translates them by “ever-burning and ever-
 ing.”

conjugum vestrarum ac liberorum anima, de fortunis, omnium, de sedibus, ¹de focus' vestris, hodierno die vobi judicandum est. Habetis ²ducem memorem vestri, oblitus sui; ³quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordine omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod ⁴i civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate ⁵auctas exaggeratasque fortunas ⁶una nox pæn delerit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici, sed nec cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio pæne præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum: sed ut mea vox, quæ debet ⁷esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari vide retur.

X. Nunc antequam, [patres conscripti,] ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam, ⁸Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimi

¹ *De focus.* By *focus* is here meant the domestic hearth, that is, the hearth in the *atrium*, or place where the family generally assembled and around which stood the images of the *Lares*. When *focus* and *ara* are joined in the same sentence, as in the phrase "*pro aris et focus pugnare*," then *ara* denotes the altar of the *Penates*, while *focus* still refers to the *Lares*.

² *Ducem.* Referring to himself.

³ *Quæ non semper, &c.* "A privilege that is not always granted." Compare the explanation of Heumannus, "*cujus generis ducem non semper habere contingit.*"

⁴ *In civili causa.* "In a case of a public nature," i. e. in which all citizens are more or less concerned.

⁵ *Auctas exaggeratasque.* "Increased, aye, and even amplified."

⁶ *Una nox.* That of the Saturnalia. Compare chapter 4 of the 3d oration.—*Pæne delerit.* Cicero uses *delerit*, not *delevisset*; because, if he had employed the direct form of expression, what the grammarians call the *oratio directa*, he would have said *delevit*, not *deleverat*.

⁷ *Esse princeps.* "To take the lead."—*Officio consulari.* It being the duty of a consul to watch over the public safety, and to be the first to give the alarm when that safety is threatened.

⁸ *Ego video.* "I am well aware."—*Quam videtis, &c.* "Which you see in fact is very great."

⁹ *Turpem.* "Base." Alluding to their flagitious course of life.

¹⁰ *Quod si aliquando.* The grammarians lay it down as a rule, that the syllables *ali* should never follow the word *si*. The reason of the rule they do not give us. It appears, however, to be a good one, with this exception added to it, that whenever emphasis is required, we are to write *si aliquid*, for example, but to adhere to the main rule on other occasions.

corum multitudinem suscepisse video: sed eam esse ⁹ turpem iudico, infirmam et abjectam. ¹⁰ Quod si aliquando, alicujus furore et scelere ¹¹ concitata, manus ista plus valuerit, quam vestra ac rei publicæ dignitas; me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, pœnitebit. Etenim mors, quam, mihi illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: ¹² vitæ tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim ¹³ semper bene ¹⁴ gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevistis. Sit ¹⁵ Scipio clarus ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire, atque Italia decedere coactus est: ornetur ¹⁶ alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque, delevit: habeatur vir egregius, ¹⁷ Paullus ille ¹⁸ cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus, Perses, honestavit: sit æterna gloria Marius, qui ¹⁹ bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus ²⁰ Pompeius, cujus res gestæ atque virtutes, ²¹ iisdem,

¹¹ *Concitata*. "Aroused into action."—*Ista*. Denoting contempt.—*Plus valuerit, quam*. "Shall triumph over."

¹² *Vitæ tantam laudem*. "So glorious an existence."

¹³ *Semper*. Gruter thinks that this word ought to be rejected, and Grævius actually omits it. Ernesti, however, successfully defends its presence in the text, by showing that it stands opposed to *uni*.

¹⁴ *Gesta*. Thus Gruter recommends *gesta* and *conservata re publica*, which Grævius and Orelli adopt in place of *gestæ*. The ablative, as Ernesti remarks, is proper here, since Cicero is expressing his own sentiments.

¹⁵ *Scipio*. The elder Africanus, who defeated Hannibal in the battle of Zama.—*Atque ex Italia decedere*. Hannibal had maintained a footing in Italy for nearly sixteen years. The invasion of Africa by Scipio compelled him to return home.

¹⁶ *Alter Africanus*. The younger Scipio, or Africanus Minor. He was the son of Paullus Æmilius, and was adopted into the Scipio family by the son of the elder Africanus.

¹⁷ *Paullus*. Referring to Paullus Æmilius, who reduced Macedonia to a Roman province, after having conquered Perses, the last king of that country, in the battle of Pydna.

¹⁸ *Cujus currum, &c.* An account of this triumph is given by LIVY, 45, 35, *seqq.*

¹⁹ *Bis Italiam, &c.* By his two victories, one over the Teutones and Ambrones, at Aquæ Sextiæ in Gallia Narbonensis (652), and the other over the Cimbri, at the Raudii Campi, in Cisalpine Gaul (653). Consult *Vell. Paterc.* 2, 12, *Flor.* 3, 3.

²⁰ *Pompeius*. The exploits of Pompey are enlarged upon in the Oration for the Manilian Law.

²¹ *Iisdem, quibus, solis, &c.* Equivalent to "*per totum terrarum orbem celebrantur.*"

quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur. Erit profecto inter horum laudes ¹aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ: nisi fortè majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, ²quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est ³uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriæ quam domesticæ; quod hostes alienigenæ ⁴aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cœperunt, eos, cum a perniciæ rei publicæ repuleris, nec vi coërcere, nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus æternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro, bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quæ non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed [etiam] in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper hærebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quæ conjunctionem

¹ *Aliquid loci.* "Some room."

² *Quo victores revertantur.* [In illustration of what is here said we may cite the remark of Cicero, in the treatise *De Officiis* (1, 22,) "*Mili quidem Pompeius hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.*" "Pompey did me the justice to say, that he would have gained a third triumph in vain, unless there had remained a place to enjoy it, by my services to the state."—MACARTNEY.]

³ *Uno loco.* "In one respect."—*Externæ.* "In foreign lands."—*Domesticæ.* "At home."

⁴ *Aut oppressi serviunt, &c.* "Either have been completely crushed and are become slaves, or have been admitted to favourable terms of surrender, and consider themselves bound to us by the kindness thus conferred."

⁵ *Tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium.* "So great unanimity on the part of all good men." *Conspiratio* is used by Cicero in both a good and a bad sense. In the former meaning it occurs, besides the present instance, *Ep. ad Fam.* 12, 15: *De Off.* 2, 16: *De Fin.* 1, 20: in the latter, *Ep. ad Fam.* 11, 11, "*Sceleratissima conspiratio.*"

⁶ *Pro imperio, &c.* Alluding to the province of Macedonia, to the government of which he was entitled on the expiration of his consulship, but which he had surrendered to his colleague Antonius, in order to keep him firm in his attachment to the state. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 26. Cisalpine Gaul had fallen to the lot of Antonius, but Macedonia was by far the richer province of the two. Cicero afterward laid down the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which he had thus received in exchange, and Q. Metellus Celer, at that time prætor, was chosen in his place. (*Ep. ad Fam.* 15, 4.—Or. in Pis. 11.)

equitumque Romanorum, et ⁵ tantam conspirationem
 a omnium, confringere et labefactare possit.

Quæ cum ita sint, patres conscripti, ⁶ pro imperio,
 exercitu, ⁸ pro provincia quam neglexi, ⁹ pro triumpho,
 æ laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me propter urbis
 æ salutis custodiam repudiata, ¹⁰ pro clientelis hos-
 tium provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non
 labore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus
 pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac,
 conspiciatis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia,
 sed a vobis, nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei con-
 memoriam postulo: ¹² quæ dum erit in vestris fixa
 s firmissimo me muro septum esse arbitror. Quod
 spem vis improborum ¹³ defellerit atque superaverit;
 do vobis parvum meum filium: ¹⁴ cui profecto satis
 subsidii, non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad digni-
 tatem ejus, qui hæc omnia suo solius periculo conserva-

exercitu. The army which he would have commanded in the
 of Macedonia.

provincia, &c. Alluding, not to Cisalpine Gaul, as Manutius
 but to Macedonia. [PLUT. Cic. 12. Καὶ τοῦτον (Ἀντώνιον)
 Θεραπευὼν ὁ Κικέρων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν
 αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρηγήσατο. ORELLI.]

triumpho. He means the public chances of a triumph for
 s abroad.

clientelis, &c. "In return for the numerous clientships and
 ties of friendship which I might have formed in my province,
 and, notwithstanding, I here support with no less labour, by
 those resources which the city affords me." To prove the
 the sacrifice, he confesses how eager he is to establish client-
 connexions of friendship at home, by every means which his
 power and influence in the city enable him to employ. [*Pro* is
 used in this clause somewhat differently from its use in the first, where
 "instead of," here "in return for."]

meis in vos singularibus studiis. "In return for my conspicuous
 zeal in your behalf."

dum erit infixa. "For as long as it shall be firmly fixed."—
in muro. "By one of the strongest of ramparts."

derit atque superaverit. "Shall have disappointed and triumphed
 over my son." *parvum meum filium.* His son Marcus.

profecto, &c. "Who will find in you assuredly sufficient aid,
 as regards his personal safety, but also his future advance-
 ment; you shall bear in mind that he is the son of that man who
 has risen from ruin, at his own individual risk, all these things by
 which he is now surrounded."

verit, illum esse filium memineritis. Quapropter ¹de summa salute vestra populi que Romani, patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, ²de aris ac focis, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiæ, de ³universa re publica, decernite ⁴diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet; et ea, quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et ⁵per se ipsum præstare possit.

¹ *De summa salute vestra.* "In a case that concerns your very existence." Literally, "your highest safety."

² *De aris ac focis.* "That concerns your homes." Ernesti correctly remarks, that, in the expression *aris ac foci*, both terms have a united reference to private dwellings, the *ara* referring to the altar of the *Penates*, and the *focus* to the hearth of the *Lares*, in each dwelling. Our English phrase, "altars and homes," is altogether inapplicable, in the sense that we attach to it, by "altars" being meant public places of worship.—Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v. Ara.*

³ *Universa re publica.* "Your country at large."

⁴ *Diligenter, ut instituistis, &c.* "Promptly and firmly, as you have already begun to do." The expression *ut instituistis* refers as well to the promptness and energy displayed by Silanus and other senators in the course of the present debate, as to the opinions of certain members of that body during their deliberations at the previous meeting. Compare *Or. 3 in Cat. c. 6*: "*Dictæ sunt a principibus acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ,*" &c.

⁵ *Per se ipsum præstare.* "Take on himself and execute." *Quoad* is introduced before *possit* in some MSS., and Grævius and Ernesti both approve of it, on the ground of its being more modest than the ordinary reading, and displaying more of the "*conciinnitas Ciceroniana*." Both reasons are weak. The language of Cicero, as we have given it, shows the firm resolve and conviction of an undaunted and patriotic mind, sure of accomplishing its object, and encouraging others by this very appearance of decision. And as for the "*conciinnitas Ciceroniana*," it may be merely remarked, that there is no direct relation whatever between *quoad vivet* and *quoad possit*; the connexion is between *dubitet* and *possit*. [The order of the construction is *qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et possit defendere et per se ipsum præstare ea quæ statueritis, quoad vivet*. By the last words he hints at the danger of assassination.]

NOTWITHSTANDING the strenuous efforts of Cicero, in this oration, ¹ have prompt and vigorous measures taken against the conspirators who were in custody, a large majority of the senators, and among the

Cicero's own brother, Quintus, were disposed to side with Cæsar, probably from the fear lest severe measures might prove injurious afterward to Cicero himself. At last, Lutatius Catulus, Cæsar's inveterate foe, and Cato, who was then tribune elect of the commons, interposed their efforts. The eloquence of the latter proved triumphant, and the curse he recommended was almost unanimously adopted. (Consult LUTATIUS, *Vit. Cic.* c. 20, *seq.*—*Id. Vit. Cæs.* c. 7, *seq.*—*Id. Vit. Cat.* c. 22.—SUTR. *Cæs.* 14.—APPIAN, *B. C.* 2, 5, *seqq.*)

BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS UNTIL CICERO'S RETURN FROM EXILE.

91. At the termination of Cicero's consulship Metellus and Cæsar charged Cicero with the illegal slaughter of Roman citizens. Cato, however, quieted the popular party by devoting 2500 talents annually to purchase corn for the poor. The senate also decreed that any one who disturbed or assailed Cicero should be treated as a public enemy.
92. Next year occurred Clodius's celebrated violation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Cicero's evidence on the trial proved the falsehood of the *alibi* set up by Clodius, and this led to the inveterate hostility of the latter.
93. Formation of the first triumvirate, in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, or as it is humorously marked *Julio et Cæsare C.S.S.* Bibulus confined himself to his own abode during his year of office.
94. The interest of Cæsar obtained the tribunate for Clodius. In reality Cæsar intended Clodius to be a thorn in the sides of the aristocracy, and probably desired to force Cicero to become his own creature, for we find that when Clodius first assailed Cicero, the latter was offered a lieutenancy by Cæsar in his Gallic army.
The proposal of Clodius was that all who put to death Roman citizens, without a regular trial, should be punished as public enemies. Cicero fled from the contest, he was disliked by the aristocracy as being a *novus homo*, and was hated by the populace for his severe principles. Although he withdrew voluntarily the prosecution was carried on, and he was sentenced to banishment 400 miles from Italy.
One month after Cicero's banishment, namely in May, Clodius liberated Tigranes, one of Pompey's prisoners. This caused Pompey to feel the true character of Clodius, whom he now began to oppose. On the first of June a resolution was passed by the senate to recall Cicero from exile and to rescind the sentence, but Clodius, as tribune, put in his veto, and the resolution was of no effect.
95. Milo is appointed tribune, he coalesced with Pompey, and eventually, on the 5th of August, obtained the decree for Cicero's recall.

INTRODUCTION.

[In 665 was passed the law of Plautus Silvanus and Papirius Censorinus, hence called *lex Plautia Papiria*. By it the *civitas* was given to those who were enrolled in the federate states, provided they complied with the conditions named in chap. iv.

In two points it appears Archias had not complied with this law: 1. He could not prove his enrolment in the federates. Cicero accounts for this by stating that the records of Heraclea were burnt in the Italic war. 2. He had not submitted his property to assessment.

In the year 689 was passed the Papian law; the object of which was to expel all foreigners from the city, and compel the Latin allies to return to their own cities. And under this law one Gratius accused Archias. Of Gratius we know nothing, but he is supposed to have been a Quadruplitor.

We know not whether Archias was acquitted or not. In so trifling a matter most probably the advocacy of Cicero prevailed.

Several epigrams of Archias are preserved in the Anthology; of these we give two selected by Orelli:—

I.

Τρωάδι Παλλαναῖος ἀνῆρτησαν Ἀθήνα
αὐλὸν ἐριβρεμέταν Μίκκος Ἐνναλίου
ὃ ποτε καὶ θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν πολέμοισιν ἔμελψεν
πρόσθε, τὸ μὲν στοναχᾶς σῆμα, τὸ δ' εὐνομίας.

II.

Ἀῖδος ὦ νεκυηγέ, κεχαρμένε δάκρυσι πάντων,
ὃς βαθὺ πορθμένεις τοῦτ' Ἀχέροντος ὕδωρ
εἰ καὶ σοὶ βέβριθεν ὑπ' εἰδώλοισι καμόντων
ὀλκᾶς, μὴ προλίπῃς Διογένη με κύνα.

ὀλπήν καὶ σκίπωνα φέρω καὶ διπλόον εἶμα
καὶ πήρην καὶ σοὶ ναυτιλιῆς ὀβολόν.
καὶ ζῶδες τάδε μῶνον, ἃ καὶ νέκυς ὧδε κομίζω,
εἶχον· ὑπ' ἡελίου δ' οὐ τι λείλοιπα φάει.

With respect to the time of the delivery of this speech, it must have been between the close of 691 and 693. After 691, from chap. 1. *Quas res nos in consulatu nostro—gessimus*. Before 693, for as the last census mentioned in it Archias was with L. Lucullus, it must have been spoken before the close of 693, in which year the census was taken. (DIO. CASS. 37, 46.) The *Palimpsest Ambros.* states that the prætor who presided was Q. Cicero; if so, Archias must have defended 692, in the consulship of D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, for Q. Cicero was prætor in that particular year.

Although above and throughout the notes I have assumed that this trial took place before Q. Cicero, prætor 692, yet the point is controverted. Ilgen (*Opusc. Philol.* t. 11, page 92, *seqq.*) endeavours to prove that C. Vergilius was colleague of Cicero in this prætorship, and the trial might have taken place before the former. But, as Schütz remarks, it is not *certain* that Vergilius and Cicero enjoyed the prætorship in 692. From M. T. Cicero himself (*Ad Att.* 1, 13, 16), we learn that Q. Cicero had departed to Asia as his province in the *early spring* of 692, and consequently the accurate Pighius has placed the prætorship of Vergilius and Cicero in 691. Among the actual prætors of 692 there is none who could be complimented so highly by Cicero, for his earning, &c. From all these points Schütz thinks this cause was decided in 693 before C. Octavius, father of Octavius Cæsar, who is celebrated for his upright character and learning.

This is not the place to discuss fully the question of the authenticity of this oration, to which the doubt of German scepticism has been applied. Klotz and Schraeder are the chief opponents of its genuineness, and their arguments are of the usual kind, *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, unusual phrases, and above all, meagreness, tenuity of style, and weakness in describing the advantages and pleasures of learning. Once for all let us state, that *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, and unusual phrases form no ground of strict reasoning whatever. If we had before us, and were masters of, the whole body of Roman literature, we might then discuss what this ground of scepticism were worth; otherwise it is mere waste of time. With respect to the weakness of Cicero's description of the pleasures, &c., of polite learning, Schütz has remarked that this is in itself a proof of its genuineness. "*Non enim hic mos est declamitorum, ut paucis verbis in narrandis rebus exponendis ac refutandis argumentis defungatur, sed ut omnia verborum, lenocinia et pigmenta orationis, ornamentorum, ληκύθους, inepte effundant, quod ex orationibus quinque illis spuris satis intelligas.*"—G. B. W.]

¹ M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POET
ORATIO.

¹ M. TULLII CICERONIS, &c. "Oration of M. Tullius Cicero in of the poet Archias."—This is one of the orations of Cicero on v has succeeded in bestowing the finest polish, and it is perhaps t pleasing of all his harangues.

Archias, a native of Antioch, came to Rome when about eigh twenty years of age. He was rewarded, for his learning and with the friendship of the first men in the state; and, un patronage of Lucullus, with whom he travelled, he obtained th of citizenship at Heraclea, a confederate and enfranchised t Lucania. He assumed upon this, as was customary, his patron' name of Licinius. A few years afterward, a law was enacted ring the rights of Roman citizens on all who had been adm the freedom of federate states, provided they had a settlement at the time when the law was passed, and had asserted the p before the prætor, within sixty days from the period at whic promulgated. With this form Archias complied, and for mo twenty years his claims were never called in question.

At length, a certain individual, named Gratius, accused him having any just title to the character of a Roman citiz attempted to drive him from the city, under the enactment e all foreigners who usurped, without due right, the name and at of Roman citizens.

The records of Heraclea having been destroyed during th war, and the name of Archias not appearing in any census of citizens, certain doubts were thrown on the legal rights of h Cicero, therefore, enlarges on the dignity of literature and poe the various accomplishments of Archias, which gave him s claim to the privileges he enjoyed. He beautifully describes t ence which study and a love of letters had exercised on character and conduct. He had thence imbibed the princip glory and virtue should be the darling objects of life, and attain these, all difficulties and dangers were to be despised.

The prætor who presided on this occasion had been suppos Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator; the ancient commentary oration, discovered by Maio, fully establishes this point.—The *the speech* is A.U.C. 692, B.C. 62, and Cicero was then in the fo year of his age.—ANTHON.

I. (1.) ² Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, ³ in qua ne non infitior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si ⁴ hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus horruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis ⁵ hic A. Licinius fructum a me ⁶ repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium æteriti temporis, et ⁷ pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem, et ad sciendam, et ⁹ ad ingrediendam rationem horum studi-

¹ Si quid est in me ingenii, &c. "Whatever talent there be in me, judges, and I am well aware how scanty it is; or whatever experience in public speaking, in which I do not deny that I am moderately good; or whatever acquaintance with the theory of this same art, resulting from the cultivation and influence of the most liberal studies, from which I acknowledge that no portion of my life has ever been estranged," &c. [Aristotle lays down that the three great requisites for an orator are φύσις=*facultas ingenii*, μάθησις=*dicendi ratio*, ἔκπαιξις=*disciplina*. In the opening clause these are put in the following order, *ingenium, exercitatio, disciplina*.]

² In qua, &c. Cicero, as Hottomann remarks, has here accidentally fallen upon an hexameter, from *in qua* to *esse* inclusive.

³ Hujusce rei ratio aliqua. *Hujusce rei* refers to public speaking; while by *ratio* is meant theoretical skill. Compare ERNESTI, (*Lexicon technol. Lat. Rhet.* p. 590.) "*Ratio dicendi, omnium earum rerum, quæ ad artem dicendi vel eloquentiam tradendam pertinent, accuratam doctrinæ institutionem complectitur.*"

⁴ Hic A. Licinius. "This Aulus Licinius." Two MSS. subjoin *Archias*, but the one which we have given is undoubtedly the true reading, since Cicero would purposely, at the commencement of his speech, employ only the Roman part of his client's name.

⁵ Repetere. "To claim as his right." Said of one who demands his right or due after a lapse of time, below viii. *Homerum Salaminii petunt.*—*Prope suo jure.* "By a right peculiarly his own." [A right which none could dispute, where all the law of the case lay on his side. See *Leg. Man.* xxi., begin.]

⁶ Nam quoad longissime, &c. "For far back as my mind can review the period of the past, and recall the most distant recollections of boyhood, retracing my career from thence, I see this Archias to have been my first adviser for attempting and then for entering on the path of these studies." By *rationem studiorum* is meant the theoretical pursuit of private studies.

⁷ Pueritiæ. Cicero was about five years old when he was first placed under the care of Archias.

⁸ Ad ingrediendam, &c. Cicero here means to allude to his earlier studies, since his later ones were pursued under other instructors.

orum exstitisse. Quod si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque ¹conformata, nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; ²a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem, et salutem ferre debemus. (2.) ³Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quædam in hoc facultas ingenii, neque ⁴hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ⁵ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus. ⁶Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad ⁷humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

¹ *Conformata*. "Moulded." Compare ERNESTI, *Lex. Techn.* p. 83 "Conformatio dicitur, cum res informis fit elegans et formata."

² *A quo id accepimus*, &c. "From whom we received that ability, by which we might be enabled to lend aid to all and safety to some." [*Possemus*, i. e. at any time when necessary. Most editions have *possumus*.]

³ *Ac, ne quis a nobis*, &c. "And lest any one may chance to wonder that such a remark is made by me, because there is in this individual a different kind of genius, and not that theory or practice of oratory let him know not even we ourselves have been exclusively devoted to this one pursuit." Since Archias was a poet and not an orator, Cicero thought it might perhaps appear strange to some of his auditors, to hear him assert that he had derived so much benefit from the former.

⁴ *Hæc dicendi ratio*, &c. Observe the peculiar force of *hæc* and consult, as regards the meaning of *ratio*, what is remarked under note 1 p. 139.

⁵ *Ne nos quidem huic uni*. [For *huic uni* Lambinus reads *huic cunctis* but *cunctus* could not be used in the sense of *totus* (*totus in illis*.) *Hei Sat.* 1, 9, 12,—*Omnis in hoc sum*. *Ep.* 1, 1, 11. *Cuncti* then would include judges, accusers, hearers, &c., but he manifestly speaks only of himself.—ORELL.]

⁶ *Etenim omnes artes*. &c. "For all arts, that have relation to liberal knowledge, possess a kind of common bond of union, and are linked together by a species of natural affinity."

⁷ *Humanitatem*. The term *humanitas* is applied by the Latin writers to liberal and polite studies, from their humanizing influence on the mind. Compare the language of AULUS GELLIUS, 13, 16: "*Qui verba Latina fecerunt*," &c. [They who are accustomed to observe the proprieties of the Latin language, . . . consider *humanity* as what the Greeks call *παιδείαν*, and what we term instruction and initiation in the liberal arts, which they who earnestly follow and obtain, may be said to be the most humanized.—BELOE.]

⁸ *In quæstione legitima*. "In a mere legal question." The point involved in the present case, respecting the citizenship of Archias, was a strictly legal one.—*In judicio publico*. It was in fact only a case about the private right of citizenship, but then the question turned on the

II. (3.) SED ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur: me in quaestione legitima, et in iudicio publico, ⁹ cum res agatur apud ¹⁰ prætorem populi Romani, rectissimum virum, apud severissimos ¹¹ iudices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, ¹² quod non modo a consuetudine iudiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone horreat; quaeso a vobis, ¹³ ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis quemadmodum vero non molestam: ut me pro summo poeta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatissimorum, ¹⁴ hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique prætore

interpretation of a public law, which consequently gave the trial a public aspect.

⁹ *Cum res agatur*, &c. "When the case is pleaded before a prætor of the Roman people, a most upright individual, and before judges of the strictest character." *Severissimos*, refers to the strict impartiality of the bench whom Cicero is addressing.—[*Agatur*. Klotz reads *agitur*, but this word would only be suited to an angry discussion in a turbulent assembly.]

¹⁰ *Prætorem*. It used to be a warmly-contested point who the prætor was that presided on this occasion. The old commentary discovered by Maio settles the question. The prætor was Cicero's brother, Q. Cicero, himself an epic and tragic poet. The words of the commentary are: "*Hanc enim causam, lege Papia, de civitate Romana, apud Quintum Ciceronem dixit*," &c.—[*Rectissimum*, *al.* *lectissimum*. We have adopted the reading of the Cod. Ambros. "A man who swerves not from the path of rectitude." The adjective then closely corresponds to the expression *severissimi iudices*. *Lectissimum* is too strong an expression to be used of a brother, in his presence.—ORELL.]

¹¹ *Judices*. In conformity with the Aurelian law of L. Aurelius Cotta, passed during the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, the judges on public trials were selected, at the time this case was pleaded, from the senators, equites, and tribunes of the treasury. (Consult note 3, page 124.) These *iudices* formed a select council, who assisted the prætor with their advice. They sat by him on *subsellia*, or benches, and are hence often called his *accessores*.

¹² *Quod non modo*, &c. "Which is at variance with not only the custom of public trials, but even with the mode of pleading usual at the bar." Hence he fears, lest it may not seem to comport with the grave character of the court before which he is speaking. [*Verum etiam*. Cicero alone uses the formula *non modo—verum etiam*. Other writers have *non modo—sed etiam*.—ORELL.]

¹³ *Ut in hac causa*, &c. "To grant me this indulgence in the present case, an indulgence well-suited to the character of the accused, and, as I hope, not disagreeable to yourselves; that you permit me, namely, when pleading in behalf of," &c.

¹⁴ *Hac vestra humanitate*, &c. ["Before this assembled incarnation of your learning." Abstract for concrete.] And while such a prætor

exercente iudicium, patiamini ¹ de studiis humani-
literarum paullo loqui liberius, et ² in ejusmodi
quæ, propter otium ac studium, minime in judici-
culisque tractata est, uti prope ³ novo quodam et in
genere dicendi. (4.) Quod si mihi a vobis trib-
cedique sentiam, ⁴ perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. L.
non modo non segregandum, cum sit civis, a
civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis adscisci
fuisse.

III. ⁵ NAM ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias
ab iis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis ⁶ ad humanitatē
formari solet, se ⁷ ad scribendi studium contulit:]

presides at this trial" *Hoc prætor* suits well the language
brother to another; a higher strain of compliment would be
out of place.

¹ *De studiis humanitatis*, &c. "To enlarge, with somewhat
freedom, on liberal studies and literature in general; and, in
of such a character, who, on account of his retirement and st-
been by no means engaged in public trials and perils, to e-
novel and unusual mode of speaking."—*Tractata est* is here eq-
to *exercitata est*. Compare the explanation of Döring: "*Trac-
tem, quam attingimus, vel in qua nos exercemus; et sic ipsæ res,
sonæ, quæ in aliqua re exercentur, in ea tractari dicuntur.*"
also ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v. Tractare*. [Others have *jacta
personam tractare proprie dicitur histrio. De Off. iii. 29, 106. Cu-
retur Atreus, personæ serviendum fuit. Est igitur, ejusmodi homin-
est hic poeta, raro in judiciis comparent, ubi causam dicant.*"—O

² *In ejusmodi persona*. Referring to Archias. Passeratius
the allusion to be to the orator himself, of which explanation B
(*ad Ovid. Rem. Am. 381*) approves.

³ *Novo quodam*, &c. The novel kind of speaking, to which
alludes, is the introduction of literary topics into the discuss-
legal point.

⁴ *Perficiam profecto*, &c. "I will assuredly effect that y-
think my friend Aulus Licinius, not only ought not, when
citizen, to be excluded from their number, but even, if he we
citizen, ought to be admitted among them now." [Understa-
with *adsciscendum*.]

⁵ *Nam ut primum*, &c. From his being subsequently called
tatus, Archias must, at the time here alluded to, have been abo-
teen or fifteen years of age. [*Ex pueris—postquam ex ephebis ex-
TER.*]

⁶ *Ad humanitatem informari*. "To be trained to liberal know-
More literally, "to be moulded." Compare the explanation of
tius, "*Quasi formæ initium a literis accipiat puerilis ætas, quæ
informis esset.*"

⁷ *Ad scribendi studium*. "To poetic composition." More l-
"to the study of composition." Some of the epigrams of Arc-

Antiochiæ, (nam ibi natus est ⁸loco nobili;) celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque ⁹eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti, celeriter ¹⁰antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiæ partibus cunctaque Græcia ¹²sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut amam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. (5.) Erat Italia tunc plena ¹³Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque hæc t in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc ¹⁴iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romæ, propter tranquillitatem rei publicæ, non negligeabantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini, et Rhegini, et Neapolitani, civitate ceterisque præmiis donarunt: et

reserved in the *Anthology*, vol. ii. p. 80, *seqq.* ed *Jacobs*. His poetical merits are evidently overrated by Cicero.

⁸ *Loco nobili*. "Of a distinguished family."—*Celebri quondam urbe*. "In a city once populous." As regards the force of *celeber* compare *Ernesti*, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. "*Abundans incolis et frequens*." So *Ad Terentium*, 2, 4, "*Locus celebris an desertus*."—The words *urbs*, *oppidum*, &c., when in apposition to names of towns, as the place where anything occurs, may be in the ablative without *in*, though the name of the place be in the genitive.

⁹ *Eruditissimis hominibus*, &c. "Abounding in the most learned men—in the most liberal studies." What the grammarians call a *zeugma* operates in *affluenti*, that is, our idiom would require a different meaning for each clause.

¹⁰ [*Antecellere contigit*. As this is the only passage in which Cicero joins an infinitive to the verb *contigit*, editors have endeavoured to correct the passage. *Ernesti* has *ei antecellere*. *Lambinus* *celeriter ei, ut antecelleret*, &c.]

¹¹ [*Cuncta Græcia*. Some editions have *cunctæ Græciæ*, but who would write, "*in ceteris partibus cunctæ Græciæ*?"]

¹² *Sic ejus adventus celebrabantur*, &c. "His arrivals were attended with so much eclat, that the expectation formed of the individual exceeded the fame of his talents; his actual arrival, and the admiration it excited, surpassed even their expectation of him.

¹³ *Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum*. "Of Grecian arts and culture."—*Studiaque hæc*. Referring to liberal studies in general.—*Vehementius*. "With more ardour."

¹⁴ *Iisdem in oppidis*. He uses the term *oppidis* purposely, as indicating places of inferior rank to the capital, Rome, which was properly called *urbs*. [*Tranquillitatem*, i. e. a freedom from intestine discord for ten years, counting from the sedition of Saturninus, ended 654, and the outbreak of the Manic war 664. As to the expression *oppidis*, Cicero means to say, that "these liberal studies were then more eagerly pursued throughout the whole of Latium than now they are in its very towns, before the desolation caused by the Italian war," &c., learning was cultivated throughout even the retired and country parts of Latium: now those studies are confined to the towns.]

¹⁵ *Non negligeabantur*. A *litotes*, for *maxime florebant*.

omnes, ¹qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitionem atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. ²Hac tanta celebritate famæ cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit ³Mari consule et Catulo. ⁴Nactus est primum consules eos quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cum re gestas, tum etiam studium atque ⁵aures ⁶adhibere posset. Statim ⁷Luculli, cum ⁸prætextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed hoc ⁹non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis, ut domum

¹ *Qui aliquid de ingeniis, &c.* "Who were able to form any estimate of talent," i. e. who were intelligent enough to mark the existence of talent in another.

² *Hac tanta celebritate famæ.* "Amid this so brilliant a reputation." —*Absentibus.* ["Who were so distant from him." *Absens Roma laudatur.* HOR. *Ep.* 1.

³ *Mario consule et Catulo.* C. Marius was seven times consul; this was in A.U.C. 652. Of Catulus Cicero speaks in high terms, *Orat.* 2, and elsewhere.

⁴ *Nactus est primum, &c.* "He found, in the first place, those individuals in the consulship, of whom the one could furnish subject for poetic composition, the other both achievements, and also [a similarity of pursuit, and a critical attention.]" By the first of these is meant Marius, whose exploits over the Teutones and Cimbri were celebrated in verse by Archias: the other is Catulus, who shared with Marius the glory of the Cimbrian victory, and was also, as Cicero styles him (*Brutus*, c. 35), "*vir doctus et disertus.*" He wrote the history of his consulship, after the manner of Xenophon, and dedicated it to A. Furius, the poet. Cicero, elsewhere (*De Off.* c. 35), ascribes to the Catuli, father and son, "*exquisitum litterarum judicium.*"

⁵ *Aures.* Referring, not merely to his listening with attention to the recitations of Archias, but also to his being enabled, by good taste and a practised ear, to pass an accurate opinion on the productions of the bard. Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Aures: Quæ, quæ audirent judicare possent,*" and also that of DÖRING: "*Aures adhibere.*" i. e. *percipere et dijudicare carminum pulchritudinem.*"

⁶ *Adhibere.* We have rendered this verb by our English term "to furnish," i. e. exhibit or display, rather than have recourse to an awkward zeugma, as recommended by Döring.

⁷ *Luculli.* The two brothers, L. Licinius and Marcus Lucullus. The former was the eminent commander, whose biography is given by Plutarch.

⁸ *Prætextatus.* "A mere youth." A Roman term applied to a foreigner. Among the Romans, young persons wore the *toga prætextata* until they were seventeen years of age, when they assumed the *toga virilis*. [Orelli accurately remarks, "*Satis callide, nisi magnopere fallor prætextatum vocat Græculum, quasi jam fuisset civis Romanus, pro adolescentulo, similiter.*" Verr. *Accus.* 11, 33, 80, *prætextatus Sopalis filius.*"]

hujus adolescentiæ prima fuerit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. (6.) Erat temporibus illis jucundus Metello, ¹⁰ illi Numidico, ¹¹ et ejus filio Pio. ¹² Audiebatur a M. Emilio: ¹³ vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre et filio: a Crasso ¹⁴ colebatur: ¹⁵ Lucullos vero, et ¹⁶ Drusum, et Octavios, et Catonem, et totam Hortensiorum domum, nectam consuetudine cum teneret, afficiebatur summo ore: quod eum non solum ¹⁸ colebant, qui aliquid perire atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte illecebant.

Non solum ingenii, &c. "Was a proof not only of his genius and literary acquirements, but also of his amiable temper and virtuous disposition."—*Domus.* Referring to the family of the Luculli.

Illi Numidico. "The celebrated Numidicus." The pronoun *ille* here the force of the Greek article when used emphatically. Metellus received the title of *Numidicus*, from his having defeated Jugurtha in two battles, and made himself master of nearly all Numidia. Jugurtha, however, was finally taken captive, and the war ended, by Metellus. Still Metellus was, in fact, the true victor, having been recalled home on the eve of terminating the contest.

Et ejus filio Pio. "And to his son Pius." The son of Q. Metellus Numidicus received the cognomen of *Pius*, from his having obtained, on his entreaties, from the Roman people, the recall of his father from Africa. [Compare VELLIUS PATERCULUS 11, 15, Q. Metellus, Numidici filius meritum cognomen Pii consecutus erat. Quippe expulsus a L. Saturnino trib. pop. quod solus in leges ejus jurare noluerat, etc sua, auctoritate Senatus, consensu populi Romani restituit patrem."]

¹² *Audiebatur a M. Emilio.* "He found a hearer in M. Æmilius," i. e. M. Æmilius was one of his hearers. The allusion is to the poet's recitations in private circles. The Æmilius here meant is the famous Æmilius Scaurus. Consult Historical Index.

¹³ *Vivebat.* "He lived on terms of intimacy."

¹⁴ *Colebatur.* "He was highly esteemed."

¹⁵ *Lucullos vero, &c.* "Inasmuch as he held the Luculli, and Drusus, and the Octavii, and Cato, and the whole family of the Hortensii, attached to himself by habits of intimacy, he was honoured by the high-compliment."

¹⁶ *Drusum.* M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, who had proposed to the people a law about admitting the Italian allies to the rights of citizenship. He was slain at his own home by Q. Varius [663]. Consult Historical Index.

¹⁷ *Octavios.* The two Octavii, Cneius and Lucius.—*Catonem.* Properly M. Cato, the father of Cato Uticensis.

¹⁸ *Colebant.* "Courtied his acquaintance."—*Qui aliquid, &c.* "Who were really desirous of making some literary acquisitions and becoming hearers," i. e. of improving themselves by becoming his auditors. These frequently recited their compositions in the *atrium* of their patron's houses to their assembled friends; these recitations were usual

IV. ¹INTERIM satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum L. Lucullo ²in Siciliam profectus, et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit ³Heracleam. "Quæ cum esset civitas æquissimo jure ac fœdere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: ⁵idque cum ipse per se dignus putaretur auctoritate et gratia Luculli, ab Heracleensibus impetravit. (7.) ⁶Data est civitas ⁷Silvani lege et Carbonis, "SI QUI FŒDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ADSRIPTI FUISSENT: ET TUM, CUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT:" ET, "SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRÆTOREM

in Greece, both with poets and sophists, under the term *ἐνδοξέειναι*.]—*Si qui forte simulabant.* "Whoever chanced to affect this desire."

¹ *Interim satis longo intervallo.* "Some considerable time after this."

² *In Siciliam.* Some of the early editors have *Ciliciam*, and Ilgen attempts to defend it as the true reading. Most of the MSS., however, give *Siciliam*.—This journey of Lucullus does not appear to have been made in any public capacity. Ilgen, in attempting to prove *Ciliciam* the true reading, thinks it probable that Lucullus, in order to qualify himself for public affairs, followed in the train of Sylla, when the latter was sent as proprætor to that country. This is all, however, a purely gratuitous supposition. (ILGEN, *Animadv. Hist. et Crit. in Orat. pro. Arch.* p. 12, seqq.)

³ *Heracleam.* In Lucania, between the rivers Aciris and Siris. Consult Geographical Index.

⁴ *Quæ cum esset, &c.* ["And seeing this was a *civitas* enjoying the most favourable right and alliance." See ARNOLD, vol. ii., chap. xvii.] The alliance here referred to was made with Rome, at the time that Pyrrhus was in Italy, A.U.C. 475.—A zeugma, as will be perceived, operates in *æquissimo*.

⁵ *Id cum, &c.* ["And that he obtained from the people of Heraclea, as well because he was deemed worthy for his own merits, as also by the influence and favour of Lucullus.]"

⁶ *Data est civitas, &c.,* i. e. by the law of Silvanus and Carbo, the rights of Roman citizenship were granted to strangers, in case any of them had been enrolled as citizens by the states in alliance with Rome, provided they had a domicile in Italy at the time when the law was passed, and provided also they gave in their names under the law, before the prætor, within sixty days after the passing of the same. Cicero quotes here, in part, the very language of the law, with the change merely from the present to the past tense on account of *data est* which precedes.

⁷ *Silvani lege et Carbonis.* The individuals here meant were M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. They were tribunes of the commons when the law in question was proposed by them, A.U.C. 644. It is sometimes called *Lex Plautia*, from the *nomen* of Silvanus. Consult Legal Index, and introduction to this oration.

⁸ *Multos jam annos.* "Many years before this." He came to Rome

ESSENT PROFESSI." Cum hic domicilium Romæ, ⁸ multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. (8.) ⁹ Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, ¹⁰ Grati, potest? Heracleense esse ¹¹ tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir ¹² summa auctoritate, et religione, et fide, L. Lucullus, ¹³ qui se non opinari, sed scire, non audivisse, sed vidisse, non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines; (hujus judicii causa ¹⁴ cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt;) qui hunc adscriptum

A.U.C. 652, and hence had been residing there twelve years before the passing of the law.—Q. Metellum. Manutius thinks that Q. Metellus Creticus is here meant; but Ferratius, with more probability, Metellus Fim [A.U.C. 665].

⁸ Si nihil aliud, &c. "If we are to treat of nothing else except of his citizenship at Heraclea, and the law in that case, I have nothing further to say; my cause is pleaded," i. e. if I am to confine my remarks, on the present occasion, to the fact of his being an admitted citizen of Heraclea, &c. The law referred to is that of Silvanus and Carbo. [This Heraclea was an important city of Magna Græcia, in the region of Lucania; Zeuxis was born there.]

⁹ Grati. Some editions read *Gracche*, but *Grati* rests on better MSS. authority, and is given by Ernesti, Orellius, &c. Ilgen thinks, that, as the gens *Gratia* is unknown to us, the individual here meant was most probably Numerius Quinctius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 697. But does it follow, as a matter of course, that the accuser, in a case like the present, must be a member of a family that is known to us?

¹⁰ Tum. "At the time already mentioned," i. e. the period of his visit to Heraclea in company with Lucullus.

¹¹ Summa auctoritate, &c. "Of the highest credit, the most scrupulous regard for truth, and the strictest integrity." *Religio* here refers to the scrupulous caution that ought to be observed in giving testimony, so that the whole truth may be told, but nothing beyond. Compare the general definition of Ernesti, "*Religio est summa in quacunque re diligentia, ne quid minus recte fiat.*" (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*)

¹² Qui se non opinari, &c. "Who states, that he does not think it was so, but knows it as a fact; that he did not hear it from others, but saw it with his own eyes; that he was not present merely, but was himself an actor in the affair," i. e. aided Archias in obtaining the rights of citizenship at Heraclea, by his personal interference.

¹⁴ Cum mandatis, &c. "With written documents and public testimony." The deputies from Heraclea brought with them such written documents and proofs as might, in the absence of the original registers, and to furnish the next best means for substantiating the claims of Archias

¹Heracleensem dicunt. Hic tu ²tabulas desideras Heracleensium publicas, quas ³Italico bello, incenso ⁴tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum, ⁵ad ea, quæ habemus nihil dicere; quærere, quæ habere non possumus: et ⁶hominum memoria tacere, ⁷literarum memoriam flagitare et, ⁸cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, ⁹quas idem dicis sole corrumpi, desiderare. (9.) ¹⁰An domicilium [Romæ] ne

¹ *Heracleensem*. "As a citizen of Heraclea," i. e. the freedom of the city had been conferred on him, not being a citizen by birth. Lambinus and Ernesti propose *Heracleæ esse*, considering *adscriptum* as mere gloss. [*Adscriptum*. Scil. *in albo*, we find *Adscripticii cives* D. N. D. iv. 15, 39.]

² *Tabulas publicas*. "The public registers." The lists contain the names of the citizens.

³ *Italico bello*. The war made by the Italian allies (hence called likewise the social war) upon the Roman republic, in order to extirpate from it, by force of arms, the rights of citizenship. From the Marsic having begun it, this war is sometimes denominated the Marsic.

⁴ *Tabulario*. "The registry." The office where the public records were kept. Compare note 2.

⁵ *Ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere*. "To say nothing with regard to the evidence that we have."—*Quæ habere non possumus*. The public register which has been destroyed.

⁶ *De hominum memoria tacere*. "To be silent as to the testimony of men," i. e. as to what is testified, in the present case, by Lucullus and the Heracleans.

⁷ *Literarum memoriam flagitare*. "To insist on that of records."

⁸ *Cum habeas*. "Although you have." *Integerrimi municipii*. "A free city of the strictest honour." When this oration was delivered Heraclea was a *municipium*; when Archias obtained from it the right of citizenship, it was a *civitas fœderata*.

⁹ *Quas idem dicis, &c.* "Which even you yourself confess are accustomed to be falsified."

¹⁰ *At domicilium, &c.* "But you will say, he had not his domicile in Italy." Cicero here anticipates a frivolous objection of Grattius, that Archias had not fulfilled the first requisite of the law. The common text has *Romæ*, for which Anthon substituted *in Italia*, a conjecture of Lambinus, which Ernesti and others adopt. The law required a domicile in Italy, not at Rome: this latter proposition would have been absurd. Cicero's argument, therefore, is briefly this: if Archias lived at Rome many years before he was enrolled as a citizen of Heraclea, he must necessarily have had a domicile in Italy. Now, that he so dwelt at Rome is well ascertained: consequently he fulfilled, as regarded domicile, all the provisions of the enactment. [Orelli and others bracket *Romæ*.]

¹¹ *Ante civitatem datam*. Namely, to Archias, at Heraclea.—See

habuit. Is qui, tot annis ¹¹ ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit? At non est professus. ¹² Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. ¹⁴ NAM cum ¹⁵ Appii tabulæ negligentius asservatæ licerentur; Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem resignasset: Metellus, homo sanctissimus ¹⁶ modestissimusque

omnium rerum, &c. "The seat of all his efforts and all his fortunes."

¹² *At non est professus.* "But he did not make his claim under the law." Anticipating a second objection from his opponent.

¹³ *Immo vero, &c.* "Nay, indeed, he did do so, in those very registers, which alone, connected with those claims and with the college of prætors, possess the authority of public documents." Cicero means, that Archias not only claimed in due season the rights of citizenship, but had his name enrolled in those registers which were considered the most accurately kept. These were the registers of Metellus, those of Appius and Gabinus being regarded, for the reasons which he specifies, as of little or no authority.

¹⁴ *Nam cum, &c.* "For whereas the registers of Appius were said to have been kept too carelessly, while the corruption of Gabinus, as long as he escaped impeachment, and ruin after his condemnation, deprived his registers of all credit; Metellus, on the other hand, of all men the most scrupulous and the most observant of the laws, displayed so much exactness in his own, as to have come before Lucius Lentulus, the prætor, and the judges who were sitting with him, and to have declared that he was rendered uneasy by the erasure of a single name." Cicero here places the registers of Metellus in direct opposition to those of Appius and Gabinus, and cites a little anecdote to show how careful and scrupulous a man the former was. His argument then becomes a very strong one. If the name of Archias be found in the registers of a prætor so famed for his exactness as Metellus was, this circumstance furnishes the best possible proof in support of the poet's claim.

¹⁵ *Appii.* Appius Cladius and P. Gabinus Capito were prætors long with Metellus, in the year when Archias was registered. Gabinus, after returning from his government of Achaia, was accused of extortion by Lucius Piso, and condemned, and hence his disgraceful fall destroyed the credit of his register, which his previous corruption had already greatly impaired.

¹⁶ *Modestissimus.* Equivalent here to *legum observantissimus*. Compare the remark of DÖRING, "*homo enim modestus vel maxime modestiam se probat diligenter observando ea, quæ eum observare decet.*" Hence, *r. post Red. in Sen. c. 2*, the expression *modesti consules* is applied to magistrates who shrink from the idea of doing any thing in violation of the laws" (*ERNESTI, Clav. Cic. s. v.*)

omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad ¹judices venerit, et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. ²His igitur tabulis ³nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii videtis. (10.) Quæ cum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim cum ⁴mediocribus multis, et aut nulla, aut humili aliqua arte præditis, gratuito civitatem ⁵in Græcia homines impertiebantur, ⁶Rheginos credo, aut Locrenses, aut Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos, quod ⁷scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summa

¹ *Judices.* The *accessores* of the prætor. Consult note 11, page 141.

² *His igitur tabulis.* The student will observe the force of the pronoun *his* in this clause, referring to the great care and diligence with which the register of Metellus was kept.

³ *Nullam lituram, &c.* "You see no erasure against the name of Aulus Licinius." Cicero's argument is a simple but conclusive one. If the name of Archias was contained in the register of Metellus: if there was no erasure about this name; and if Metellus was so scrupulous a man as to have been rendered uneasy, on one occasion, by an actual erasure, and to have openly stated this in court before the prætor and his associate judges: all this forms the strongest possible argument in favour of Archias.

⁴ *Mediocribus multis, &c.* "On many individuals of merely moderate abilities, and having either no profession at all, or else some humble one."

⁵ *In Græcia.* Referring to Magna Græcia, in Southern Italy, as appears at once from the names immediately after subjoined, *Rheginos, Locrenses, &c.*, denoting communities in that quarter.

⁶ *Rheginos credo, &c.* "I suppose the inhabitants of Rhegium, or of Locri, or of Neapolis, or Tarentum, were unwilling to bestow that favour on this individual of highest reputation for talent, which they were accustomed to lavish on mere actors." The whole sentence is ironical, of which *credo* is the index. The favour alluded to is the right of citizenship.

⁷ *Scenicis artificibus.* Equivalent to *histrionibus*. So the Greeks sometimes denominated actors, οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, and Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται.

⁸ *Quid? cum ceteri, &c.* Cicero asks, whether Archias can, with any justice, be deprived of his citizenship, who was actually enrolled in several cities of Magna Græcia, but preferred being regarded as a citizen of Heraclea, when so many foreigners have surreptitiously been registered in these same cities not only subsequent to the Plautian, but also to the Papian law. They escape with impunity, whereas he who acted with perfect good faith is sought to be injured.

⁹ *Legem Papiam.* By the Papian law, named from its proposer, the tribune C. Papianus, A.U.C. 688, in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, it was ordained, that all foreigners should be expelled from the city: "*ut peregrini urbe pellerentur.*" In consequence of this enact-

prædito gloria, noluisse. * Quid? cum ceteri, non
 est civitatem datam, sed etiam post † legem Papiam
 modo † in eorum municipiorum tabulas † irrepererint:
 ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod
 se Heracleensem esse voluit, rejicietur? (11.)
 † nostros requiris. Scilicet: † est enim obscurum,
 † censoribus, † hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L.
 † apud exercitum fuisse; † superioribus, † cum eodem
 † fuisse in Asia: † primis, Julio et Crasso, † nullam

any foreigners managed to have their names surreptitiously
 in the registers of the free towns of Italy, as citizens of the
 which means they evaded the law. [Under this law Archias
 sed.]

orum municipiorum, &c. Alluding to Rhegium, Locri, &c.
 re now *municipia* under the Julian law, but had been *civitates*
 when Archias obtained from them the rights of citizenship.
 legal Index.

repererint. By clandestine means. Alluding most probably to
 option of the magistrates who had charge of these registers.

us nostros, &c. "You ask for our enrolment," i. e. you de-
 t the census-lists be produced. Gratus maintained that the
 Archias was not upon the books of the censors. Cicero replies,
 those times when the census was taken, Archias was absent
 re with Lucullus, and that when he was present in Rome, no
 : the year was made. [We have adopted the punctuation of
 ;, Klotz, and Orelli. The passage is usually pointed: *Census*
quiris scilicet. Est enim, &c.]

nim obscurum. "Of course." "For it is a fact not generally
 Ironical.—*Proximis censoribus*. "That, under the last cen-
 e censors referred to were L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, A.U.C.
 0,000 citizens were then enrolled.]

c. Referring to Archias.

rioribus. "That under the preceding censors." These were
 as Philippus and M. Perperna, A.U.C. 667, after whom the
 as for a long time intermitted.

eodem quæstore. "With the same individual, then filling the
 quæstor."

is. "That, under the first censors." *Scil.* After he received
 s of citizenship. These were L. Julius Cæsar, and P. Licinius
 A.U.C. 664.

am populi partem, &c. "No part of the people was rated," i. e.
 s was taken of any portion of the people. In consequence of
 s having been taken on this occasion, Philippus and Perperna
 sen censors three years after, instead of five, the usual interval,
 to remedy the omission. The census had not been held,
 he censors were too much occupied with the arrangement of
 r tribes, composed of foreigners who had just been admitted

populi partem esse censam. ¹ Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, ² ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive; ³ iis temporibus, quem tu criminaris, ne ipsius quidem iudicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et ⁴ testamentum sæpe fecit nostris legibus, et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, ⁵ et in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo ⁶ proconsule.

VI. ⁷ QUÆRE argumenta, si qua potes. Nunquam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum iudicio, revincetur.

to the rights of Roman citizens. Archias, residing in Rome at the time, was consequently not rated.

¹ *Sed, quoniam census, &c.* "But still farther, since the mere entry on the books of the censors does not, of itself, establish the right of citizenship."

² *Ita se jam tum, &c.* "Had so conducted himself, at that period, as if he were a citizen." After *ita* supply *ut censeri posset*.

³ *Iis temporibus, &c.* "At those very periods the man whom you allege, was not, even in his own opinion, in the enjoyment of the rights of Roman citizens." [We have adopted *quem criminaris*, with Steinmetz, Klotz, and Orelli, instead of the vulgar reading *quæ*, which Anthon explains as depending on *quoad* understood. Grævius reads *quæis*.]

⁴ *Testamentum fecit, &c.* Cicero shows, that Archias, at the time alluded to, was actually a Roman citizen, from the three following circumstances: 1. From his making a will according to the Roman laws, which none but a Roman citizen could do. 2. From his succeeding to inheritances left by Roman citizens, which a foreigner could not do. 3. From his having obtained a recommendation to the state for good conduct.

⁵ *Et in beneficiis, &c.* "And his name was carried to the public treasury, in the list of the beneficiaries, by L. Lucullus the proconsul." Whenever any individual had distinguished himself in the public service, he was recommended by the magistrate, or governor, under whom he acted, to the government at home. A list, containing the names of such persons, was made out by the one who recommended them, and was deposited by him in the public treasury, or archives of the state. The list of persons thus noticed was called *beneficia*, (i. e. *beneficiarii*) because *advantages* of some kind or other were always sure to be reaped by them. This honour, however, could of course only be enjoyed by Roman citizens, and hence Archias must have been one of the latter. [Steinmetz cites a passage from one of Cicero's letters (*ad Fam.* v. 20.) "*Quod scribis de beneficiis, scito a me et tribunos militares et præfectos et contubernales dumtaxat meos delatos esse. Certior sum factus triginta diebus deferri necesse esse, quibus rationes retulissem.*"]

⁶ *Proconsule.* The common text has *prætores et consules*, for which we have given *proconsules* with Grævius. The reason of the change is simply this; the lists referred to in the text were made almost always

(12.) Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine lelectemur. ⁸ Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convicio defessæ con- quiescant. An tu existimas aut ⁹ suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, ¹⁰ nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus; aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, ¹¹ nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor, me ¹² his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se literis abdiderunt, ¹³ ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucem-

by the provincial magistrate, and as one of the MSS. collated by Grævius has *P. R. consule* instead of *prætores et consules*, the change to *proconsule* seems a very rational one. Ernesti observes of it, "*Veris-sime Grævius corrigit Proconsule.* [So Orelli.]

⁷ *Quære argumenta*, &c. "Seek for other proofs of Archias's not being a citizen, if you can find any. For never will he be refuted by any thing appearing either in his own judgment or that of his friends." [*See judicio* refers to the conclusion of the preceding chapter *quem tu eliminari ne ipsius quidem judicio*. There is, therefore, no reason to adopt the conjecture of Ilgen, *indicio*.]

⁸ *Quia suppeditat nobis*, &c. "It is because he supplies us with that by which both our mind can be refreshed from this din of the forum, and our ears, stunned by wrangling, may repose." A beautiful allusion to the charms of literary society and leisure, after laborious profes-sional labours have been brought to their daily close. *Ubi* is to be repeated with *et aures*, and takes a new meaning in this latter clause, being here equivalent to *in quo*, whereas in the beginning of the sen-tence it has the force of *a quo*, or rather the simple case of the instru-ment, *quo*.

⁹ *Suppetere nobis posse*, &c. "That that should supply itself to us which we could say," &c.—*Rerum*. Cases, subjects for pleading.

¹⁰ *Nisi excolamus*. "Unless we assiduously cultivate."—*Tantam con-tentionem*. "So long continued exertion." More literally, "to be kept so long upon the stretch." A metaphor taken from the bending of a bow, or any thing of a pliable nature, which loses its pliability in some degree by being too long bent.

¹¹ *Nisi relaxemus*. "Unless we unbend them." *Relaxo* is here directly opposed to *contentio*, and is elegantly employed for *reficio* or *recreo*. The cramping and narrowing effect of mere professional studies is very pithily alluded to in the well known saying, οἱ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν ἑρῶν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ, as well as in the δις κράμβη θάνατος.

¹² *His studiis*. Referring to literary "pursuits."—*Ita se literis abdi-derunt*. "Have buried themselves to such a degree amid literary studies." Cicero means, that they are only to be censured for their attachment to literary pursuits, who allow the world to reap no benefit from their labours.

¹³ *Ut nihil possint*, &c. "As to have been able neither to contribute anything from these same studies to the common good, nor to bring

que proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut ¹ab nullius umquam me tempore aut comodo, aut ²otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocavit, aut denique somnus retardarit? (13.) Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum ceteris ³ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt ⁴tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique ⁵aleæ, quantum ⁶pilæ; tantum mihi egomet ⁷ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi conce-

forth any thing into the view of their fellow men and the open light of day." *Adspectum* and *lucem* are here opposed to the retirement and comparative obscurity of the study.

¹ *Ab nullius tempore aut comodo.* "From no man's danger or interests." *Tempus* is here elegantly used in the sense of *periculum*. Cicero uses the latter, a little farther on, in this very chapter, "*umquam amicorum periculis defuit.*"

² *Otium meum.* "A regard for my own leisure," i. e. the wish to devote my moments of leisure to literary relaxation and repose.

³ *Ad suas res obeundas.* "For attending to their private affairs."—*Ad festos dies*, &c. "For celebrating the festal days of public spectacles." Public spectacles, such as games, theatrical exhibitions, &c., formed an important part of festal celebrations.

⁴ *Tempestivis conviviis.* "To early banquets," begun before the regular time. By *convivium tempestivum*, the Romans meant an entertainment which commenced before the usual time, and was continued late into the night, or prolonged till morning. The ordinary time for beginning the *cæna* was the ninth hour or three o'clock in the afternoon in summer, and the tenth hour in winter. In the expression *tempestivum convivium* some prefer *intempestivum*, as according better with the sense; the opposite, however, is successfully maintained by Grævius, Gronovius, Cellarius, Salmasius, and other critics.

⁵ *Aleæ.* "To gaming." All games of chance went under the general denomination of *alea*, and were forbidden by the Cornelian, Publician, and Titian laws, except at the Saturnalia in December. [For *alea* Orelli reads *alveolo*, *alveolus* is a shallow box used in a game something like our back-gammon, like it it required dice and "men" (*calculi*.)

⁶ *Pilæ.* "To ball-playing." This was a favourite exercise with the Romans, and their most distinguished men engaged in it.

⁷ *Ad hæc studia recolenda.* "For reviewing these studies." The allusion is to his earlier literary pursuits.

⁸ *Quod ex his studiis*, &c. "Because it is from these same studies, that this faculty of public speaking, which I cultivate, increases." *Oratio et facultas* is here equivalent to *facultas orationis*. Some for *crescit* read *consuetur*. [With the meaning, is "valued," "estimated by others."

dendum est magis, ⁸ quod ex his studiis hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quæ, ⁹ quantacunque est in me, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. ¹⁰ Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. (14.) ¹¹ Nam, nisi ¹² multorum præceptis multisque literis mihi ab adolescentia suavissem, nihil esse in vita ¹³ magno opere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem, ¹⁴ in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exilii, parvi esse ducenda; nunquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas ¹⁵ dimicationes, atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. ¹⁶ Sed

⁸ *Quantacunque est in me.* "In whatsoever degree it exists in me."

⁹ *Quæ si cui levior, &c.* "And if this appears to any one too trifling, I certainly know from what fountain-head I may derive those qualifications that are most important in their character." Cicero, fearing lest his previous remark might savour too much of vanity, submits this modest observation. If the faculty of public speaking which I possess appears to any, as no doubt it does, of too trifling and limited nature for me to make any boast of it, still I know in what studies to find those aids to oratory which will enable me to attain to the highest eminence.

¹¹ *Nam.* Cicero now proceeds to show, in most beautiful language, what are those aids, furnished by literary studies, which lead to eminence in oratory. They are, according to him, those principles of true wisdom, and that love for friends and country, which never fail to lead him who is governed by them to the fairest honours of eloquence.

¹² *Multorum præceptis, &c.* The term *præceptis* refers to the lessons of philosophy, and *literis* to the perusal of the poets, historians, &c.

¹³ *Magno opere expetendum.* "Deserving of being earnestly sought after."—[*Honestatem.* "Honour," virtue.—*Laudem.* "Excellence"—"merit." Thus: "If there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think of these things." For *exilii*, Orelli reads *exsilia*, i. e. "*omnia exilii genera*," which does not seem natural.]

¹⁴ *In ea autem persequenda.* "And that in its attainment."—*Parvi esse ducenda.* "Are to be regarded as comparatively trifling." *Parvi* is what the grammarians call the genitive of price or estimation.

¹⁵ *Dimicationes.* Referring here, and in what immediately follows, to the conspiracy of Catiline.

¹⁶ *Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, &c.* "Full, however, are all the books, full are the words of the wise, full is antiquity of great examples; examples that would all lie hid in obscurity, did not the light of literature approach to illumine them." The love of country, argues Cicero, is fostered by the love of literature, for it is the latter that has rescued from oblivion those fair examples of devotion to country and to friends, with which all antiquity abounds.

pleni omnes sunt libri, plenæ ¹sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, ²nisi literarum lumen accederet. ³Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego ⁴mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. (15.) QUÆRET quispiam: "Quid? ⁵illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes literis proditæ sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu laudibus effers, eruditi fuerunt?" ⁶Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare; ⁷sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines ⁸excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina, ⁹naturæ ipsius habitu prope

¹ *Sapientium voces.* Analogous to our English expression, "the voice of the wise," and referring to the writings of the philosophers.

² *Nisi literarum lumen accederet.* This same idea is very beautifully touched upon by HORACE, *Ode* 4, 8, 13, *seqq.*

³ *Quam multas imagines, &c.* "How many delineations of the bravest of men, portrayed not only for our contemplation, but also for our imitation, have both the Greek and Latin writers left behind them!" *Imagines* refers to the delineations of moral character.

⁴ *Mihi proponens.* "Placing before my view."—*Animum et mentem meam, &c.* "Strove to mould my feelings and my thoughts, by reflecting on the characters of those illustrious men."

⁵ *Illi ipsi summi viri, &c.* "Were those great men themselves, whose merits have been handed down to remembrance by the aid of letters, trained in that learning which you extol by your encomiums?" Literally, "learned in that learning." The allusion is to liberal and polite acquirements.

⁶ *Difficile est hoc, &c.* Cicero will not undertake to say, that all the eminent men alluded to by him were trained up in the paths of literature. On the contrary, he acknowledges that many of them were self-taught men, and owed their success, in a great degree, to the unaided force of natural talents. Yet he is convinced, that these native powers would have produced still fairer results under the fostering influence of liberal studies.

⁷ *Sed tamen est certum, &c.* "And yet what I am going to answer may be relied upon with certainty," i. e. is most certain.

⁸ *Excellenti animo ac virtute.* Of superior ability and merit," [ablative of quality.]—*Et sine doctrina, &c.* "And that, without the aid of learning, by the almost divine influence of nature itself, they have become, by their own exertions, discreet and influential men."

⁹ *Naturæ.* Referring to natural abilities.—*Moderatos.* Compare the explanation of Döring: "*Moderatos, h. e. temperantes, continentes, qui animum ad normam recti moderari et temperare possunt.*"

¹⁰ *Ad laudem atque virtutem, &c.* "That natural abilities, without

no, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor. ⁹um illud adjungo, sæpius ¹⁰ad laudem atque virtutem, ¹¹nam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. ¹²tque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque ¹³strem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, ¹⁴illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere: ¹⁵.) ¹⁶ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, ¹⁷num hominem, ¹⁸Africanum: ex hoc ¹⁹C. Lælium, L. ²⁰rium, ²¹moderatissimos homines et continentissimos: ex ²²fortissimum virum, ²³et illis temporibus doctissimum, ²⁴L. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, si nihil ²⁵ad perci- ²⁶ndam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, nun- ²⁷um se ad earum studium contulissent. ²⁸Quod si non hic ²⁹tus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio,

aid of learning, have oftener availed more for the purpose of excel-
æ and of virtue." [See note 13, chap. vi.]

Atque idem ego contendo, &c. And yet I also contend, that when
æcellent natural abilities there are added the system, as it were,
moulding power of learning, then something great and unpa-
æled is wont to result."—*Ratio* refers to the method which learning
æreally imparts, and by which our mental movements become
æmatised.

¹ *Ex hoc esse, &c.* "That of this number was." *Contendo* extends
force to this and the succeeding clauses. [Curiously enough, several
æpreters have supposed *numero* to be a verb.]

² *Africanum.* The younger Africanus. Consult Historical Index,
æcompare Cic. *de Off.* 1, 32: "*Hic idem Africanus eloquentia cumu-
æit bellicam gloriam.*"

³ *C. Lælium.* Well known from Cicero's treatise on Friendship.—
Furium. L. Furius was consul A.U.C. 617, and, according to Cicero
æut. 28,) "*perbene Latine locutus est, et literatius quam ceteri,*"
æpoke the Latin language very elegantly, and more correctly than any
æer man."

⁴ *Moderatissimos homines, &c.* "The most discreet and continent of
æn." Consult note 9, page 156.

⁵ *Et illis temporibus doctissimum.* "And a very learned man for
æse times."

⁶ *M. Catonem illum senem.* "Marcus Cato, the elder." More com-
æonly known as Cato the Censor, and the great grandfather of Cato
æicensis.

⁷ *Ad percipiendam, &c.* "As regarded the knowledge and practice
ævirtue."—*Adjuvarentur.*—For *adjuti fuissent.*

⁸ *Quod si, &c.* "But even if so great advantages as these were not
æown to result."—*Hanc animi adversionem, &c.* "You would regard this
æn of mind most worthy the dignity of a thinking being, and most
æeral in its character." Compare, as regards *humanissimam*, note 7,
æp. 140, and also the explanation of DÖRING: "*Humanissimam, h. e.*

sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. ¹ Nam ceteræ neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum; hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, ² delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

VIII. (17.) ³ Quod si ipsi hæc neque attingere, neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum ⁴ tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut ⁵ Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? ⁶ qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille ⁷ corporis motu tantum amorem sibi

homine dignissimam et honestissimam.—[*Animi adversionem.* Steinmetz reads *animadversionem*. Hollenger and Madvig propose *animi remissionem*. Orelli thinks the passage corrupt, and from this and similarly unusual phrases some writers, and amongst them Schräder, have considered this oration to be supposititious. But if every unusual phrase is considered as a proof of forgery, the result would be that no genuine oration of Cicero is preserved. (See Introduction to *Calpurnius*. v.)

¹ *Nam ceteræ, &c.* “For other mental employments are not suited either to every period, or to every age or place; these studies, however, foster our earlier years, afford delight to our declining ones.”—The MSS. all agree in reading *agunt* for *alunt*; but we have given *alunt* with Lambinus, Manutius, and others. Ernesti has *agunt*, and explains it by *acuant*, i. e. *excitant*. [Heindorf renders *agunt*, “employs.” Comp. HOR. *Serm.* 11, 2, 13. *Seu te discus agit.* Madvig and Orelli adopt *acuant*. CIC. *de Rep.* 1, 18, 30. *Istæ quidem artes, si modo aliquid, valent ut paululum acuant et tanquam irritent ingenia puerorum.*]

² *Delectant domi, &c.* “They impart gratification at home, they embarrass not abroad, they are with us during the night, they roam with us abroad, they are our companions amidst rural scenes.”—*Non impediunt foris.* Literary studies form no impediment to the successful discharge of public duties, but rather an aid.—*Rusticantur.* The attachment of the Romans to a country life, and their resorting to their villas during the heats of summer, are too well known to need comment.

³ *Quod si ipsi, &c.* “And even if we could neither ourselves prosecute them, nor taste the pleasures they afford by our own perceptions.” *Attingere* is here used in the sense of *tractare*.

⁴ *Tam animo agresti ac duro fuit.* “Was possessed of a heart so rude and so devoid of all feeling.” *Agresti* is here equivalent to *inhumano*, i. e. if the term be allowed, “unhumanised.”

⁵ *Roscii.* Roscius, the celebrated actor. Consult Historical Index.

⁶ *Qui cum esset, &c.* “Who, although he died in advanced years

rat a nobis omnibus; nos animorum incredibiles
 eleritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? (18.) Quoties
 c Archiam vidi, judices, (⁸ utar enim vestra benigni-
 oniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter
 is,) quoties ego hunc vidi, ⁹ cum literam scripsisset
 magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis
 jussu tum agerentur, ¹⁰ dicere ex tempore! quoties
 um eandem rem dicere, ¹¹ commutatis verbis atque
 is! Quæ vero ¹² accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea
 probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem per-
 :. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni
 defendendum putem? ¹³ Atqui sic a summis homi-
 ruditisque accepimus, ¹⁴ ceterarum rerum studia
 rina, et præceptis, et arte constare; poëtam natura

ed, on account of his surpassing skill and grace, to have de-
 ver to meet with death," i. e. to have been worthy of living

Venustatem is here equivalent to "*elegantem corporis agili-
 cinnos corporis motus.*"

oris motu. "By the mere movements of his person."—*Nos*
 i, &c. "Shall we treat with neglect the movements of the
 rpassing all belief, and the rapid flights of talent?" i. e. shall

Roscius for the mere movements of his person, and neglect
 when so much more conspicuous for the movements of the
 Ernesti thinks we ought to read *hos* for *nos*. But the latter is
 emphatic.

enim vestra benignitate. "For I will avail myself of your
 re," i. e. I will trespass a little longer upon your attention.—
vo genere dicendi. Compare note 12, p. 141.

literam scripsisset nullam. "Although he had not committed
 haracter to writing," i. e. without using his pen.

re ex tempore. "Uttering on the spur of the moment." Archias,
 assembled the Italian improvisatori.—*Revocatum.* "When re-
 o repeat." Literally, "when recalled," a metaphor borrowed
 custom of theatres, when an actor is recalled by the audience,
 xted to repeat his part.

mutatis verbis atque sententiis. "With a total change of words
 ences." [Not "sentiments" or "ideas," for Archias repeated
m.]

rate cogitateque. "With care and on reflection."—*Ut ad ve-*
 i. "As to have attained to the praise bestowed on the writers
 e to have equalled the productions of the best days of Grecian
 i. [Steinmetz remarks that Plautus is the only writer who
 adverb *cogitate*, with the exception of this solitary instance in

i sic accepimus. "And yet we have received this," i. e. have
 his. Ilgen reads *atque* on conjecture. But *atqui* suits better
 cedes, and is more spirited.

arum rerum studia, &c. "That the successful pursuit of other

ipsa raptè. et mentis vires excitari, et quasi divino quod spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctus appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono at munere commendati nobis esse videantur. (19.) Sit igitur iudices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, poetæ nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Et solitudines voci respondent; bestie sæpe immanes ca flectuntur atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus opti

matters depends on acquirements, and precepts, and art; that the poet, on the contrary, derives his power from nature herself, and is not brought into action by the energies of the mind, and inspired, as it were, a kind of sacred influence."

¹ Inflari. Compare the Greek ἐκθεσνάζειν, ἐμπνέειν, &c., as applied to poets, and also the language of OVID (*Fast.* 6, 5):

*"Est deus in nobis, agitante calcaribus illo;
Impetus hic sacre semina mentis habet."*

² *Suo jure.* "By a right peculiarly his own," i. e. on account of own eminence as a votary of the muse.

³ *Sanctos.* "A hallowed race."

⁴ *Quod quasi, &c.* "Because they seem recommended to us as if by the behest and favour of the gods." The Latin writers in order to convey an emphatic meaning, frequently join two words, which are exactly or nearly synonymous, in the compass of the same sentence, as, in the present instance, *donum* and *munus*. Some writers, indeed, on Latin style, endeavour to draw a distinction between these terms, making *donum* a pure gift, no obligation being implied on the part of the giver, and *munus*, a present which usage or obligation requires (CROMBIE, *Gymn.* vol. i. p. 97). But no such distinction operates in the present case, and certainly none in the following passage of OVID (*A. A.* 3, 653):—

*"Munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque deosque;
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis."*

In the Pandects, also, *donum* and *munus* are frequently joined together, each other, as, for example, lib. 38, tit. 1, leg. 7, 37, 47. Ulpian, however, insists, that *donum* is the generic term, and *munus* the specific (*L.* 194, *D. de Verb. Signif.*)

⁵ *Humanissimos homines.* "Men most conspicuous for the culture of liberal knowledge."—*Nulla barbaria.* "No barbarous nation."

⁶ *Saxa et solitudines, &c.* "Rocks and deserts respond to the voice." A beautiful allusion to echo, as the applause of inanimate nature. *Bestie sæpe immanes, &c.* "Savage beasts are often swayed by the influence of song, and stop in their career." An allusion to the fable of Orpheus. Compare HORACE, *Od.* 3, 11, 14, "*Tu potes tigres conque silvas,*" &c.

⁷ *Instituti rebus optimis.* "Trained up in the best instruction," who have enjoyed the best education.

in poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum ⁸ Colophonii
venisse dicunt suum, ⁹ Chii suum vindicant, ¹⁰ Salaminii
petunt, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam
delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præte-
rea pugnant inter se atque ¹² contendunt.

IX. ERGO illi ¹³ alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem
tiam expetunt; nos hunc vivum, qui ¹⁴ et voluntate et legibus
oster est, repudiabimus? præsertim cum ¹⁵ omne olim studium

⁸ *Colophonii*. "The inhabitants of Colophon." One of the Greek
cities of Ionia. For this and the other names that occur in the sen-
tence, consult Geog. Ind. [The triple repetition *suum* is inelegant.]

⁹ *Chii suum vindicant*. The Chians claim him as legally their own."
The inhabitants of the island of Chios, now *Scio*.

¹⁰ *Salaminii repetunt*, &c. "The people of Salamis demand him back,
the Smyrneans, however, bring proofs that he is theirs." The verb *repeto*
is here employed, is remarkably lively and striking. The common
name respecting the cities that claimed the honour of being Homer's
natal place, is as follows: "*Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios,*
Irgos, Athenæ." There is no agreement, however, among writers, as
regards these names. Some for Salamis substitute Cumæ, others for
Salamis and Rhodes have Pylos and Ithaca. Antipater of Sidon has
left the following epigram in the *Anthology*:—

Ἐπὶ πόλεις μάρναντο σοφὴν διὰ ρίζαν Ὀμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφών, Ἰθάκη, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

See Allatius, himself a native of Chios, in a work written on the
subject of Homer's native country, argues strongly in favour of Chios.
One of the main supports, however, of this theory, namely, the line
in the Hymn to Apollo, where mention is made of the "blind man"
who "dwells in rocky Chios," is now removed, that poem not being
Homer's. Of all the places referred to, Smyrna appears to have the
best claim. [See MULLER, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* chap. v.—GROTE, *Hist. Greece*,
vol. 1.]

¹¹ *Delubrum ejus*, &c. "They have dedicated a temple to him."
Literally, "a shrine of his." Consult the learned work of Gisbert
Kuper (*Amst.* 1683, 4to.) on a marble which has come down to us,
with a representation on it of Homer's apotheosis.

¹² *Contendunt*. Weiske thinks, that *de eo*, or some similar words, have
been dropped from this clause. This supposition seems hardly ne-
cessary, considering all that precedes.

¹³ *Alienum*. "A stranger." Referring to Homer.—*Hunc vivum*.
"This one while still alive." Alluding to Archias.

¹⁴ *Et voluntate et legibus*. "Both from inclination and by the laws."
The laws of Rome respecting citizenship.—*Repudiabimus?* "Shall
we reject?" Some editions have *repudiamus*, but the future is more
emphatic, and is sanctioned by the greater number of manuscripts.

¹⁵ *Omne studium atque omne ingenium*. "All his zeal and all his
talent."

atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi gloriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam ¹et Cimbrici adolescens attigit, et ²ipsi illi C. Mario, ³qui durior studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. (20.) Neque enim quod est ⁴tam aversus a Musis, ⁵qui non mandari versibus suorum laborum facile præconium patiatur. ⁶Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, eo quæreretur, ⁷quod acroama, aut cujus vocem libenter audiret: "ejus, ⁸a quo sua virtus optime prædicatur. Itaque ille Marius ⁹item eximie L. Plotium dilexit.

¹ *Et Cimbricas res, &c.* "He both, when a young man, treated operations against the Cimbri," i. e. the war with that invading Attigit. The verb *attingo* means, to touch slightly upon, to enter a thing in part, and hence it has been supposed that Archias commenced a poem on the Cimbric war, especially as Cicero, 11th chapter of this same oration, uses *attigit* and *inchoavit* together.

² *Ipsi illi C. Mario.* "To the celebrated Caius Marius, the conqueror of the Cimbri. The pronoun *ille* has here the force of the Greek article when emphatic.

³ *Qui durior, &c.* "Who seemed too insensible to favor studies," i. e. to patronize or take any interest in literary men.

⁴ *Tam aversus a Musis.* "So averse to the Muses," i. e. so far from being a foe to literary pursuits; possessing a mind so ungenial to studies. Compare the Greek ἀμυστος.

⁵ *Qui non mandari, &c.* "As not readily to allow the eternalizing of his labours to be consigned to verse," i. e. as not readily allowing the poet to consign his fame to the immortality of verse.

⁶ *Themistoclem illum.* "That the famous Themistocles."

⁷ *Quod acroama.* "What performer." *Acroama* properly signifies any thing agreeable to hear, (from the Greek ἀκροάομαι,) a symphony of players, &c. It is then, as in the present instance, used to signify a musician or performer. Compare Cic. *pro Sex. Roscio* "Ipse ille maximus ludius, non solum spectator, sed actor et cetera." So Suetonius, Aug. 74, "Et aut acroamata aut histriones acroamata triviales ex circo ludios interponebat." Ernesti, in an excursus on the latter passage even goes so far as to assert, that, among Latin *acroama* is always used of persons and never of things. This, however, is an erroneous one. Still his explanation of the word may not be amiss in this place: "*Acroamata, qui sive in theatro, sive in convivio, voluptatis causa audiuntur; musici omnes qui earum, tibiarum, et vocum, delectant aures.*"

⁸ *A quo sua virtus, &c.* "By whom his merits might be celebrated." The love of glory was the ruling passion of this ill-fated Athenian. Compare, as regards the anecdote here related of Themistocles, the language of Valerius Maximus: "*Themistocles, theatrum petens, interrogaretur, cujus vox auditu illi futura esset gratissima, dixit, a quo artes meæ canentur optime.*" (8, 14, 5.)

⁹ *Item eximie, &c.* "Was, for a like reason, strongly attached to."

ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat, posse celebrari. (21.) ¹⁰ Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile, et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: ¹¹ "qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrent. ¹² "Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsa natura regionis vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, ¹³ non maxima manu innumerabiles ¹⁴ Armeniorum copias fudit: ¹⁵ populi Romani

Lucius Plotius." Ernesti regards Plotius as a poet; but Weiske makes him a rhetorician, and identical with the one named in Suetonius, *de Clar. Rhet.* c. 2; [and who opened the first school of Latin rhetoric at Rome, he also studied poesy. See *Quint.* iii. 4, 42.]

¹⁰ *Mithridaticum vero bellum, &c.* "The whole Mithridatic war, however, great and difficult, and carried on with varied success by land and sea, has been described in verse by this my friend." The Mithridatic war was carried on by the Romans, against Mithridates the 7th, named Eupator, king of Pontus. It was an important and difficult contest, owing to the great talents and varied resources of Mithridates. The war was entered upon by Sylla, who was followed by Lucullus, and it was brought to a close by Pompey. [*Totum* must be taken with some limitation, i. e. The whole war as far as carried on by Lucullus; Archias, being the friend of Lucullus, would scarcely celebrate Pompey's management of the war; besides Pompey had his own historian, Theopompus of Mitelene.]

¹¹ *Qui libri.* "And this poem." The term *libri* refers literally to the 'books' of which the poem in question was composed.—*Illustrant.* 'Sheds lustre upon.'

¹² *Populus enim Romanus, &c.* "For the Roman people, with Lucullus or their commander, laid open Pontus, although hitherto strongly defended both by the resources of its monarch and the nature itself of the country." Of the merits of Lucullus, in this war, Cicero treats at large in the 8th chapter of the oration for the Manilian law. As regards the force of *aperuit* in the present passage, compare the oration not referred to (l. c.), "*Patefactumque nostris legionibus Pontum, qui ante Populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus esset.*"

¹³ *Non maxima manu.* "With no very large force." The Roman infantry, on this occasion, consisted of about 10,000 men. There were also about a thousand slingers. The whole cavalry were likewise present, which Appian makes 500 in number. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 7. APPIAN, *Bell. Mithrid.* c. 85.)

¹⁴ *Armeniorum.* The battle was fought with Tigranes, king of Armenia, and son-in-law of Mithridates. His army is said to have been 50,000 infantry, and 50,000 cavalry. (APPIAN, l. c.) According to the ancient writers, Tigranes ridiculed the small number of the Roman troops, remarking, "If they come as ambassadors, there are too many of them; if as soldiers, too few." (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* l. c.)

¹⁵ *Populo Romani, &c.* "To the Roman people belongs the praise,

laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum, ejusdem cons¹ ex omni impetu regio, ac totius belli ore ac faucibus erep² esse atque servatam: ³ nostra semper feretur et præd⁴ bitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depr⁵ hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna⁶ navalis: ⁷ nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monumenta, et⁸ triumphi. Quare, quorum ingeniis hæc ⁹ feruntur, ab¹⁰ populi Romani fama celebratur. (22.) Carus fuit ¹¹ Afric¹² superiori noster Ennius: ¹³ itaque etiam ¹⁴ in sepulchro¹⁵ pionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore. At

that the very friendly city of the Cyziceni was rescued," &c., i.e. praise of having rescued. Compare the 8th chapter of the oration the Manilian law; and consult, for an account of Cyzicus, Geographi Index.

¹ *Ex omni impetu regio, &c.* "From every attack on the part of a monarch with whom we were warring, and from the mouth and end of the whole war," i.e. from the fury of a formidable monarch, from all the disasters of a merciless war. The king referred to was Mithridates.—*Ore ac faucibus.* A metaphor borrowed from the appearance presented by a furious monster about to spring upon its prey. [Victorinus compares Hom. *Il. á 8, Πτολέμοιο μέγα σπενκεδανοῖο.*]

² *Nostra semper feretur, &c.* [The sinking of the enemy's fleet and the slaughter of its leaders under the guidance of Lucullus,—and unparalleled naval contest off Tenedos, will ever be celebrated and extolled as our deed."] With *nostra* repeat *laus* from the previous sentence. We have preferred this to the very harsh construction of ERNESTI: "*Nostra maxime cum pugna navalis; per συζυγίαν classis jungitur.*"

³ *Nostra sunt tropæa, &c.* "These are *our* trophies, *our* monuments, *our* triumphs," i.e. peculiarly our own; [and celebrated as *ours* by the poets, without whom these achievements would have been peculiarly to the generals.]

⁴ *Feruntur.* "Are spread abroad." Equivalent to *differuntur dissipantur.*

⁵ *Africano superiori.* "To the elder Africanus." Commonly called Africanus Major, (*scil. natu.*)—*Noster Ennius.* Ennius, although native of Rudia in Calabria, yet obtained by his merits the freedom of Rome, and became in the strictest sense, by his metrical annals, the national poet of the Roman people. Hence the expression *noster*, "our own," in the text.

⁶ *Itaque etiam, &c.* "And hence he is even thought to be placed in marble on the sepulchre of the Scipios," i.e. the marble statue, which we see along with others on the tomb of the Scipios, is thought to be that of Ennius. ["On the opening of the tomb of the Scipios in 1786 a thing was found relating to Ennius."—ORELLI. But the tomb may

certe non solum ⁹ ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam
 mani nomen ornatur. In cœlum ¹⁰ hujus proavus
 tur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus ¹¹ adjun-
 mnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non
 uni omnium nostrûm laude decorantur.

10 ¹² illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem,
 ostri in civitatem receperunt; nos ¹³ hunc Hera-
¹⁴ multis civitatibus expetitur, ¹⁵ in hac autem
 nstitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

land rifled before. We have Livy's authority for the state-
 ero. (*Liv.* 36, 56.) See next note.]

Chro Scipionum. Not "in the sepulchre of the Scipios,"
 sepulchre," &c. Compare LIVY, 36, 56: "*Nam et Lîterni*
(Africani,) monumentoque statua superimposita fuit, quam
jectam nuper vidimus ipsi. Et Romæ extra portam Capenam
m monumento tres statuæ sunt: quarum duæ P. et L.
licuntur esse, tertia poetæ Q. Ennii." Consult also PLIN.

SOLIN. c. 7. VAL. MAX. 1, 14. Visconti thought he had
 this tomb, not far from the Capenian gate, for the par-
 which discovery Maio refers to the *Anthologia Romana*,
 77.

gen proposes *ejus*. But *is* refers not only to the praise
 us bestowed on Scipio, but to that of Ennius towards the
 in people.]

Referring as well to Africanus, as to the individuals men-
 ediate after, Cato, the Maximi, &c., all of whom were
 ie poetry of Ennius. By "the Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii,"
 a fact only three individuals, Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Clau-
 lus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, all of whom distinguished
 in the second Punic war. The plural form is adopted for
 Consult Historical Index.

proavus Cato. "Cato, the great grandfather of him who
 me," or, "of him who is here present." The reference in
 o Cato the censor. *Hujus* refers to *Cato Uticensis*, or, as he
 rectly called, Cato the younger, who was present in court,
 one of the *judices*.

itur. "Is thereby imparted."

Referring to Ennius.—*Rudinum hominem.* "Although a
 judiæ." Rudinæ, the natal place of Ennius, was a city of
 Magna Græcia." [Ennius thus speaks of himself: "*Nos*
ani, qui fuimus ante Rudini."]

Heracleensem. "This Heracleean." Referring to Archias.
 is to contrast the comparative insignificance of Rudinæ with
 ur of Heraclea, whence Archias derived his claim of citizen-

civitatis. Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Tarentum.

"In this one of ours."—*Legibus.* Referring, in particular,
 of Silvanus and Carbo.

(23.) ¹ Nam si quis ² minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat: propterea, quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, ³ Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, ⁴ orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, ⁵ quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare: ⁶ quod cum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt, tum in certe, qui de vita, gloriæ causa, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est, et laborum. (24.) ⁷ Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum ⁸ in Sigeo ⁹ ad

¹ *Nam si quis, &c.* Cicero here meets an objection, if it deserve the name, which some might perhaps urge, that Ennius was honoured because he wrote in Latin verse, whereas Archias composed in Greek.

² *Minorem gloriæ fructum percipi.* "That a less harvest of glory is reaped."—*Græca.* "Grecian productions."

³ *Latina suis finibus, &c.* "Whereas Latin works are confined within their natural limits, and these contracted indeed." By the natural limits of Latin works, Cicero means the confines of Latium, where the Latin language was spoken. In Upper Italy the Etruscan and Gallic dialects prevailed: in Lower Italy, Greek. In a later age, Roman literature became of course more widely disseminated.

⁴ *Orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur.* "Are only bounded by the limits of the world," i. e. have reached the farthest limits of earth, have had the whole world for their theatre.

⁵ *Quo manuum, &c.* "That, whither the weapons wielded by our hands have reached, thither also our glory and our fame may penetrate."

⁶ *Quod cum, &c.* "Because, as well these things are full of glory for the people themselves," &c.—*Tum vis certe, &c.* "So they assuredly form the strongest incitement," &c.

⁷ *Quam multos scriptores, &c.* "How many historians of his exploits is Alexander the Great said to have had in his train." Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* 3, 18) gives a long list of writers who treated of the history and exploits of Alexander, of whom only a few have come down to us.

⁸ *In Sigeo.* "On the promontory of Sigeum." Sigeum and Rheum were the two famous promontories of the Troad. Consult Geographical Index.

⁹ *Ad Achillis tumulum.* According to Plutarch, as soon as Alexander landed at the Troad, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon the tomb of Achilles with oil, and ran round it naked with his friends; after which he placed a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely fortunate in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to proclaim his praise." (*Vit. Alex.* c. 15.)

is tumulum adstitisset, ¹⁰ "O fortunate," inquit, "adolescent, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!" e. Nam, nisi ¹¹ Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? ¹² hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit, ¹³ Theophanem, Mitylenæum, scriptorem rerum suarum, ratione militum civitate donavit? ¹⁴ et nostri illi fortes et rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriæ commoti, participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbant? (25.) ¹⁵ Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donare perficere non potuit! ¹⁶ Sulla, cum Hispanos et Gallos

[“The flocks are grazing on the mound
Of him who felt the Dardan’s arrow;
That mighty *heap* of gathered ground
Which Ammon’s son ran proudly round,
Is now a lone and nameless barrow.”—BYRON.]

fortunate adolescens, &c. “Ah! fortunate youth, in having Homer as the herald of thy fame.”—*Qui* is joined with the *ive inveneris*, as referring to the reason, &c. Literally, “since we can find.” Compare note 3, page 76.

illa. “That Iliad.” *Illa* here takes the place of the article *illa*, and is strongly emphatical.

hic Magnus, &c. “Did not our Great one,” i. e. “this the Great of ours.”

Theophanem. Theophanes was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos. We have only a few epigrams of his remaining. He is mentioned in *Or. pro Balb.* c. 25, *Ep. ad Att.* 5, 11, and elsewhere.

nostri illi, &c. “And did not those countrymen of ours, brave and true, yet of rustic habits, and mere soldiers, animated by a secret charm of glory, approve of that act by loud shouts, as if they were sharers of the same praise with their commander?” The *armies* were generally recruited from the country. Hence the *rustici* here applied to them, which carries with it the idea of being rude and unpolished. For the more general meaning of the word, consult ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

que credo, &c. “Wherefore, I suppose, if Archias had not been a citizen, according to our laws, he would not have been able to obtain that he should be presented to the rights of citizenship by some order of ours!” Anthon changed *potuit*, which is the common received reading, to *potuisset*, on the suggestion of Ernesti, as it best follows. The MSS. often have *potuit* as a contraction for *potuisset*, and hence the error may have arisen. [But Archias actually was a Roman citizen, therefore *potuit* is right. Cf. *pro Planc.* 25, 60. *ut amplius*, si *L. Brutus* esset.—MATT.]

Sulla, cum Hispanos, &c. “Sulla, I suppose, when presenting Spain and of Gaul with the rights of citizenship, would have

donaret, credo hunc petentem repudiasset! ¹ qu concione vidimus, cum ei ² libellum malus poëta subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset, ta alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ³ ex iis re tunc vendebat, jubere ei præmium tribui sub ea ne quid postea scriberet. ⁴ Qui sedulitatem n duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus in virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetiss Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, q multos donavit, neque per se, ⁵ neque per Lucullu visset? qui præsertim usque eo ⁶ de suis rebus scri ut etiam ⁷ Cordubæ natis poëtis ⁸ pingue quiddam atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

refused Archias when seeking the same favour," i. e. had h Schütz omits this second *credo*, and places a mark of inter *repudiasset*. The alteration is quite unnecessary.

¹ *Quem nos, &c.* "That Sylla whom we once saw in op when a wretched poet, from the lower order, had presente petition, merely because he had composed a short poem i in verses alternately long and short." Literally, "in vers somewhat longer than the previous one," i. e. in the hexameter and pentameter. The term *epigramma* is here its *ancient* signification (not in that of our modern *epigram*), a short piece of poetry, commonly in about four lines, occ exceeding that number, and in alternate hexameter and pent [Cicero humorously describes these elegiacs, as elegiacs m every second line was somewhat longer than the precedi Ennius calls the heroic verse *longius*, these were *longiusculi populo*. Cf. *Luc. Somn.* 9. τῶν μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ δῆμου εἰς.

² *Libellum*. The term *libellus* properly means a written folded in the form of a *small book*, whence the name. In instance it denotes an humble petition for some mark of the idea of humility on the part of the applicant is still furth by the verb *subjecisset*.

³ *Ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat*. Döring thinks that the effects of proscribed persons.

⁴ *Qui sedulitatem, &c.* "Would not he, who thought bad poet worthy nevertheless of some recompence, have e to honour the genius of this one, (Archias,) and his ability tion, as well as the rich stores of his intellect?"

⁵ *Neque per Lucullos*. The two Luculli were cousins Pius. The father of the latter, Metellus Numidicus, wa the mother of Luculli.

⁶ *De suis rebus scribi*. "Of having his actions commem

⁷ *Cordubæ*. Corduba, now *Cordova*, was a city of His Consult Geographical Index.

Pingue quiddam, &c. "Though strumming forth so

XI. NEQUE enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest; ⁹sed præ nobis ferendum: ¹⁰trahimur omnes iudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi, ¹²etiam illis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: ¹³in eo ipso, in quo rædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se, ac nominari volunt. (27.) ¹⁴Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir et imperator, ¹⁵Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus emporum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum, iam vero ille, qui cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit. ¹⁶Fulvius, ¹⁷non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis conse-

barbarous strain." *Pingue* obtains its meaning of "dulness" from the idea of mental inertness being always, in some degree, associated with that of grossness of body. Compare note 10, page 89.

⁹ *Sed præ nobis ferendum.* "But must be openly acknowledged." Equivalent to *aperte proflendum*.

¹⁰ *Trahimur omnes, &c.* "We are all drawn onward by a love of praise, and the best of us are most influenced by the passion for glory."

Optimus quisque. Literally, "each best person."

¹² *Ipsi illi philosophi.* [The MSS. have *ipsi illi philosophi*. Anthon omitted *illi* with Schütz.]

¹³ *Etiam illis libellis, &c.* "Even inscribe their names in the very treatises which they compose on the contempt of glory." More literally "on glory as deserving of contempt," i. e. on the propriety of condemning glory." The idea here expressed is given in almost the same language in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 15.—*Libellis.* The term *libellus* here denotes "a little book," i. e. a short work or treatise.

¹⁴ *In eo ipso, &c.* "In the very case in which they affect to despise all praise and renown, they actually wish themselves to be talked of and mentioned." We have adopted *se* before *nominari*, with Weiske, from AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (22, 7), who cites this passage of Cicero. The common text has merely *ac nominari*.

¹⁵ *Decimus quidem Brutus.* This individual signalised himself by his successes; [and hence was called *Gallaicus*. He was consul, A.U.C. 516.] Compare VELL. PATERC. 2, 5, and consult Historical Index.

¹⁶ *Attii, amicissimi sui, &c.* "Adorned the approaches to the temples and monuments which commemorated his exploits, with the verses of Attius, his most intimate friend." Attius, or, as the name is otherwise written, Accius, was a tragic poet, of whose productions only a few fragments remain. According to VALERIUS MAXIMUS (8, 14, 2), Brutus erected a temple with the spoils he had taken from the foe.

¹⁷ *Fulvius.* M. Fulvius Nobilior, who took the poet Ennius along with him into Ætolia. (*Tusc. Disp.* 1, 2.) Consult Historical Index for both names.

¹⁸ *Non dubitavit, &c.* "Hesitated not to consecrate to the Muses the spoils of Mars." By *manubiae* are meant those of the spoils which the commander set apart to defray the expense of erecting some monu-

crare. Quare, in qua urbe imperatores, ¹prope armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices ²a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

(28.) Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, ³jam me vobis iudices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriæ, nimirum acri fortasse, verumtamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam ⁴quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salutem hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vita civium, proque universæ re publica gessimus, ⁵attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est ⁶hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtutem aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, præter hanc laudis et gloriæ; qua quidem detracta, iudices, ⁷quæ

ment of the victory. The expression *Martis* (for *belli*) is elegant, standing as it does in direct opposition to *Musis*. It is not known what act, on the part of Fulvius, is here referred to, or what memorial he erected.

¹ *Prope armati*. "Almost with arms in their hands."—*Togati*. "Arrayed in the robes of peace." The *toga* was the civic robe or gown.

² *A Musarum honore*, &c. "To be averse to honouring the Muses and bestowing safety on their votaries."

³ *Jam me vobis indicabo*. "I will now lay open to you my own secret feelings," i. e. I will unbosom myself unto you.—*De meo quodam amore gloriæ*. "Respecting a certain passion for glory by which I myself am influenced."

⁴ *Quas res*. Referring to his having crushed the conspiracy of Catiline.—*Vobiscum simul*. The allusion here is extremely adroit.

⁵ *Attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit*. "This poet has touched upon and begun to treat of in verse." *Attigit*, when placed, as in the present instance, in conjunction with *inchoavit*, refers not to any slight handling of a subject, but rather to the making of a beginning merely. [It appears that Archias did not finish his design. (*Att.* 1, 16, 15.) *Archias nihil de me scripsit ac vereor, ne Lucullis quoniam Græcum poema condidit, nunc ad Cæcilianam fabulam spectat*." He intends to celebrate the *Cæciliæ Metellæ*.]

⁶ *Hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum*. "I have exhorted him to complete the poem." In many MSS., and early editions, we find *hortavi*, at which Ernesti very justly expresses his surprise. The verb *hortor*, it is true, may have been used by the early writers in the active form, as many of the deponents are, but certainly this was not the custom in the age of Cicero. The ancient annotator in the Ambrosian MSS. reads *adoravi*, and asserts that this was used in the sense of *hortatus sum* by Cicero. "*Hoc verbum adoravi significat cohortatus sum*." *Adoravit autem orare et petere significat*." This may all very well be; it is, nevertheless, not the custom with Cicero, and we have there

in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo, et tam brevi, s in laboribus exerceamus? (29.) Certe, ⁸ si nihil præsentiaret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes et suas, ⁹ nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, neque vigiliisque angeretur, nec toties de vita ipsa. ¹⁰ Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, et dies animum gloriæ stimulis concitat, atque ¹¹ non cum vitæ tempore esse dimittendam commemorem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate iam.

30.) ¹² AN vero tam parvi animi videamur esse in re publica, atque in his vitæ periculis laborersamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatium,

ved the reading in the text. [*Hortatus* is found in Ascens. common editions, and MS. Barber. Orellius reads from conjecture. Madvig and Erf. have *adhortatus sum*.]

et, quod? "What reason is there why?" Literally, "What account of which?" With *quod* supply *propter*.

! *animus præsentiret in posterum*. "If the mind had no presentiment of the future."—*Regionibus*. "Limits."—*Terminaret*. "It would."

frangeret. "It would neither break down its powers." See the remark of DÖRING: "Frangi *eleganter dicuntur laboribus, vires in iis perferendis consumunt*."

insidet, &c. "On the contrary, there dwells in all the noblest mind of generous impulse."

cum vitæ tempore, &c. "That the remembrance of our name be sent away into oblivion along with the period of our mortal life, but is to be made equal with all posterity." We have retained *dimittendam*, the reading of the common text. Lambinus conjectured *dimetiendam*, which Schütz violently alters into *commetiendam*. *ad dimetiendam* saw that the phrase *cum vitæ tempore dimittendam* is erroneous, for we require *cum vitæ fine*, or *cum morte*. Orellius is inclined to read *dimetiendam*, although an ὑπὸ λυγόμενον! *in tempore vitæ est: una cum eo puncto temporis, quo finit hæc esset justa mensura, finire etiam nominis commemora-*

to *tam parvi*, &c. "Shall we, indeed, who are engaged in the public service, and amid these perils of life, and heavy labours, appear depressed of so little elevation of spirit, as, after having drawn the last period of our lives, not one tranquil and peaceful day, nor yet imagine that every thing connected with us is destined to be forgotten?—our frames?" i. e. as, after having during the whole of our lives, and not one moment of tranquil repose, to imagine that death will be the scene for ever, and that no recompence awaits us amid the labours of posterity.

nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? ¹An, cum statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerint, ²consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quæ gerebam, ³jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. ⁴Hæc vero sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ⁵ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebit; nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

(31.) Quare conservate, iudices, hominem ⁶pudore eo

¹ *An, cum statuas, &c.* Cicero appears here to have had in view the fine passage of ISOCRATES. (*Euag.* c. 30): 'Εγὼ δ', ὦ Νικόκλεις, ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ μὲν εἶναι μνημεῖα καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας, πολὺ μᾶλλον πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, κ.τ.λ.

² *Consiliorum relinquere, &c.* "Ought we not to be much more desirous of leaving behind us a delineation of our thoughts and our virtues, traced out and perfected by the most eminent talent?"—All the editions before Ernesti's have *nonne multo*, for which he reads *non multo*.

³ *Jam tum in gerendo.* "At the very time I was performing them."

⁴ *Hæc vero, &c.* "Whether this remembrance, indeed, is destined, after death, to be distant from my consciousness; or whether, as the wisest men have thought, it will continue to exercise an influence on some portion of my being, I certainly now, indeed, delight myself with the reflection and the hope that it may be so."—*Hæc* refers to *memoriam* in the previous sentence, and denotes the remembrance of Cicero by his fellow men and posterity.

⁵ *Ad aliquam animi mei, &c.* The MSS. have *animi* after *aliquam*, which makes *mei* a possessive pronoun. It is omitted, in some MSS and rejected by Beck, Schütz, and others, [but retained by Orelli. For the omission of *animi*, cf. HOR. iii. 30, 6. *Multaque pars mei vitæ Libitinam.* For its retention, *de Finn.* v. 13, 36. *Animi autem et sui animi partes.*]

[Some of the old philosophers conceived the soul to consist of various parts or functions, among which there was one that had assigned to it the contemplation of the good actions performed in life; which explains the allusion here. Plato admitted three parts: one by which we learn; another, feel angry; a third, are led to sensual enjoyments. The two latter die with the body. The first, possessing reason, is immortal—DELPH.]

⁶ *Pudore eo, &c.* "Of that degree of modest merit, the existence of which you see plainly proved, as well by the high rank of his friends, as by the long continuance of their intimacy; and of a genius as elevated, as it is right that his should be regarded, from your seeing him."

eam amicorum videtis comprobari cum dignitate, tum
 iam ⁷vetustate: ingenio autem tanto, quantum ⁸id con-
 nit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expe-
 am esse videatis: causa vero ejusmodi, ⁹quæ beneficio
 gia, ¹⁰auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis
 etelli comprobetur. Quæ cum ita sint, petimus a vobis,
 dices, si qua non modo ¹¹humana, verum etiam divina in
 ntis negotiis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui
 istos imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper
 rnavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris, vestrisque ¹²domes-
 cis periculis æternum se testimonium laudum daturum
 se profitetur, quique ¹³est eo numero, qui semper apud
 mnes sancti sunt habiti atque dicti, sic in vestram accipiat
 dem, ut ¹⁴humanitate vestra levatus potius, quam acerbitate

the consequence, eagerly sought after by individuals of the highest order
 of talents. Compare, as regards the first part of this sentence, the ex-
 planation of DÖRING: "*quem quidem (sc. pudorem) vere ei inesse, argu-
 mento vobis esse potest, quod viri summi et gravissimi non solum junx-
 erunt cum eo amicitiam, sed eandem quoque per longos annos continu-
 erunt.*"

⁷ *Vetustate*. Although nearly all the MSS. have *venustate*, still the
 reading *vetustate* is so much superior, and so peculiarly adapted to the
 context, that Ernesti and the best editors have not hesitated to receive
 it. The advocates for *venustate* make it equivalent to *morum elegantia*,
 but Döring very justly asks: "*Quomodo morum elegantia aliorum pu-
 blicam ejusdem comprobare potest?*" [*Vetustate* refers to his long inti-
 macy with Cicero, *dignitate* to the high rank of the Luculli, &c. *Venustas*
 is used by Cicero regarding *female* beauty, *de Off.* 1, 36, 130,
venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus, dignitatem virilem.]

⁸ *Id.* Supply *sum ingenium*. "That genius of his."

⁹ *Quæ beneficio legis*, &c. "Which is based upon the privilege
 granted by an express law," &c. He means the privilege of citizenship
 granted by the law of Silvanus and Carbo.

¹⁰ *Auctoritate municipii*. Referring to Heraclea.

¹¹ *Humana*. "On the part of men." The recommendation of men
 rises from the poets having celebrated in verse their fame and achieve-
 ments.—*Divina*. "On the part of the gods." The gods will intercede
 in his behalf, because they inspired him with poetic fervour, and hence
 he is under their special protection..

¹² *Domesticis periculis*. Occasioned by the conspiracy of Catiline.—
Æternum se, &c. Referring to the completion of his poem, already
 commenced, on the subject of Cicero's consulship.

¹³ *Est eo numero, qui*. "Is of the number of those, who," &c., i. e. a
 set.—*In vestram fidem*. "Under your protection."

¹⁴ *Humanitate vestra*. "By your kindness."—*Acerbitate violatus*.
Injured by your rigour."

violatus esse videatur. (32.) Quæ ¹ de causa pro n consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, iudices, ea conf probata esse omnibus: quæ ² non fori, neque judiciali c suetudine, et de hominis ingenio, ³ et communiter de ipsi studio locutus sum, ea, iudices, a vobis spero esse in bon partem accepta; ⁴ ab eo, qui iudicium exercet, certe scio.

¹ *De causa.* "In relation to the legal merits of the case."—*Simpli terque.* "And plainly," i. e. without any attempt at oratorical displ —*Probata esse omnibus.* "Have been approved of by you all."

² *Non fori, neque judiciali consuetudine.* "In accordance with t usage neither of the bar, nor of public trials." He refers to this eu gium on letters and literary men.

³ *Et communiter, &c.* "And the nature of his avocation in gener

⁴ *Ab eo, qui, &c.* "By him who presides at this trial I am sure th have," i. e. been taken in good part. His brother Quintus Cicero p sided as prætor. However consult note 10, page 141, and Introd.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIO

PRO

M. MARCELLO.

TULLII CICERONIS, &c. "Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero in defence of Marcus Marcellus."—This is not so much a speech in defence of Marcellus, as a panegyric on Julius Cæsar, for having granted the pardon of the former at the intercession of the senate. Marcellus had been one of the most violent opponents of the views of Cæsar. He was recommended in the senate, that he should be deprived of the governorship of Gaul: he had insulted the magistrates of one of Cæsar's newly founded colonies, and had been present at Pharsalia on the side of

After that battle he retired to Mitylene, where he was not to remain, being one of his adversaries to whom the conqueror was not to be reconciled. The senate, however, one day, when Cæsar was present, with a united voice, and in an attitude of supplication, implored his clemency in favour of Marcellus, and their request had been granted, Cicero, though he had resolved to preserve silence, being moved by the occasion, delivered, in this oration, the highest-strained encomiums that has ever been pronounced.

In the first part he extols the military exploits of Cæsar; but shows that the clemency to Marcellus was more glorious than any of his other actions, as it depended entirely on himself, while fortune and his arms had their share in the events of the war. In the second part, he endeavours to dispel the suspicions which, it appears, Cæsar still entertained of the hostile intentions of Marcellus, and takes occasion to praise the dictator that his life was most dear and valuable to the state, on it depended the tranquillity of the state, and the hopes of the restoration of the commonwealth. (DUNLOP'S *Rom. Lit.* ii. 339.) This oration, which Middleton declares to be superior to any thing of the kind in all antiquity, continued to be not only of undoubted authenticity, but one of Cicero's most admired productions, till the preface and notes to a new edition of it, printed in 1802, were added to show, that it was a spurious production, totally unworthy of the orator whose name it bears, and that it was written by some other person, soon after the Augustan age, not as an imposition on the public, but as an exercise; according to the practice of the rhetoricians, who were wont to choose, as a theme, some subject on which they had spoken. In his letters to Atticus, Cicero says, that he had written this speech thanks to Cæsar, *pluribus verbis*. This Middleton translates, "this speech;" but Wolf alleges, it commonly means a few words, and *pluribus verbis* can be interpreted to denote a full oration, such as that

which we now possess, for Marcellus. That Cicero did not deliver a long or formal speech, is evident, he contends, from the testimony of Plutarch, who mentions, in his life of Cicero, that a short time afterward, when the orator was about to plead for Ligarius, Cæsar asked, how it happened that he had not heard Cicero speak for so long a period; which would have been absurd, if he had heard him, a few months before, pleading for Marcellus. Being an extemporaneous effusion, called forth by an unforeseen occasion, it could not (he continues to urge) have been prepared and written beforehand; nor is it at all probable, that, like many other orations of Cicero, it was revised and made public, after having been delivered. The causes which induced the Roman orators to write out their speeches at leisure, were the magnitude and importance of the subject, or the wishes of those in whose defence they were made, and who were anxious to possess a sort of record of their vindication. But none of these motives existed in the present case. The matter was of no importance or difficulty; and we know that Marcellus, who was a stern republican, was not at all gratified by the intercession of the senators, or conciliated by the clemency of Cæsar.

As to internal evidence, deduced from the oration, Wolf admits, that there are interspersed in it some Ciceronian sentences; and how otherwise could the learned have been so egregiously deceived? but the resemblance is more in the varnish of the style, than in the substance. We have the words rather than the thoughts of Cicero; and the rounding of his periods, without their energy and argumentative connexion. He adduces, also, many instances of phrases unusual among the classics, and of conceits which betray the rhetorician or sophist. His extolling the act of that day on which Cæsar pardoned Marcellus, as higher than all his warlike exploits, would but have raised a smile on the lips of the dictator; and the slighting way in which the cause of the public and Pompey are mentioned, is totally different from the manner in which Cicero expresses himself on these delicate topics, even in presence of Cæsar, in his authentic orations for Deiotarus and Ligarius.

It is evident, at first view, that many of Wolf's observations are hypercritical; and that in his argument concerning the encomiums on Cæsar, and the overrated importance of his clemency to Marcellus, he does not make sufficient allowance for Cicero's habit of exaggeration, and the momentary enthusiasm produced by one of those transactions, "*quæ, dum geruntur, percellunt animos.*"

Accordingly, in the year following that of Wolf's edition, Olaus Wormius published, at Copenhagen, a vindication of the authenticity of this oration. To the argument adduced from Plutarch he answers, that some months had elapsed between the orations for Marcellus and Ligarius, which might readily be called a long period by one accustomed to hear Cicero harangue almost daily in the senate or forum. Besides, the phrase of Plutarch, λέγοντος, may mean pleading for some one, which was not the nature of the speech for Marcellus. As to the motive which led him to write and publish the oration, Cicero, above all men, was delighted with his own productions, and nothing can be more probable, than that he should have wished to preserve the remembrance of that memorable day, which he calls, in his letters, "*diem illam pulcherrimam.*" It was natural to send the oration to Marcellus, in order to hasten his return to Rome, and it must have

acceptable thing to Cæsar, thus to record his fearlessness and
 y. With regard to the manner in which Pompey and the re-
 party are talked of, it is evident, from his letters, that Cicero
 rusted with the political measures of that faction, that he
 isapproved of their plan of the campaign, and, foreseeing a re-
 Sylla's proscriptions in the triumph of the aristocratic power,
 ot exaggerate in so highly extolling the humanity of Cæsar.

arguments of Wormius were expanded and illustrated by
 in a commentary on the oration for Marcellus, published at
 in 1805, while, on the other hand, Spalding, in a disputation
 d in 1808, supported the opinions of Wolf.

ontroversy was in this state, and was considered as involved
 . doubt and obscurity, when Aug. Jacob, in an academical
 printed at Halle in 1813, adopted a middle course. Finding
 similarity in the different passages of the oration, some being
 werful, elegant, and beautiful, while others were totally futile
 d, he was led to believe that part had actually flowed from
 of Cicero, but that much had been subsequently interpolated
 rhetorician or declaimer. In the prosecution of his inquiry,

or successfully reviews the opinions and judgments of his pre-
 s, sometimes agreeing with Wolf and his followers, at other
 id more frequently, with their opposers. He thinks, that the
 ntested phrase, *pluribus verbis*, may mean a long oration, as
 sewhere talks of having pleaded for Cluentius, *pluribus verbis*,
 he speech in his defence consists of fifty-eight chapters. Be-
 zero only says, that he had *returned thanks* to Cæsar, *pluribus*
 Now the whole speech does not consist of thanks to Cæsar,
 rtly occupied in removing the suspicions which he entertained
 llus. With regard to the encomiums on Cæsar, which Spalding
 acterised as abject and fulsome, and totally different from the
 compliments addressed to him in the oration for Deiotarus or

Jacob reminds his readers, that the harangues could have
 istance to each other, the latter being pleaded in behalf of
 sed, and the former a professed panegyric. Nor can any one
 he eulogies on Cæsar too extravagant for Cicero, when he re-
 the terms in which the orator had formerly spoken of Ros-
 has, and Pompey.

has subscribed to the opinions of Wolf, and has published
 ch for Marcellus, along with the four other doubtful ha-
 at the end of the genuine orations. (DUNLOP'S *Rom. Lit.* vol.
 , *seqq.*)

discoveries of Maio at length threw a new light upon the question,
 ned librarian and scholar having succeeded in bringing to light
 an ancient commentary, a collection of scholia on several of the
 of Cicero, and among them that for Marcellus. This commen-
 ears to have either been written by Asconius Pedianus, or
 from his more extensive scholia; and, as the part relating to
 ion we are considering, although brief, makes no mention of
 r author for the speech, this circumstance, together with the
 e oration being joined to others of undoubted authenticity, will
 weak argument in its behalf. Indeed, the latest editor of
 orks, Nobbe (*Leips.* 1827,) considers the questions as now con-
 settled, remarking: "*Sed ecce nova et pæne insperata lux oria*

I. ¹ DIUTURNI silentii, patres conscripti, ² quo eram temporibus usus, ³ non timore aliquo, sed ⁴ partim ⁵ partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit; id initium, ⁶ quæ vellem, quæque sentirem, meo pristino dicendi. Tantam enim ⁷ mansuetudinem, tam inusitadamque clementiam, ⁸ tantum, in summa poterum omnium modum, tam denique incredibilem ⁹ pietatem ac pæne divinam, tacitus nullo modo præterire pos-

est, inventis a Maio veterum in hanc orationem scholiorum fragmentisque Mediolani (1817) editis. Unde satis certe fit, ab ipso Cicerone hanc gratiarum actionem profectam esse."

[The precise reasons which exasperated Cæsar against Metellus these :—

1. Marcellus proposed that on the 1st of March, the consuls proceed to the distribution of the provinces; this was specially against Cæsar, for it implied that his province should be vacant to him against that time.

2. Cæsar had assumed to give patronage to the Transpadanian and had actually founded a colony at Novum Comum. The Transpadanians also had already acquired from Pompeius Strabo the jus civitatis. On some slight pretext, Marcellus seized a freeman of Novum Comum and scourged him with the rod. This of course was a violent insult upon his patron Cæsar. The object of it was to show the Transpadanians that Cæsar could not protect them. Even Cicero speaks of it in severe terms: *Marcellus fæde de Comensi, etsi ille magis non fuerat, erat tamen Transpadanus."*

Those who reject the "Oratio pro Marcello," on the ground that it shows most extraordinary pusillanimity and adulation, do not take into account sufficiently, the over-cautious disposition of Cicero, and the general apprehension of the times. Cicero, and others, dread the proscription, the terrible effects of which had been so felt under Sulla. To avert this, no attribute was more loudly praised than clemency, and Cæsar was compelled to moderation by praises which he had yet to earn. When after the first burst of his power had passed over without the terror of a proscription, then his flatterers started and degradingly panegyricized him, by assuming a boldness which they were far from feeling, and the Ligarius exhibits a melancholy instance of the only species of adulation left, to assume the shadow of freedom chains.]

¹ *Diuturni silentii.* Cicero had avoided taking any active part in public affairs, and mingling in the affairs of the senate, since the day of his return to Rome, after having been pardoned by Cæsar. The reason of this silence he gives us with more openness in a letter to P. Sestius (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 4,) "I had resolved to observe a perpetual silence, not from any feeling of indolence, but from one of regret at the loss of my former dignity."

² *Quo eram his temporibus usus.* "Which I had adopted during the latter times."

³ *Non timore aliquo.* Complimentary to Cæsar, and implying that he was not even if Cicero had felt inclined to express his sentiments

n Marcello vobis, patres conscripti, rei publicæ, non solum illius, sed meam etiam vocem et ¹⁰ auctoritatem vobis et rei publicæ conservatam ac restitutam puto. Ebam enim, patres conscripti, et vehementer angebar, lerem virum talem, ¹² in eadem causa in qua ego fuissim in eadem esse fortuna: ¹³ nec mihi persuadere potui nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in ¹⁴ nostro veteri

th boldness and freedom, he would have been allowed by Cæsar without any interruption.

in dolore. Grief for the absence of his friend Marcellus. Comes follows a little after: "*Dolebam enim,*" &c.

in verecundia. "Partly from a feeling of self-restraint." Means to express by *verecundia* the awkwardness he felt at speaking in the presence of one whom he had opposed in the civil contest. See the explanation of Manutius: "*Contra quem enim armis pugnando præsentem in senatu verba facere verecundia prohibebat.*" [Timor of Cæsar's apprehension of Cæsar, as *verecundia* denotes his deep respect for a man who had pardoned him.]

vellem, &c. "Of giving utterance, with my former wonted freedom, to my wishes and my sentiments." Compare Manutius: "*Ut, libere, quemadmodum antea solebam, libere loquar.*"

mansuetudinem. "Humanity." As displayed by Cæsar in pardoning Marcellus. Compare Manilian law, c. 14, "*Humanitate jam tanta facile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint.*"

in summa potestate, &c. "Such moderation in the midst of absolute power."

moderantiam. "Policy." "Wisdom." As shown by its controlling the effects of private animosity, and restoring a useful citizen to his country.

restorationem. Compare (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 4), "*Statueram, non meheretum, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis, in perpetuum tacere.*" Cicero now to perceive a restoration in some degree of his former "influence," consequence of the mildness of Cæsar towards his friend.

ebam. "I used to grieve."—*Virum talem.* Referring to Marcellus.

in eadem causa, &c. "Who had been engaged in the same cause as myself," i. e. the party of Pompey.—*Non in eadem esse fortuna.* "Not enjoying the same good fortune." Cicero, after the battle of Pharsalus, obtained pardon from Cæsar, and returned to Rome; Marcellus, on the other hand, too stubborn a republican to acknowledge a defeat, retired to Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, where he was when the news of his pardon reached him.

mihi persuadere poteram, &c. "Nor could I prevail upon Marcellus, nor did I deem it lawful that I should engage in our old quarrel with him, the rival and imitator of my pursuits and labours, to make me his equal and companion as it were, was torn from me." *Fas* has reference to the gods and things of a sacred nature, *jus* to what is of civil origin or character. (SERV. *ad Virg. Georg.* 1, 269.)

in nostro veteri curriculo. Forensic pursuits and public speaking in the forum.—*Æmulo atque imitatore,* &c. Marcellus was distinguished for his eloquence as a speaker. Consult Historical Index.

curriculo, illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum, quasi quodam socios a me et comite, distracto. Ergo et mihi ¹ *meæ pristinæ vitæ consuetudinem*, C. Cæsar, interclusam aperuisti; ² et his omnibus, ad bene de omni re publica sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. ³ Intellectum est enim, mihi quidem in multis, et maxime in me ipso, sed paulo ante omnibus, cum M. Marcellum senatui populoque Romano concessisti, commemoratis præsertim ⁴ *offensionibus*, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis, dignitatemque rei publicæ, ⁵ tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus anteferre.

⁶ Ille quidem fructum omnis vitæ anteactæ hodierno die maximum cepit, cum summo consensu senatus, tum præterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profecto intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit ⁷ laus, cum in accepto tanta sit gloria. ⁸ Est vero fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute

¹ *Meæ pristinæ vitæ, &c.* "The habits of my former life, which had long been debarred to me." We have adopted the reading of Lambinus, Wolfe, Weiske, &c. The common text has *et mihi et meæ pristinæ, &c.*

² *Et his omnibus, &c.* "And have raised a signal, as it were, for all who are here present to entertain favourable hopes of the state at large," i. e. of all, that is connected with the welfare of their country.—*Signum aliquod sustulisti.* A metaphor borrowed from military operations.

³ *Intellectum est enim, &c.* "For it was apparent to myself, indeed, in many instances, and especially in my own case, but, a moment ago, to all who are here present, that, when you granted Marcus Marcellus to the senate and people of Rome," &c.

⁴ *Offensionibus.* Marcellus, when consul, had moved in the senate, that Cæsar's command in Gaul should be abrogated, when the latter, after having put an end to the Gallic war, though his commission was near expiring, sought to retain his command, pretending that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army, while Pompey held the province of Spain. Marcellus afterwards endeavoured to get Cæsar proclaimed an enemy to his country; in a public speech he called him a robber; and finally fought against him in the civil contest. These were among his offences against Cæsar.

⁵ *Tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus.* "To your own indignation or suspicion." Resentment for the past, suspicion with regard to the future conduct of Marcellus. Cæsar feared lest Marcellus might plot against his life.

⁶ *Ille quidem fructum, &c.* "He, indeed, has this day received the recompense for all his past life, both in the unanimous intercession of the senate, and also in your most solemn and generous determination." Cicero means, that this day has fully repaid the services which the past life of Marcellus had bestowed upon his country. He now obtains glory together with safety, because the unanimous intercession of the senate, and Cæsar's generous conduct, prove conclusively that Marcellus is a truly virtuous man.

⁷ *Laus.* Supply *tibi*.—*Gloria.* Supply *illi*.

on minor pæne ad omnes, quam ad ipsum ⁹ventura sit, stitia pervenerit. Quod ei quidem merito, atque optimo ire, contigit. Quis enim est illo aut ¹⁰nobilitate, aut proitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut illo genere laudis, præstantior?

II. ¹¹NULLIUS tantum est flumen ingenii, nullius dicendi ut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ, non dicam exorare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen firmo, (et hoc ¹²pace dicam tua,) nullam in his esse laudem mpliorem ea, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo sæpe ante oculos ponere, ¹³idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec ¹⁴numero præliorum, ¹⁵nec varietate regionum, nec ¹⁶ce-

⁹ *Est vero fortunatus ille, &c.* "Fortunate in truth is he from whose safety scarcely less joy will accrue to all, than is likely to be felt by himself." The relative, from its assigning the *reason*, takes here the subjunctive mood. Compare note 7, page 76.

⁹ *Ventura sit.* Because Marcellus is at a distance, and Cicero can only surmise what his feelings will be on the receipt of the intelligence.

¹⁰ *Nobilitate.* "For birth." The line of the Marcelli was distinguished in Roman history.—*Optimarum artium studio.* "For zealous attachment to the most liberal pursuits."—*Innocentia.* "Blamelessness of life." Moral purity.

¹¹ *Nullius tantum, &c.* "In no one is there so great a flow of genius, in no one so great power, so great copiousness, of speaking or of writing, as can, I will not say, embellish, but even recount, Caius Cæsar, your exploits," i. e. all the creative power of the finest geniuses, all the efforts of eloquence and history, will be found inadequate even to give a simple and unadorned narrative of your achievements.

¹² *Pace tua.* "With your permission," i. e. with all deference.—*Ampliozem.* "More glorious."—*Ea.* We have here adopted the emendation of Ernesti. The common text has *eam*.

¹³ *Idque libenter, &c.* "And gladly to make it a theme of conversation." Weiske reads *idemque* for *idque*.

¹⁴ *Numero præliorum.* PLINY (*H. N.* 7, 25) states that Cæsar fought fifty pitched battles, the nearest approach to which number was in the case of Marcellus, who fought thirty-nine. He also informs us, that, independently of the carnage of the civil wars, he had slain 1,192,000 men. "*Idem signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit: solus M. Marcellum transgressus, qui undequadrages dimicaverat. Nam præter civiles victorias, undecies centena et nonaginta duo millia hominum occisa præliis ab eo.*"

¹⁵ *Nec varietate regionum.* Cæsar had carried on war in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Germany, Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Asia. He overcame Pompey at Pharsalia; Ptolemy in Egypt; Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, in Pontus; and the sons of Pompey in Spain.

¹⁶ *Celeritate conficiendi.* This is well illustrated by his famous

leritate conficiendi, ⁹ nec dissimilitudine bellorum, posse conferri: ¹⁰ nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quam tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis ¹¹ lustratæ sint.

¹² Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vir cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim: sed tamen sunt ¹³ alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam ¹⁴ extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certe, ¹⁵ in armis, militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, ¹⁶ commeatus, multum juvant: maximam vero partem, ¹⁷ quasi suo jure, Fortuna sibi vindicat; et, quidquid est prospere gestum, id pæne omne ducit suum.

vidi, vici." The Commentaries on the Gallic War are also full of examples.

⁹ *Nec dissimilitudine bellorum.* "Nor in the unlike character of the wars themselves." Occasioned by the unlike characters of the nations with whom, and the countries in which, they were waged.

¹⁰ *Nec vero, &c.* "And that, in truth, lands the most widely remote from each other could not have been travelled through with more rapidity by the footsteps of any one, than they have been traversed, I will not say by your marches, but by your victories." A somewhat similar measure of praise had already been poured out by Cicero upon Pompey, in the oration for the Manilian law (c. 10), "*Qui sæpius cum hoste conflictit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit: plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt: plures provincias confecit, quam ceteri concupierunt.*"

¹¹ *Lustratæ sint.* Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Lustrare plus est quam peragraré: nam qui peragrat transit; qui lustrat ambit: quo plus temporis requiritur.*"

¹² *Quæ quidem ego, &c.* "Now, were I not to confess that these things are so extraordinary," &c.—*Amens sim.* "I should be a madman," i. e. it were madness not to confess, &c.

¹³ *Alia majora.* Alluding to the glory he has acquired by his generous conduct in pardoning Marcellus.

¹⁴ *Extenuare verbis.* "To depreciate by their remarks."—*Communicare cum multis.* "To share the glories with the many," i. e. with the great body of the soldiery.—*Proprie imperatorum.* "The exclusive property of commanders."

¹⁵ *In armis.* "In military operations."—*Locorum opportunitas.* "The advantage of situation."—*Auxilia sociorum.* "The aid of allies."

¹⁶ *Commeatus.* "Commissariat," i. e. supplies of military stores, &c.

¹⁷ *Quasi suo jure.* "As if by a right peculiarly hers."—*Pæne omne suum.* "As almost entirely her own." Compare Isocrates (Παραπρὸς Καλλίμ. c. 12.): Τῶν μὲν τοιοῦτων ἔργων, ὅσα μετὰ κινήτων

At vero ¹hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulo ante adeptus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, ²quantum-
 unque est, (quod certe maximum,) totum est, inquam,
 um. ³Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus,
 nihil cohors, nihil turma ⁴decerpit. ⁵Quin etiam illa ipsa
 rum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem
 oriæ non offert: tibi cedit: ⁶tuam esse totam et propriam
 tetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia com-
 iscetur, ⁷nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. DOMUISTI gentes ⁸immanitate barbaras, multitudine
 numerabiles, ⁹locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abun-
 antes: sed tamen ea vicisti, ¹⁰quæ naturam et conditionem,
 t vinci possent, habebant: nulla est enim tanta vis, quæ

ἱπρακται, τὸ πλεῖστον ἂν τις μέρους τῇ τύχῃ μεταδοίη, κ. τ. λ.

¹ *Hujus gloriæ*. "This species of glory." The glory of pardoning a violent political enemy.

² *Quantumcunque est*, &c. "How great soever it is, (and it certainly is most great,)" i. e. and nothing certainly can be greater.

³ *Nihil sibi*, &c. "No centurion, no prefect, no cohort, no troop, take to themselves any portion from this praise of thine." *Centurio* properly means a commander of one hundred infantry. *Præfectus* denotes a leader of cavalry. Both terms are used here, however, in a general sense. So again, *cohors* and *turma* are employed, in this sentence, with a general reference to any body of foot or horse. In strictness, *cohors* means a band of 600 foot soldiers; and *turma*, a troop of 30 horse.

⁴ *Decerpit*. "Culls for himself," a metaphor from culling flowers.

⁵ *Quin etiam*, &c. "Nay, even fortune, that very mistress of human affairs, presents not herself for any share of this thy glory." i. e. lays claim to no share in this thy latest and most glorious act.

⁶ *Tuam esse totam et propriam*. "That it is all and lastingly thine own."

⁷ *Nec ad consilium*, &c. "Nor is chance admitted to the counsels of prudence." If, therefore, fortune contributes nothing to the success of thy plans, but if they all owe their completion to thy sagacity and prudence, she must be excluded from this last act of thine, in which wisdom and foresight are so happily blended.

⁸ *Immanitate barbaras*. "Fiercely barbarous." The Gauls, Germans, Britons, &c. With respect to the Germans and Britons, however, this tale of conquest was a mere idle boast.

⁹ *Locis infinitas*. "Infinite in variety of regions."—*Omni copiarum genere*. "In all kinds of resources."

¹⁰ *Quæ naturam et conditionem*, &c. "Which possessed the nature and condition of being able to be overcome," i. e. which by their very nature, and the condition connected with them, were capable of being overcome.—The common text has *vinci rî*, but the latter word is omitted by Lambinus, Grævius, Wolf, and others.

non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare,¹ adversarium, nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem;—hæc qui faciat, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed² simillimum Deo judico.

Itaque, C. Cæsar, ³bellicæ tuæ laudes celebrabuntur, et quidem non solum nostris, sed pæne omnium gentium literis atque linguis; neque ulla umquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet. Sed tamen ⁴ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo etiam cum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At vero, cum aliquid clementer, mansueta, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, (in ⁵iracundia præsertim,

¹ *Animum vincere.* "To conquer one's passions however."—*Victoriam temperare.* "To make a moderate use of victory."

² *Adversarium non modo extollere jacentem.* "Not only to raise a fallen foe." *Jacentem*, literally, "lying prostrate."—*Amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem.* "To enlarge his former dignity," i. e. to elevate him to a still higher rank than he previously enjoyed.

³ *Simillimum Deo judico.* This sounds to modern ears as the grossest flattery. Middleton, however, undertakes Cicero's defence against the charge of insincerity. "It must be remembered," remarks he, "that the orator was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the senate, where his subject naturally required all the embellishments of eloquence; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the republic, of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends. (*Ep. ad Fam.* 13, 68.) This, therefore, he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery." (*Life of Cicero*, sect. 8, vol. ii. p. 259.)

⁴ *Bellicæ tuæ laudes illæ.* "Those praises of thine derived from war."—*Literis atque linguis.* "In the literature and languages."

⁵ *Ejusmodi res.* The praises attendant upon warlike achievements.—*Obstrepi clamore militum, &c.* "Seem to be drowned amid the shouts of the soldiers, and the blast of the trumpets."

⁶ *Iracundia præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio.* Compare the language of HORACE, *Ep.* 1, 2, 62, "*Ira furor brevis est.*"

⁷ *Non modo in gestis rebus, &c.* "Not only in the case of real occurrences, but even in those of a fictitious nature."

⁸ *Cujus mentem, &c.* "Whose sentiments and feelings we see plainly to be of such a nature, that," &c. The common text has *cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus*. For *et os* ("and whose very look,") we have adopted the elegant emendation of Faernus, *eos*, in the sense of *talæ*,

st inimica consilio, et in victoria, quæ natura insolens
 erba est, aut audimus, aut legimus; quo studio incen-
 ,⁷ non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos
 quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! Te vero, quem
 item intuemur,⁸ cujus mentem sensusque eos cer-
 , ut, quidquid belli fortuna reliquum rei publicæ
 , id esse⁹ salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus?
 us studiis prosequemur? qua benevolentia complec-
 ? Parietes,¹¹ me dius fidius, ut mihi videntur,
 curiæ, tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi tem-
 utura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis
 .s.

EQUIDEM, cum¹² C. Marcelli, viri optimi¹³ et comme-

has the additional advantage of rendering the connexion of *ut*
 pparent. Weiske makes the same change.

um. "Secured to her." Compare Middleton's remarks under
 page 184.

ibus studiis, &c. "With what zeal shall we honour! with what
 ie shall we embrace! By Hercules, the very walls of this
 house are desirous, as they seem to me, of returning thanks to
 cause the authority of this body is soon to be re-established in
 heir ancestral seats as well as their own." We have given the
 part of this passage according to the common text, although
 us and others suspect some corruption. Our interpretation is
 Ernesti, who remarks: "*Sensus est, quod illa pristina auctoritas
 mox rursus habitatura sit in hac curia, in qua et apud majores et
 enatores plurimum auctoritate valuissent.*"

e dius fidius. The term *dius* is the same as *deus* or *divus*, and
 an adjective formed from *fides*. Hence, *dius fidius*, "the god
 ur," or "good faith," will be the same as the Ζεὺς πίστιος of the
 ; and, if we follow the authority of VARRO (*L. L.* 4, 10), identical
 e Sabine Sancus, and Roman Hercules; so that *me dius fidius* is
 ; more than *me deus fidei* (i. e. Hercules) *adjuret*, or, in other
 mehercule.

ii Marcelli. Caius Marcellus was the brother of Marcus Mar-

This appears to be the proper place for introducing Cicero's ac-
 in his letter to Sulpicius (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 4), of what took place
 occasion: "Cæsar, after having complained of the moroseness
 ellus, for so he called it, and praised, in the strongest terms, the
 and prudence of your conduct, presently declared, beyond all our
 hat, whatever offence he had received from the man, he could
 nothing to the intercession of the senate. What the senate did
 s; upon the mention of Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius
 thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, they all rose, and went forward
 plicating manner towards Cæsar. In short, the proceeding of
 appeared to me so fair and becoming, that I could not help
 g I saw the image of the old republic reviving, as it were

morabili pietate præditi, lacrymas modo vobiscum viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum ¹pectus memoria obfudit. Quibus tu etiam mortuis, M. Marcello conservato, dignitatem suam reddidisti; ²nobilissimamque familiam, jam ad paucos redactam, pæne ab interitu vindicâsti. Hunc tu igitur idem ³tuis maximis et innumerabilibus gratulationibus jure antepones. Hæc enim res unius ⁴est propria Cæsaris: cetera, ⁵duce te gestæ, magnæ illæ quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. ⁶Hujus autem rei tu idem et dux es, et comes: ⁷quæ quidem tanta est, ut tropæis monumentisque tuis allatura finem sit ætas; nihil enim est ⁸opere et manu factum, quod aliquando non conficiat et consumat vetustas:

When all, therefore, who were asked their opinions before me, had returned thanks to Cæsar, except Volcatius, (for he declared that he would not have done it, though he had been in Marcellus's place,) I, as soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for I had resolved with myself to observe an eternal silence, not from any feelings of indolence, but from regret for the loss of my former dignity; Cæsar's greatness of mind, however, and the laudable zeal of the senate, got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks, therefore, to Cæsar, in a long speech, and have deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet which was my only comfort in these unhappy times, &c.

¹³ *Et commemorabili.* &c. "And possessed of fraternal affection deserving of all mention." Compare, as regards the force of *pietas* note 11, page 145.

¹ *Pectus obfudit.* "Came gushing over me." The common text has *effudit*, which is far inferior. The greater number of MSS. give the latter, but the better class the former reading.

² *Nobilissimamque familiam.* Cicero uses the term *familia* to denote the individual family of the Marcelli. They formed a branch of the *gens Claudia*, or Claudian house.

³ *Tuis maximis*, &c. "To the greatest of your countless felicitations," i. e. to the greatest of those many victories, on which you have been felicitated by others. Some commentators confound *gratulationes* here with the same term when denoting a thanksgiving to the gods. It refers, on the contrary, merely to the private feelings of Cæsar, and the felicitations offered him by friends for his numerous and eminent successes. For Cicero to have said, that Cæsar would regard this day as a source of higher pleasure than the greatest of the many *thanksgivings* which had been decreed in his name, would have shocked the religious feelings of his auditors.

⁴ *Est propria Cæsaris.* "Is the act of Cæsar alone." Literally, "is peculiar to Cæsar."

⁵ *Duce te gestæ—quidem*, &c. Anthon had rejected, on the suggestion of Ernesti, the words *magnæ illæ*, which appear in the common text.

hæc tua ⁹ *justitia et lenitas animi* florescet quotidie,
¹⁰ *ut*, quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet,
 afferat laudibus. Et ceteros quidem omnes ¹¹ *victores*
 a civilium jam ante æquitate et misericordia viceras :
 vero die te ipsum vicisti. ¹² *Vereor*, ne hoc, quod
¹³ *non* perinde intelligi auditu possit, atque ipse
 sentio. Ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, cum ea,
 illa erat adepta, victis remisisti. Nam, cum ipsius
 conditione jure ¹⁵ *omnes victi occidissemus*, ¹⁶ *cle-*
tus *judicio conservati sumus*. Recte igitur unus
 es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriæ conditio visque
 est.

restæ and *quidem*. [We have restored them, with Steinmetz
 s.]

autem rei. "In the present affair, however," i. e. in the act
 of, the pardoning of Marcellus.

quidem tanta est. "And so great indeed is it."—*Tropæis*
isque tuis. "To your other trophies and monuments."

et manu. "By the labour and hand of man."—*Vetustas*.
 of days."

ia et lenitas animi. The term *justitia* has reference here to
 the merits of Marcellus. It would have been unjust in Cæsar
 to keep such a man any longer away from his country. *Lenitas*
 is not *clementia*, is employed, in order that Cæsar may not
 have been sparing a foe, and the remembrance of former
 enmities be in this way renewed.

quantum, &c. "That as much as length of time shall take
 from your monuments, so much it will add to your glory." *Operibus*
 refers to *tropæis monumentisque*.

res bellorum civilium. "Victors in our civil wars." Alluding
 to Marius, Cinna, &c.

vor ne. We have adopted the emendation of Ernesti. The
 text has *vereor ut*, but this can only be allowed if *non* be
 put before *perinde*. Consult note 9, page 123.

perinde, &c. "May not be understood, on the mere hearing
 of the same degree that I, reflecting upon it, feel it in mind to
 lest what I say may fall far short of what I feel. *Perinde* is
 equivalent to *æque*. Compare TURSELLINUS, *de Part. Lat.* c. 176.

illa erat adepta. "Which it had obtained for you," i. e. the
 power which it gave him over his political opponents, and the
 which it afforded him of gratifying private animosity.

res victi occidissemus. "All of us the vanquished might have
 been cut off by the sword. Cicero means, that this would
 have been the case if Cæsar had followed the usual course, and taken
 for his model the example of Sylla.

mentis tue judicio. "By the decision of your clemency," i. e.
 of your merciful determination. *Clementia* is now employed because

V. ¹ Atque hoc C. Caesaris iudicium, patres conscripti, quam late pateat, attendite: omnes enim, ² qui ad illa arma fato sumus ³ nescio quo rei publicae misero funestoque compulsi, ⁴ etsi aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, ⁵ scelere certe liberati sumus. Nam, cum M. Marcellum deprecantibus vobis, rei publicae conservavit; memet mihi, ⁶ et iterum rei publicae, nullo deprecante, ⁷ reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsis et patriae, reddidit: quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in conspectu vestro

occidiamus precedes, and more besides Marcellus are slain. Consult note 9, page 187.

¹ *Atque hoc C. Caesaris, &c.* "And mark, conscript fathers, how widely this determination of Caius Caesar extends," i. e. Marcellus alone is not the only one benefited by this generous conduct of Caesar.

² *Qui ad illa arma, &c.* "Who were driven by some wretched and lamentable fatality of the republic, to take up arms in that contest." The contest referred to is the civil war, and the opposition made to Caesar, by his political antagonists, is flatteringly ascribed by the speaker to mere blind fatality; implying, of course, that, had they exercised any judgment or reflection, they would never have resisted him.

³ *Nescio quo.* Equivalent to *quo fato id factum fuerit nescio*. In translating, however, it is to be regarded as analogous merely to our phrases, "some or other," "I know not what," &c. — *Nescio quis*, and its other forms, *nescio quid*, *nescio quem*, *nescio quo*, &c., are employed to denote something more or less obscure, or which we wish to pass over by considering it as such. It is used also, especially in the case of persons, to indicate contempt. The ellipsis is worth noting. Thus *nescio quis fecit* is put for *aliquis fecit*, *nescio quis sit*; and again, *non quem vidi* is equivalent to *aliquem vidi*, *nescio quem viderim*, &c. Consult SCHELLER, *Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 329.

⁴ *Etsi aliqua culpa, &c.* "Although we are in some degree liable to the imputation of human infirmity," i. e. blindness in not perceiving the true course which we ought to have pursued.

⁵ *A scelere certe liberati sumus.* "Have (by this act of Caesar's) been evidently acquitted of guilt;" i. e. in pardoning Marcellus, Caesar has clearly shown, that he acquits not only that individual, but all of us who followed the standard of Pompey, of any evil feelings towards himself, and only considers us to have been actuated by an honest though mistaken love of country.

⁶ *Et iterum.* "And once more." The earlier reading is *et iterum*, which Grævius first substituted *et iterum*, on the authority of a MS. He is followed by Ernesti and others.

⁷ *Reliquos amplissimos viros.* "Those other very illustrious men." Referring to the other individuals of the old Pompeian party, pardoned by Caesar, and restored to their rank.

⁸ *Non ille hostes, &c.* "He has brought no enemies into the world;" i. e. the individuals, whom he has thus restored, he has not made

⁹Non ille hostes induxit in curiam: sed ⁹judicavit, a plerisque, ignoratione potius, et falso atque inani metu, ¹⁰quam cupiditate aut ¹¹crudelitate, bellum esse susceptum. Quo quidem in bello ¹²semper de pace audiendum putavi; semperque dolui, non modo pacem, sed ¹³orationem etiam civium, pacem flagitantium, repudiari. ¹⁴Neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam, secutus sum arma civilia; semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ ¹⁵socia, non belli atque armorum, fuerunt. ¹⁶Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non pub-

all hostile feelings towards himself. Had he thought that they cherished such feelings, he would never have re-admitted them.

⁹ *Judicavit.* "He concluded."—*Ignoratione*, &c. "From ignorance (of his real intentions), and from a false and groundless fear." The latter here begins to be very apparent.

¹⁰ *Quam cupiditate.* "Than from cupidity," i. e. desire of gratifying a rapacious spirit, and seizing upon the property of others.

¹¹ *Crudelitate.* "A spirit of revenge." A feeling of cruel hatred.

¹² *Semper de pace*, &c. "I always was of opinion that proposals of peace ought to be listened to." Cicero had done every thing, in the beginning of the civil troubles, to prevent a rupture between Cæsar and Pompey. He was convinced that an intestine war would inevitably end in the establishment of absolute power. His letters, which make us acquainted with his secret thoughts, fully substantiate this: "*Pax mea est; ex victoria quum multa mala, tum certe tyrannis exsistet.*" (*Ep. ad Att.* 7, 5.) So again: "*Equidem ad pacem hortari non desino, nec, vel injusta, utilior est quam justissimum bellum.*" (*Ad Att.* 7, 14.) He foresaw all that happened, and it was with this view before him that he writes to Atticus and his other friends. Cæsar, who affected great moderation, made some very plausible proposals of peace, and Cicero was desirous that they should be listened to, but Pompey absolutely refused. When the latter had been compelled to quit Rome as fugitive, Cicero, after some delay, followed him from attachment and gratitude, but still full of gloomy forebodings, and foreseeing nought but lamentable results, since on one side was all the right, and on the other all the power: "*Valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus sum deesse Pompeii saluti. Itaque vel officio, vel fama bonorum, vel pudore victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaræus, sic ego, prudens et sciens, ad salutem ante oculos positam sum profectus.*" (*Ep. ad Fam.* 6, 6.)

¹³ *Orationem etiam civium*, &c. "That even the entreaties of those citizens who earnestly begged for peace, were totally rejected," i. e. by Pompey. Consult preceding note.

¹⁴ *Neque enim ego illa*, &c. "For I never took an active part in these or any other civil commotions."

¹⁵ *Socia.* "Allied to," i. e. in favour of. Compare the English form of expression, "went hand in hand with."

¹⁶ *Hominem sum secutus*, &c. "I followed an individual from a sense of private, not of public, duty." The allusion is to Pompey, who is mentioned in guarded terms, not from any fear of the consequences

lico: ¹ tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ² ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem prudens et sciens, tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarius.

³ Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum est. Nam et in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace dixi. In ipso bello ⁴ eadem, etiam cum capitis mei periculo, non ⁵ Ex quo jam nemo erit tam injustus rerum existimator, qui dubitet, quæ Cæsaris voluntas de bello fuerit, cum ⁶ pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, ⁷ ceteris inimicis. Atque id minus mirum fortasse tum, cum esset incertum

in case he had called him by name, but from a becoming sense of propriety.

¹ *Tantumque apud me, &c.* "And so powerfully did the remembrance of a grateful mind influence me," i. e. so strongly was I influenced by gratitude for the various favours I had received from him.

² *Ut nulla, &c.* "That not only without any desire of personal advancement, but even without any hope, although fully aware of the situation, and well knowing what was about to happen, I nevertheless it were to voluntary ruin."

³ *Quod quidem meum consilium.* "And these views of mine interest"—*Integra re.* "Before hostilities broke out." Literally, "the war being as yet entire," i. e. no part having as yet been acted upon, no hostile steps having as yet been taken. The primitive meaning of *integer* is "untouched," from *in* and *tango*, the old form of *tango*.

⁴ *Eadem sensi.* "I entertained the same sentiments."—*Etiam in capitis periculo.* When Cato the younger, who had been left at Dyrrachium, by Pompey, to guard the arms and treasures deposited there, had, after the battle of Pharsalia, passed over into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed, he there offered Cicero the command of the fleet which he had brought with him, consisting of fifteen cohorts. Cato, however, declined it; which so exasperated the younger Pompey, that he was about to lay violent hands upon the orator, when Cato interfered and saved his life. (PLUT. Vit. Cat. Min. c. 55.) It is to this circumstance very probably that Cicero alludes in the text.

⁵ *Ex quo.* "And hence."—*Tam injustus rerum existimator.* "So unfair a judge of passing events," i. e. so unfair and biassed in the conclusions which he draws from events.

⁶ *Pacis auctores.* "The advisers of peace."—*Statim.* "From the very first," i. e. from the very commencement of hostilities; in the very beginning of the civil war.

⁷ *Ceteris fuerit iratior.* "But displayed increased resentment towards the rest." The object of the whole argument is to show, that Cato wishes were always in favour of peace, and that, in consequence of this, he was always well disposed towards those of the opposite party who endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, while he displayed increased resentment against those who were bent on continuing hostilities. This, of course, is the mere language of flattery.

exitus, et anceps fortuna belli: qui vero, ⁸ victor, pacis auctores diligit, is profecto declarat, ⁹ se maluisse non dimicare, quam vincere.

VI. ¹⁰ *Atque* hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. ¹¹ *Nostri enim* sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum, et quanto cum dolore, vidi, cum insolentiam ¹² certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius ¹³ *victoriæ ferocitatem*, extimescentem! Quo gratior ¹⁴ *tua liberalitas*, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. ¹⁵ *Non enim jam causæ sunt inter se*, sed *victoriæ*, compa-

⁸ *Victor*. "When victorious," i. e. as Cæsar now is.—*Pacis auctores*. Alluding to himself, among others, and to the kind treatment he had received from Cæsar.

⁹ *Se maluisse*, &c. "That he would rather not have contended at all, than have come off victorious," i. e. that great as the glory of the victory had been, he would rather have had no civil contest at all, as his feelings had always been in favour of peace.

¹⁰ *Atque hujus quidem rei*, &c. "And on this particular point I am a witness for Marcus Marcellus." The point referred to is the wish for peace during the civil contest, which Cicero asserts Marcellus felt in common with himself.

¹¹ *Nostri enim sensus*, &c. "For our sentiments, as they always had in peace, so then coincided during the war," i. e. our sentiments, namely, mine and those of Marcellus, were always in unison during both the civil contest and the times which immediately preceded it.

¹² *Certorum hominum*. "Of certain individuals." *Certus vir* is generally used to denote "a sure," or "trustworthy person." Here, however, *certus* has the force of *quidam*. Compare note 13, page 89. The individuals alluded to are thought, by Manutius, to have been, in particular, L. Lentulus and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 6, 21.

¹³ *Victoriæ ferocitatem*. "The cruel excesses of victory itself," i. e. the ferocious spirit, that would, in all probability, characterize the party of Pompey, if success were to crown their efforts. Had Pompey proved victorious, the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla would inevitably have been renewed. Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Marcellus (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 9): "*An tu non videbas mecum simul quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria?*"

¹⁴ *Tua liberalitas*. "Your generosity," i. e. your generous conduct towards your former foes.—*Illi*. Alluding to the insolent conduct and the menaces of Pompey's followers.

¹⁵ *Non enim jam causæ*, &c. "For the two parties are no longer to be compared, but the consequences of victory on either side." Cicero seems to say, that he will be silent now respecting the merits of the two causes, namely, that of Cæsar and that of Pompey. He will merely institute a comparison between the very different modes in which either party would have made use of victory. He then proceeds to show how Cæsar has acted since his success, and next briefly

randæ. Vidimus tuam victoriam præliorum exitu terminatam: gladium vagina vacuum in Urbe non vidimus. Quos amisimus cives, eos ¹ Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ; ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret; quoniam ² ex eadem acie conservat, quos potest. ³ Alterius vero partis, nihil amplius dicam, quam (id, quod omnes verebatur,) ⁴ nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam. Quidam enim, non modo ⁵ armatis, sed interdum etiam ⁶ otiosis, minabantur: nec, ⁷ quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur Dii immortales, (⁸ etiamsi pœnas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverint, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverint,) vel placati jam, vel satiati aliquando, ⁹ omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

sketches what would have been the results of victory on the side of Pompey.

¹ *Martis vis perculit.* "The violence of war smote down."—*Ira victoriæ.* "The angry feelings generally attendant upon victory." Cicero means, that whoever fell in that conflict, fell with arms in their hands. No one was put to death, after the victory, by any mandate or prescription.

² *Ex eadem acie.* "From that same army," i. e. the army of Pompey.

³ *Alterius vero partis.* "As regards the opposite party, however." The genitive is here used in imitation of the Greek idiom. The Greek rule is as follows: "To words of all kinds other words are added in the genitive, which show the respect in which the sense of those words must be taken, in which case the genitive properly signifies 'as regards,' or 'with regard to.'" (MATTHIÆ, *G. G.* vol. ii. p. 555, KER-
RICK'S *transl.*)

⁴ *Nimis iracundam, &c.* "That victory would have been accompanied by too much angry feeling," i. e. that they would have made an angry and cruel use of victory.

⁵ *Armatis.* "Those who were actually in arms." Referring to the followers of Cæsar. Compare MANUTIUS: "*Armatis, h. e. Cæsarianis.*"

⁶ *Otiosis.* "Those who took no part in the conflict," i. e. who wished to remain neutral. Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Varræ (*Ep. ad Fam.* 9, 6): "*Crudeliter otiosis minabantur: eratque iis et tua invisæ voluntas, et mea oratio.*" And again, *Ep. ad Att.* 11, 6: "*Omnes qui in Italia manserant, hostium numero habebantur.*"

⁷ *Quid quisque sensisset, &c.* "What sentiments each had entertained, but where he had been during the contest," i. e. whether with the army, and taking an active part against the foe, or remaining inactive and neutral at home.

⁸ *Etiamsi pœnas, &c.* "Even though they may have sought atonement from the Roman people, on account of some offence, since they

¹⁰ Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono; et frueremur ¹¹ fortuna et gloria, tum etiam natura et moribus tuis; ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. ¹² Cetera cum tua recordabere, etsi persæpe virtuti, tamen plerumque felicitati tuæ congratulabere. De nobis quos in re publica tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties ¹³ de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientia tua, cogitabis: ¹⁴ quæ non modo summa bona, sed nimirum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor ¹⁵ in laude vera, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut hæc a virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aut pravitate aliqua ¹⁶ lapsis, ¹⁷ sed opinione officii,

excited so great and so mournful a civil war," i. e. even though they may have raised this destructive and mournful war to punish the Roman people for some aggravated offence. We have given *expetiverunt*, with Ernesti, in place of *expetiverunt*, the reading of the common text. The relative *qui* takes the subjunctive *excitaverint*, because equivalent here to "since they," or "inasmuch as they."

¹⁰ *Omnem spem salutis, &c.* "To have referred our every hope of safety to the clemency and wisdom of the conqueror," i. e. to have made all our safety depend upon, &c.

¹¹ *Quare gaude, &c.* "Rejoice then in this so exalted a privilege," i. e. the privilege of having the safety of the whole Roman people dependent on thy clemency and wisdom.

¹² *Fortuna.* "Your good fortune."—*Natura et moribus tuis.* "Your kind disposition and noble character."—*Ex quo quidem, &c.* "From all which a wise man derives his highest recompense and pleasure."

¹³ *Cetera.* "The other actions of your life."—*Virtuti.* "Upon your virtue."—*Congratulabere.* "You will have occasion to felicitate yourself." Some read *gratulabere*, which is much inferior.

¹⁴ *De maximis tuis beneficiis.* "Of the boundless favours you have bestowed upon us."

¹⁵ *Quæ non modo, &c.* "Virtues which, I will venture to affirm, constitute not only our highest, but in fact our only true source of gratification." Literally, "which, I will venture to say, are not only the greatest, but in fact even the only goods."

¹⁶ *In laude vera.* "In well-merited applause."—*Donata.* "Bestowed," for a lasting possession; *commodata*, "lent," only for a season.

¹⁷ *Lapsis.* "Who have been led astray." Literally, "who have slipped."—*Aut pravitate aliqua.* "Or by any corrupt motive."

¹⁸ *Sed opinione, &c.* "But by an idea of duty, foolish perhaps, certainly not criminal, and by what appeared to be the public good." More literally, "by a certain appearance of public benefit." Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Torquatus, (*Ep. ad Fam.* 61), "*Quod-*

stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et specie quadam publicæ. ¹ Non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te alii timuerunt: contraque, summa laus, quod plerique minime timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. ² Nunc vero venio ad gravissimam querelam, et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam; ³ quæ non tibi ipsi magis, quam cum omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis, qui a te consecrati sumus, providenda est: quam etsi spero esse falsam, ⁴ nunquam tamen verbis extenuabo. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est; ⁵ ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus, quam parum prudens. ⁶ Sed quisnam est iste tam demens? ⁷ de tuisme? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quam quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex eo numero, ⁸ qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibile, ⁹ tantus in ullo furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus hujus vitam non anteponat suæ. At, si, tui nihil cogitas sceleris, ¹⁰ cavendum est, ne quid inimici. Qui? omnes enim

dam nobis officium justum, et piæ, et debitum rei publicæ nostræ dignitati videbamus sequi."

¹ *Non enim tua, &c.* "For it is no fault of thine." Because they have mistaken thy character. The fault is theirs for not knowing thee better.—*Senserunt.* "Have felt," i. e. after having been conquered by thee.

² *Nunc vero venio, &c.* "But now I come to that most heavy complaint and horrid suspicion of thine." Caesar had complained before the senate of the hostile feelings and moroseness (*acerbitas*) of Marcellus, and had expressed his suspicions that the latter still harboured evil designs against his personal safety.

³ *Quæ non tibi ipsi, &c.* "A suspicion, the realising of which ought to be guarded against not more by your own self," &c. Compare MANUTIUS: "*Providenda est, ne vera sit: providenda autem curis, consiliisque nostris.*"

⁴ *Nunquam tamen verbis extenuabo.* Cicero's meaning is this: Although I trust that your suspicion is a groundless one, still I will seek to "lessen" it by any thing that I can say. For were I to leave it, I should at the same time be throwing you more off your guard, whereas we all wish you to be careful about your own safety, since ours is closely connected, and in fact identified, with it.

⁵ *Ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit.* "So that if we must err in one or the other extreme," i. e. of too much or too little precaution.—*Parum prudens.* "Not sufficiently prudent." Or simply, "imprudent."

⁶ *Sed quisnam est iste, &c.* "But who is that one so lost to all judgment?" i. e. Who is the infatuated man whom you suspect of harbouring this design against you? The student will mark the force of *iste*. Compare note 3, page 8.

⁷ *De tuisme?* "Is he one of your own?" i. e. one of your own friends.—*Qui magis sunt tui?* "Who are more of your own?"

runt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt, aut tua ordia retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, i¹¹ supersunt, sint amicissimi.

tamen, cum in animis hominum ¹² tantæ latebræ sint i recessus, augeamus sane suspicionem tuam: simul agebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium ¹³ tam rerum, tam rudis in re publica, tam nihil umquam sua nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intel- tua salute contineri suam, et ¹⁴ ex unius tua vita e omnium? Equidem, de te dies noctesque (¹⁵ ut cogitans, ¹⁶ casus duntaxat humanos, et incertos valetudinis, et naturæ communis fragilitatem, exti- ¹⁷ doleoque, cum res publica immortalis esse debeat, unius mortalis anima consistere. Si vero, ad is casus, incertosque eventus valetudinis, ¹⁸ sceleris accedat insidiarumque consensio: quem Deum, si opitulari posse rei publicæ credamus?

una tecum fuerunt? "Who were with you in the war?" ; to his followers generally.

us furor. "So great madness."—*Omnia summa.* "Every thing most desirable," i. e. the full completion of his wishes.

ndum est. "You must take care, I suppose."—*Qui?* "Who?" i. e. where are they now to be found?

rsunt. We have adopted here the conjecture of Lambinus, approved of by Ernesti. The common text has *superfuerunt.*

tæ latebræ, &c. "Lurking places so deep, and recesses so —*Diligentiam.* "Your circumspection."

ignarus rerum, &c. "So ignorant of events, so inexperienced affairs."

unius tua vita. "On your individual existence." Literally, life of thee alone." The genitive *unius* is put in apposition genitive implied in the possessive *tua*.—*Omnium.* Supply

lebeo. "As I ought to do," i. e. as I am in duty bound, con- the many favours you have hitherto bestowed upon me.

is duntaxat humanos, &c. "I dread merely the common acci- life, and the uncertain issues of health," &c.

oque, cum res publica, &c. The republic, remarks Cicero, ought immortal; but it depends entirely on your existence: you, , ought to be as immortal as the republic ought to be. But mortal, and I mourn, therefore, as well on account of its as the shortness and limitation of your own career. The of flattery can hardly go farther.

ris insidiarumque consensio. "The conspiring force of guilt hery."

VIII. OMNIA sunt ¹ excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu (quod necesse fuit cula atque prostrata: ² constituenda judicia, revocanda fides, ³ comprimendæ libidines, ⁴ propaganda soboles, ⁵ omnia, quæ dilapsa jam fluxerunt, severis legibus revocantur sunt. ⁶ Non fuit recusandum, in tanto civili bello, animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata res publica quicunque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ordinis dignitatis, et præsidia stabilitatis suæ: multaque dux faceret ⁷ armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri pro-

¹ *Excitanda*. "Are to be raised to their former state." exhortation to Cæsar to restore the former state of things too, so managed as to render it impossible for him to take *Jacere*. "Lie prostrate."—*Belli ipsius impetu*, &c. "Struck laid low (as was of necessity to be expected), by the very shock of war."

² *Constituenda judicia*. "Justice is to be re-established." "trials," i. e. the dispensing of justice must be placed upon a basis as formerly.—*Revocanda fides*. "Public credit is to be recalled." Literally, "is to be recalled," i. e. to the position it formerly occupied in the opinions of all.

³ *Comprimendæ libidines*. "Licentiousness must be repressed." the license attendant upon a state of warfare.

⁴ *Propaganda soboles*. "Population be increased." Literally, "spring be propagated," i. e. an increase of population encouraged to repair the losses occasioned by the carnage of the civil wars. DIO CASSIUS (43, 25): 'Επειδὴ τε δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία, διὰ τὸ ἀπολωλότων πλήθος . . . πολυπαιδίας ἄθλα ἐπέθηκεν. Augustus, at the close of the civil contest between himself and his brother, caused the famous *Lex Julia, de maritandis ordinibus*, to be passed. Consult Legal Index.

⁵ *Omnia, quæ dilapsa*, &c. "All those things, which have been carried away are now going fast to ruin, are to be bound firmly by laws." A metaphor taken from the component parts of a building becoming disunited, and the whole falling to ruins. Such, to the orator, has been the influence of civil war on the institutions of Rome, an evil which Cæsar is entreated to remedy by vigorous salutary ordinances.

⁶ *Non fuit recusandum quin*. "It was not to be denied but that."—*Ardore*. "Excitement."—*Quassata res publica*. "The shattered state."—*Præsidia stabilitatis suæ*. "The supports of its stability." its stable supports.

⁷ *Armatus*. "When in arms."—*Togatus*. "If arrayed in the garb of peace," i. e. if acting in a civil capacity, and if no intestine war has been raging. Compare note 1, page 88.

⁸ *Quibus, præter te*, &c. "For no one can heal them save you." the power, which you now enjoy in the state, makes you the person to restore peace and happiness to your country.

Quæ quidem tibi omnia belli vulnera curanda sunt; ⁸ quibus præter te, mederi nemo potest.

⁹ Itaque illam tuam præclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audiui: "Satis diu vel naturæ vixi, vel gloriæ." Satis, si ita vis, naturæ fortasse; addo etiam, si placet, gloriæ: at (quod maximum est) ¹⁰ patriæ certe parum. ¹¹ Quare, omitte, quæso, istam ¹² doctorum hominum in condemnanda morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo sapiens esse. Sæpe enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud ¹³ nimis crebro dicere, satis te ¹⁴ tibi vixisse. ¹⁵ Credo: sed tum id

⁹ *Itaque illam tuam, &c.* "And hence it was with concern I heard that most remarkable and philosophic saying of yours, 'I have lived long enough for the purposes either of nature or of glory.'" The remark here alluded to formed part of Cæsar's observations in the senate, when the affair of Marcellus was brought before them. After having complained of the undiminished hostility of that individual towards him, and stated his own suspicions of secret treachery from Marcellus in case he were pardoned, he went on to remark, that, after all, this last was a matter of little moment to himself, since he had already lived long enough and enjoyed sufficient of glory. When he made this remark he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

¹⁰ *Patriæ certe parum.* "Not long enough certainly for your country." His country still wants the presence of Cæsar to give her tranquillity and a settled order of things.

¹¹ *Quare, omitte, &c.* "Discard then that wisdom assumed by some philosophers in contemning death; do not wish to be wise at our risk," i. e. leave to its authors that stoical indifference which would incalculate the contempt of death; such pretended wisdom would be fraught with the most ruinous consequences to ourselves, whose lives depend on yours. *Istam* here denotes contempt, and, in accordance with this idea, we have rendered it by the words "that assumed."

¹² *Doctorum hominum.* Literally, "of the learned." *Docti homines* is here, however, only a periphrasis for *philosophi*, and the Stoic sect are particularly meant. The followers of this school taught that life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent. (LAWFIELD'S *Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 350, *seqq.*)

¹³ *Nimis crebro dicere, &c.* Suetonius informs us, that Cæsar had, in fact, led some of his friends to entertain the opinion, that he did not wish to live any longer, and did not regret the feeble health under which he was then labouring: "*Suspicionem Cæsar quibusdam suorum reliquit, neque voluisse se diutius vivere, neque curasse quod valetudine minus prospera uteretur.*" (SUET. *Vit. Jul.* c. 86.)

¹⁴ *Tibi.* "For yourself," i. e. for all that you care to live for; for all that your own feelings told you was worth enjoying in life.

¹⁵ *Credo.* "I believe it," i. e. I have no doubt that such is the state of your present feelings, and that you frequently indulge in such remarks as these.

audirem, ¹ si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam s
esses. ² Nunc, cum omnium salutem civium cun
rem publicam ³ res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint; ⁴ tant
a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamen
cogitas, nondum jeceris. ⁵ Hic tu modum tuæ v
salute rei publicæ, sed æquitate animi, definies?
⁶ istud ne gloriæ quidem tuæ satis est? cujus te
dissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.

⁷ Parumne igitur, inquires, gloriam magnam relinc
Immo vero ⁸ aliis, quamvis multis, satis; tibi uni
⁹ Quidquid enim est, quamvis amplum sit, id cert
est tum, cum est aliquid amplius. Quod si ¹⁰ rerum

¹ *Si tibi soli viveres.* "If you were living for yourself al
for yourself alone, and not for your country also.

² *Nunc.* "But now." Equivalent to *sed*. Compare *Pro A*
"*Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus,*" &c.

— ³ *Res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint.* "Your actions have embra
have been and continue to be closely identified with. Faern
gestæ, of which emendation Ernesti approves, on the ground
tuæ gestæ ought to be at least *res a te gestæ*. He retains, how
common reading, *res tuæ gestæ*, because the same form occur
the 9th chapter.

⁴ *Tantum abes, a, &c.* "You are so far from the completi
greatest works, that you have not yet laid the very foundati
you think you have." The phraseology *tantum abes* i
also translated, "you not only have not completed, &c., but
even laid," &c. Compare, as regards this form of expre
remarks of SCHELLER, *Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 65.

⁵ *Hic tu modum tuæ vitæ, &c.* "Will you here bound y
ence, not by the safety of the state, but by the moderatio
own mind?" Compare the explanation of BUDÆUS: "*I*
propterea satis vixisse, quod æquo animo et citra indignatio
potes, et annos præteritos non requiris?"

⁶ *Istud.* "That portion of existence which you have th
joyed." With *istud* we may supply *vitæ*. Literally, "th
which is yours."

⁷ *Parumne igitur, &c.* "Shall we then, you will ask, leav
us, no great degree of glory?" i. e. shall I, if my existence
minate, leave behind me no great degree of fame for posterit

⁸ *Aliis, quamvis multis, &c.* "Enough for others, hows
merous they may be; for yourself alone not enough," i. e.
you have thus far acquired might suffice for any other b
His destinies, interwoven as they are with those of his cou
mand a larger share.

⁹ *Quidquid enim est, &c.* "For whatever there is, how
soever it may be, this certainly is but small, when there is
still more extensive than itself," i. e. your glory, Cæsar, is

ium, C. Cæsar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut, devictis
is, rem publicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo
; ¹¹vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis
abitura, quam gloriæ: ¹²siquidem gloria est illustris
gata multorum et magnorum, vel in suos, vel in
vel in omne genus hominum, fama meritorum.

Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est; ¹⁴hic restat actus,
elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas, eaque
mis composita, ¹⁶cum summa tranquillitate et otio,
: tum te, si voles, cum et patriæ, quod debes,
et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis
se dicito. ¹⁸Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum diu,

great, but still it sinks into comparative insignificance when
with that higher glory to which you have it in your power

tuarum immortalium. "Of thy immortal achievements."
quæso, &c. "Beware lest your divine virtues be likely to
of admiration than of glory," i. e. be likely to excite the
of others, rather than add to your own glory.

tem gloria est, &c. "Since glory is the brilliant and wide-
known arising from many and important services, either to
ids, or country, or the whole human race." Some MSS.
in suos cives, but this would be pleonastic, as *in patriam*

igitur tibi reliqua pars est. "This character, therefore, yet
r you to sustain." A metaphor borrowed from the language
ge. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.*: "*Pars in scena est per-
quis suscepit agendam.*" Hence the expressions in the Latin
actores primarum partium," "*actores secundarum partium*,"
first-rate actors, second-rate, &c.

estat actus. "This act remains to be performed," i. e. this
drama of your glory.

elaborandum est, &c. "For this end must you exert your
vours, that you may place our republic on a firm basis, and
among the first to enjoy it, in its settled state, amid perfect
y and retirement." In some good MSS. the word *composita*
appear; and hence Faernus, Lambinus, and Grævius have
it from the text. It is retained, however, by Ernesti,
as *composita* too good a term to have owed its origin to a

summa tranquillitate et otio. Of which Cæsar had thus far
little. Compare MANUTIUS: "*Nam adhuc tranquillitate,
otio caruerat, perpetuis bellis, Pharsalico, Alexandrino, Afri-
ca.*"

naturam ipsam expleveris, &c. "And shall have satisfied nature
with a sufficient term of existence," i. e. when nature herself is
living; when you shall have reached a good old age.

est enim, &c. "For, after all, what is this same living long,

in quo est aliquid extremum ; quod cum venit, omnis voluptas præterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura est?

¹ Quamquam iste tuus animus nunquam ² his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit ; semperque immortalitatis amore flagravat.

³ Nec vero hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, illa, inquam, ⁴ vita est tua, quæ vigebit memoria sæculorum omnium ; quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. ⁵ Huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes, oportet : quæ quidem, quæ miretur, jampridem multa habet ; nunc, etiam quæ laudet, exspectat.

in which there is always something that closes the scene, and, when this has arrived, all past pleasure goes for nothing, because there is none to be thereafter?" Cicero's argument is this. What is a long life, considered merely as such? It is only a space of time which eventually is to have an end, and, when this end arrives, all that went before passes for a mere blank, because a mere blank comes after. How much better is it to lead a glorious life, which knows no limits, but will be perpetuated amid the praises of posterity! Say not then, Cæsar, that you have now lived for a sufficient period, but rather turn your view to the career of glory which awaits you. When you have completed this, then say that you have lived long enough, for then your fame will be immortal.

¹ *Quamquam iste, &c.* Cicero here corrects himself, in order that Cæsar may not take offence at what precedes.

² *His angustiis, &c.* "With these narrow limits which nature has prescribed unto us for the mere purposes of existence," i. e. with the narrow limits of life which nature has prescribed.

³ *Nec vero hæc tua vita, &c.* "Nor, in truth, can this be regarded as your life, which is bounded by the body and the soul," i. e. by the union of the soul with the body.—Some MSS. have *dicenda est* in place of *ducenda est*, and it is adopted also by Lambinus, Wolf, Schütz, and others.

⁴ *Vita est tua.* "Is your true existence."—*Sæculorum omnia.* "Of all coming ages."—*Alet.* "Shall cherish."—*Tuebitur.* "Shall guard as its own," i. e. shall preserve. Equivalent to *conservabit et sustinebit.*

⁵ *Huic tu inservias, &c.* "It is for this existence you should labour, for this show forth your glory ; an existence, which has long since possessed many things at which to wonder, which now looks for those that it may praise," i. e. an existence which already possesses many claims to our wonder, which now looks for claims to our applause.

⁶ *Imperia, provincias.* "Your commands, your provinces," i. e. the variety of important military commands which you have filled, the numerous countries which have been the theatres of those commands.

⁷ *Rhenum.* Referring to Cæsar's victories over the Gauls and Germans.—*Oceanum.* Alluding to his invasion of Britain.—*Nilum.* His operations in Egypt.

cent posteri certe, ⁶ imperia, provincias, ⁷ Rhenum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorumenta innumera, triumphos, audientes et legentes, nisi hæc urbs ⁹ stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis, bitur modo nomen tuum longe atque late; sedem stabilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit, etiam qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, ¹⁰ magna, cum alii laudibus ad cœlum res tuas gestas, ¹¹ alii fortasse aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum, civilis incendium ¹² salute patriæ restinxis; ¹³ ut fuisse videatur, hoc consilii. ¹⁴ Servi igitur iis

nenta innumera. "The countless monuments that peruse victories." We have adopted *innumera*, the reading of old MSS. and early editions, in place of the common lection, *munera*. The term *munera*, as referring to mere gladiators, and public exhibitions, seems out of place here, the specially as *triumphos* follows.

a tuis consiliis, &c. "Firmly established by your counsels

a dissensio. "A great difference of opinion."

fortasse aliquid requirent. "While others, perhaps, will miss the chance of something else." Literally, "will seek for," i. e. will find and not.—This "something" is explained immediately after. Extinguishing of the flames of civil war, by giving peace and safety to the country; or, in other words, the removing of every trace of dissension, and the introduction of good order and public tranquillity.

In order to bring about these desirable results, the presence of Cæsar is necessary, and he has, therefore, not yet lived long enough. If he stop now, there is a chance lest posterity may assign his name to the mere operation of the decrees of destiny. He has done something still, which shall render his wisdom and soundness conspicuous to after ages.

a patriæ. "By the safety of your country," i. e. by placing the basis the safety and happiness of the Roman state.

illud, &c. "That the former may appear to have been the matter, the latter of wisdom." *Illud* refers to Cæsar's previous actions, *hoc* to what Cicero and posterity expect from him, in the repose of his country.

igitur, &c. "Have regard then for the opinions of those who, many ages after this, will decide concerning thee, and indeed, more impartially than we ourselves." *Servire* is here taken to *rationem habere*, and carries with it the idea of labouring to secure some advantage, or to gain the good opinion of posterity. (Compare SCHUTZ, *Index Lat.* s. v.) The judges to whom posterity are posterity, and their tribunal will be any but a partial one.

etiam iudicibus, qui multis post sæculis de te iudicabunt, et quidem ¹haud scio, an incorruptius, quam nos: nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidia, iudicabunt. ²Id autem etiam si tunc ad te (ut quidam falso putant) non pertinebit; nunc certe pertinet, esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla umquam sit oblivio.

X. ³DIVERSÆ voluntates civium fuerunt, distractæque sententiæ: non enim ⁴consiliis solum et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris, dissidebamus. ⁵Erat autem obscuritas quædam, erat certamen ⁶inter clarissimos duces: ⁷multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset; multi, quid sibi expediret; multi, quid deceret; nonnulli etiam, quid liceret. ⁸Perfuncta res publica est hoc misero fatalique bello: vicit is, ⁹qui non

¹ *Haud scio, an.* Consult note 11, page 115.—*Et sine amore et sine cupiditate, &c.* “Unbiased by both affection and love of self, and free on the other hand from hatred and envy. *Cupiditas* refers here to schemes of personal advancement, which may be furthered by flattering the feelings of the powerful.

² *Id autem etiam, &c.* “And even if this shall, (as some falsely imagine,) in no respect concern you then; it certainly concerns you now,” &c. i. e. and even if the praises of posterity shall in no respect affect you, (supposing that erroneous doctrine to be true which teaches that there is no existence beyond the grave,) still, &c. The expression *ut quidam falso putant* expresses Cicero’s disbelief in the doctrine of materialism which was then prevalent at Rome among the upper classes. The remark comes in here with great beauty, and still greater force, since Cæsar himself was a believer in the non-existence of a future state, and had openly avowed this opinion, on a former occasion, during the debate in the senate respecting the punishment of the accomplices of Catiline. The future glory of Cæsar, as far as he himself shall be sensible of it, is here placed in full opposition to his own dark and chilling belief.

³ *Diversæ voluntates, &c.* “The inclinations of the citizens were various, and their opinions wholly divided.” Alluding to the period of the civil contest.

⁴ *Consiliis et studiis.* “In sentiments and wishes.” Compare MANUTIUS: “*Consiliis ad sententias refertur, studiis ad voluntates.*”

⁵ *Erat autem obscuritas quædam.* “There was also an air of obscurity thrown, as it were, over the whole affair,” i. e. the merits of the cause were dubious, and it was hard to say on which side the justice of the contest lay. An adroit extenuation, on the part of Cicero, of his own error and that of his friends in espousing the cause of Pompey.

⁶ *Inter clarissimos duces.* “Between two most illustrious leaders,” i. e. Cæsar and Pompey.

⁷ *Multi dubitabant, &c.* “Many were in doubt which of the two causes might be the most just; many, what might be most expedient.

fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec
 ui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio aut
 morte dignos judicaret. ¹¹Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis
 repta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui, ¹²armorum
 periculo liberatus, animum tamen retinet armatum; ¹³ut
 etiam ille sit melior, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam
 profudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis
 constantia, videri potest. ¹⁴Sed jam omnis fracta dissensio
 est armis, et extincta æquitate victoris: restat, ut omnes
 unum velint, qui modo habent aliquid, non solum sapientiæ,
 sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Cæsar, salvo, et in ista sen-
 tentia, qua cum antea, tum hodie vel maxime usus es,
 manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare omnes te, qui

or themselves; many, what might be becoming in their case; some
 even, what it might be permitted them to do." Cicero here gives us
 four distinct classes of persons, all engaging more or less in the civil
 contest, and all actuated by different sentiments.

¹ *Perfuncta est.* "Has at last gone through with," i. e. is at last
 freed from. According to the rule of the ancient grammarians,
defungor is generally said of what is bad, and *perfungor* of what is
 good. We have here, however, an exception to the remark. Compare
Har. Resp. 8, and *Ep. ad Fam.* 5, 12.

¹ *Qui non fortuna, &c.* "Who would not inflame his resentment by
 reason of success," i. e. who would not act as victors are accustomed
 to act, and make victory the occasion and means for indulging in
 fiercer resentment than ever against his political foes. — *Sed bonitate*
leniret. "But would soften it down by clemency," i. e. would make
 a mild and merciful use of it.

¹⁰ *Morte.* Cæsar, after proving victorious, is said to have put none
 to death except Faustus Sylla, Afranius, and L. Cæsar. (Sueton. *Vit.*
Jul. c. 75.)

¹¹ *Arma ab aliis, &c.* "Their arms were laid down by some, were
 forced from others." Grævius condemns the use of *ab* in this sentence,
 as violating correct Latinity: but it is employed in a similar way by
 the best writers, and by Cicero himself in the following instances:
In Verr. 3, 48, *In Vatin.* 12, 5. Compare ERNESTI, *ad loc.* and DUKER,
ad Liv. 41, 14.

¹² *Armorum periculo liberatus, &c.* "After having been freed from
 the danger of war, retains a spirit of warfare," i. e. who, after having
 been forgiven, still cherishes hostile feelings.

¹³ *Ut etiam ille sit melior.* "So that even he is more worthy of
 excuse." — *In causa.* "In defence of the cause which he has espoused."

¹⁴ *Sed jam omnis, &c.* "Now, however, all civil disunion has been
 completely overcome by arms." Compare MANUTIUS: "*Fracta*, h. e.
ablata, spoliata viribus."

¹⁵ *Unum velint.* "Unite in their wishes." — *Nisi.* "For unless." —
Qua usus es. "Which you have expressed."

hæc salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus vitæ, ut salutem tuam consulas: omnesque tibi, (ut præ etiam loquar, quod² de me ipse sentio,) quoniam³ aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modo excuscul custodias, sed etiam⁴ laterum nostrorum oppositus eorum, pollicemur.

XI. ⁵ SED, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur. Maxima tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Cæsar: ⁶ majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt; quod omnium precibus et lacrymis sentire potuisti. Sed non est⁷ stantibus omnibus necesse⁸ dicere; a me dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quod et quod decet, et quod (M. Marcello a te huic ordini

¹ *Ut vitæ, &c.* Because on Cæsar's safety, and on the continuance of his life, depend the lives and safety of all.

² *De me.* "As far as regards myself."

³ *Subesse aliquid.* "That something lies concealed." *Subesse* equivalent to *latere*. Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 10, 18: "*Non possum exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest vulneris, quod prius nocere quam sciri curarique possit.*"

⁴ *Laterum nostrorum oppositus, &c.* "The intervention of our arms and of our bodies," i. e. we are willing to present our own bodies as a rampart between you and your foes.

⁵ *Sed, unde est orsa, &c.* "But let my remarks terminate at the place where I began." Literally, "let my speech be ended in the same place where it began," i. e. let me end as I began, with an expression of thanks.

⁶ *Majores etiam habemus.* "We have still greater gratitude, which language cannot express." Compare MANUTIUS: "*Plus enim comprehendit, quam quod exsequi verbis liceat.*"

⁷ *Stantibus.* When any senator spoke he stood up, except when he merely assented to another. Cicero means, therefore, that it is necessary for all the assembled senators to address Cæsar *stantibus*, i. e. personally or individually. Some of the early editions have *stantibus*, which appears in a few MSS.

⁸ *Dicere.* "To give utterance to those feelings in words."—*certe dici volunt.* "They wish them to be expressed by me at least." *Et quod.* "Both because."

⁹ *Præcipue id, &c.* Ernesti rejects *præcipue id a me fieri*, and claims *debere* to *deberi*. But this is too bold, although resting in some degree on MS. authority.

¹⁰ *Non ut.* "Not as it were."

¹¹ *Quod autem summæ, &c.* "What constitutes, moreover, a part of the most intimate friendship (such as mine towards him was) has been by all on every occasion to have been, so that I scarcely yield to Caius Marcellus, his most excellent and affectionate brother, (and to him, indeed, to no one), this, after having displayed it as long as I was in any doubt about his personal safety, by my solicitude, my

que Romano et rei publicæ reddito) ⁹ præcipue id a me
eri debere intelligo. Nam lætari omnes, ¹⁰ non ut de
nius solum, sed ut de communi omnium salute, sentio :
quod autem summæ benevolentiae est, (quæ mea erga illum
mnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et
mantissimo fratri, præter eum quidem, cederem nemini,)
am id sollicitudine, cura, labore tamdiu præstiterim, quam-
in est de illius salute dubitatum, certe hoc tempore, magnis
uris, molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. ¹²Itaque,
! Cæsar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut omnibus me rebus a te non
onservato solum, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me
num innumerabilia merita, (quod fieri jam posse non arbi-
rabar,) maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accesserit.

ry exertions in his behalf, I certainly ought to exhibit on the present
ession, freed as I now am from anxieties, troubles, sorrows of no
rdinary magnitude."—In the regular grammatical construction of this
entence the antecedent *id*, understood before *quod*, is governed by
restare. We have preferred, however, in order to render the whole
ore intelligible, to consider *quod* as elliptical for *quod attinet ad id*
rest, and to understand another *id* before *præstare*.

" *Itaque, C. Cæsar, &c.* The elegance of the idiom *sic . . . ut*, in
his passage, is worthy of particular notice. It is the same, in effect,
as *ob hoc, quod*. "Wherefore, Caius Cæsar, I return you my thanks
for this, because, after having been not only restored by you in all
pects to a state of safety, but even graced with honours, a crowning
avour has nevertheless been added, by your conduct on this occasion,
o your countless acts of kindness already conferred upon me indi-
vidually; a circumstance which I thought no longer able to be brought
out."

It remains but to add a few words relative to Marcellus. The story
of his fate is a singular one. After being pardoned by Cæsar, he left
Mitylene, and had come as far as the Piræus, or harbour of Athens, on
his way to Rome. Here he spent a day with his old friend and col-
league, Servius Sulpicius, intending to pursue his journey the following
day by sea. But in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him,
on the 23rd of May, he was killed by his friend and client Magius, who
stabbed himself instantly with the same poignard. Sulpicius sent an
account of the whole affair to Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 12), of which the
following is an extract:—

"On the 22nd of May, I came by sea from Epidaurus to the Piræus,
to meet my colleague Marcellus, and, for the sake of his company,
spent that day with him there. The next day, when I took my leave
of him with the intention of going from Athens into Bœotia, to finish
the remaining part of my jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to

set sail, at the same time, for Italy. The day following, about the morning, when I was preparing to set out for Athens, L. P. Postumius came to let me know that Marcellus was stabbed by his companion, P. Magius Chilo, after supper, and had received two wounds, the one in his stomach, the other in his head near the ear; but he was in hopes still that he might live; that Magius presently killed him, and that Marcellus sent him to inform me of the case, and that I would bring some physicians to him. I got some physicians immediately, and went away with them before break of day, when I was come near the Piræus, Acidinus' boy met me with a message from his master, in which it was signified, that Marcellus died before day."

Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had borne the public offices, and had himself been quæstor. Having followed Marcellus to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through his wars and his exile, he was now returning with him to Italy. Cicero gives no hint of any cause that induced him to commit this heinous deed, which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be known. Cicero's conjecture was, that Magius, oppressed with debt, and apprehending some trouble, on that score, upon his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his surety for some part of his debt, to furnish him with money to pay the whole, and, on receiving refusal, was provoked to the madness of killing his patron. (*Ep. ad Att.* V. 9, 11.) According to others, however, he was prompted to the deed, by other friends more favoured by Marcellus than himself. (V. 9, 11.)

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIO

PRO

LEGE MANILIA.

TULLII CICERONIS, &c. "The oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero of the Manilian law."—This oration, which is accounted one of the most splendid of his productions, was the first in which Cicero addressed the whole people from the rostra. It was pronounced in support of a law proposed by Manilius, a tribune of the commons (87), for constituting Pompey sole general, with extraordinary powers in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, in which Lucullus had previously commanded. The Mithridatic war had now continued the space of twenty-three years, with some intermission, and with alternations of fortune on both sides. [Manilius was already famous for his attempt to re-enact a law of Carbo, "that the *Libertini* should be enfranchised in all the tribes, instead of merely in the four city tribes. This law had been repealed by Sylla. Manilius carried it by proposing it on the day, when but a few, and those his own partizans, remained in the forum. It was, however, immediately annulled by the senate. (We shall find another attempt to carry it made by Clodius, 58.) Manilius, however, dreaded the still continued animosity of the commons, and in order to procure for himself the aid of Pompey, he proposed this law.]

The chiefs of the senate regarded the law in question as a dangerous innovation in the republic; and all the authority of Catulus, and eloquence of Hortensius, were directed against it, [but the bill was supported by Cæsar and Cicero.] Cicero, in advocating its passing, divides his discourse into two parts,—showing, first, that the importance and great dangers of the contest, in which the state was engaged, required the unusual remedy proposed, and—secondly, that Pompey was the best person to be entrusted with the conduct of the war. This is a splendid panegyric on that commander, in which, while he pays justice to the merits of Lucullus, he enlarges on the military skill,

I. (1.) ¹ QUAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester, multo jucundissimus, ² hic autem locus, ³ ad agendum ⁴ amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites; tamen ⁵ hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non ⁶ mea me voluntas adhuc, sed ⁷ meae vitae rationes, ab ineunte ætate susceptæ, prohibuerunt. Nam, cum ante

valour, authority, and good fortune of his favourite chief, with all the force and beauty which language can afford. By dwelling on these topics, and by adducing examples from all antiquity, of the state having been benefited, or saved, by entrusting unlimited power to a single person, he allays all fears of the dangers, which, it was apprehended, might result to the constitution from such extensive authority being vested in one individual.

The Manilian law was passed, and the success of Pompey was brilliant and decisive, without any of those evil effects resulting to the state which the foes of the measure had predicted. [Yet this extraordinary power given to one individual served afterwards as a precedent for Cæsar's assumption of it.]

¹ *Quamquam mihi*, &c. "Although, Romans, frequently to behold your assemblies has always appeared to me by far most pleasing, although this place the most dignified for addressing you, the most honourable for haranguing, yet," &c. [Cicero gives a reason why he did not frequently come before the Roman people; namely, his private life. The passage is usually rendered "Although the frequent sight of your crowded assemblies," but it simply means "the frequent sight of you," i. e. frequently to behold you. We may say in this sense both *conspectus vester* and *conspectus vestri*; the former is usual with Cicero. Cf. *pro PLANO*. 1 and 2. *Vester, judices, conspectus et consensus reficit et recreat mentem meam.*]

² *Hic autem locus*. Alluding to the *rostra*, where he was standing at the time. The *rostra* (more commonly, but less correctly, called *rostrum*) was a pulpit or tribunal, in the Roman forum, before the *Curia Hostilia*, where those who addressed the people stood. It was so called, because adorned with the *beaks* of the vessels said to have been taken from the Antiates. (LIV. 8, 14.—VARRO, *L.L.* 4, 32.) There were at Rome the old and new *rostra* (*vetera et nova*); the former, which are here meant, stood in the centre of the forum, APPIAN, *BC.* 1, 94), the latter at the base of the Palatine, in the southern angle of the forum. This last was erected by Cæsar. (NARDINI, *R.V.* 5, 2.—RASCHE, *Lex. Rei Num.* vol. vii. col. 1286.)

³ *Ad agendum*. The phrase *agere cum populo* signifies, "to treat with the people," i. e. to address them, soliciting their votes for or against a particular measure. Thus Aulus Gellius remarks (12, 14): "*Cum populo agere est rogare quid populum, quod suffragiis suis esse jubeat aut vetet.*"

⁴ *Amplissimus*. This epithet is here applied to the *rostra*, because magistrates alone were allowed to address the people from this place. Compare HOTOMANN. "*Ad agendum amplissimum oppellet, quod est*

⁸ per ætatem nondum ⁹ hujus auctoritatem loci attingero audeam, statueremque, nihil huc, ¹⁰ nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria, afferri oportere; ¹¹ omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. (2.) Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis, qui ¹² vestram causam

his nisi amplitudine præditis viris agere cum populo liceret; ad dicendum ornatum autem, quod ornamento esset iis qui concionabantur."

⁸ *Hoc aditu laudis*, &c. "From this avenue to praise, which has always lain most freely open to each most meritorious individual," &c. By *optimo cuique* are meant the patriotic and loyal. With a magistrate's permission, private persons were allowed to address the people from the rostra, [i. e. provided the tribunes permitted. This privilege was first gained by Spurius Lucretius. *Dion. Hal.* 5, 11.]

⁹ *Mea voluntas*. "My own inclinations."

¹⁰ *Meæ vitæ rationes*, &c. "My way of life," &c. Cicero here refers to his rule of attending to the private concerns of his friends, until age and experience should qualify him for addressing the people from the rostra. By *ætate* in this sentence is meant, not boyhood, but the period of Cicero's entering on active and professional pursuits.

¹¹ *Per ætatem*. Cicero had already held the offices of quæstor and prætor before he addressed the people on this occasion. He was now in his 41st year.

¹² *Hujus auctoritatem loci attingere*. "To have aught to do with the authority of this place," i. e. to aspire, in the slightest degree, to the honour of addressing you from such a place as this.—*Attingere* properly means, "to touch gently," "to come in slight contact with," and is, therefore, the very term to employ in the present case. It is sanctioned by the authority of many MSS., and is adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and others. The common reading *contingere* is too strong, implying, "to come in full contact with," "to reach," &c.

⁸ *Nisi perfectum ingenio*, &c. "But what had been perfected by talent, wrought out by assiduous application." Cicero assigns three reasons for not ascending the rostra at an earlier period; first, the rule of conduct which he had prescribed to himself, in devoting his chief attention to the private cases of his friends; secondly, the modesty and diffidence arising from his consciousness of the want of experience; and thirdly, the conviction, that no one ought to address the people from the place where he then stood, except after his abilities had become matured by age, and sharpened by application and extensive experience.

¹¹ *Omne meum tempus*, &c. "I thought that all my time ought to be devoted to the exigencies of my friends," i. e. to my friends standing in need of my assistance and advice. [*Temporibus*, "exigencies," "dangers," used like the Greek *καρπός*.]—*Transmittendum*. "Ought to be transferred." [Steinmetz compares *Stat.* iii. 278. *Vigilesque operi transmitters noctes gaudeat.*]

¹² *Vestram causam*. "Your interests." Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Rostra enim nemo nisi pro populo dicturus ascendit.*"

defenderent; ¹ et meus labor, in privatorum periculi integreque versatus, ex vestro iudicio fructum est annum consecutus. Nam cum, ² propter dilationem orum, ³ ter prætor primus ⁴ centuriis cunctis renuncium, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicare quid aliis præscriberetis. Nunc, cum et auctoritatis tantum sit, ⁶ quantum vos honoribus mandandis essistis; ⁷ et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exe-

¹ *Et meus labor, &c.* "And my exertions, purely and faithfully employed in the dangers of private individuals, have reaped from suffrages a most ample reward." Some commentators consider expressions *caste integreque* as having reference to the Cincian law which advocates were not allowed to take any fees or present their clients, (*vid.* Legal Index.) The allusion, however, seems general one, to professional fidelity and [freedom from corruption] *Caste = ἀδωροκέρως.*

² *Propter dilationem comitiorum.* "On account of the adjournment of the comitia." The comitia were adjourned, i. e. stopped, or put off to another day, for various reasons. Any magistrate of greater authority than the one who presided, might, as well as the latter, take the auspices before the meeting was held, especially if he wished to hinder an election, or prevent a law from being passed. If such magistrate, therefore, declared that he had heard thunder or lightning, the comitia was broken off, and deferred to another day. The same result was produced if any person, while they were assembled, was seized with epilepsy, if a tempest arose, if a tribune of the commons interposed his veto, &c.

³ *Ter prætor primus, &c.* "I was thrice declared first prætor among the centuries," i. e. twice at the two comitia that were broken off, and the third time when he was actually elected. The number of centuries at this time was eight. He was called *prætor primus*, or first, who had the largest number of votes, and the result of the election was always proclaimed by the voice of a herald, who was said *proferre*, "to declare" the result, just as the successful candidate is said *renunciari*. Plutarch informs us, that, on this occasion, there were many persons of distinction for competitors, and yet he was first. (*Vit. Cæs. c. 9.*) [Moëbius is wrong in rendering *prætor prætor urbanus*, for Cicero never was *prætor urbanus*. As prætor presided over trials *de pecuniis repetundis*. See Rab. P. STEINMETZ.]

⁴ *Centuriis cunctis.* The prætors were chosen at the *comitia centuriata*, as were also the consuls, censors, &c. The inferior magistrates, such as the ædiles, tribunes, quæstors, &c., were elected at the *comitia tributa*. At the latter of these comitia, the vote of each citizen counted equally, whereas at the *centuriata* the centuries of the different classes counted unequally. Thus, there were 193 centuries, forming six classes, of which the first and richest class consisted of 97 centuries. If

nit afferre: certe, et, si quid auctoritatis in me est, ⁸ ea
ad eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et, si quid in
dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui
quoque rei ¹⁰ fructum suo iudicio tribuendum esse cen-
sunt. (3.) ¹¹ Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure
video, quod ¹² in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione
mundi, causa talis oblata est, in qua ¹³ oratio deesse nemini
est. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari exi-
que virtute: hujus autem orationis ¹⁴ difficilior est exitus,

as of the first class agreed, the affair was decided. This arrange-
ment, which dated back as far as the time of Servius Tullius, was
designed to place the power mainly in the hands of the upper classes.
[EXCURSUS, on second Philippic.]

Et quid aliis præscriberetis. "And what course of conduct you
prescribed to others." The course prescribed was the one which Cicero
pursued, namely, to devote their earlier efforts to the concerns of
friends and clients, until the experience which this brought along with
it entitled them to come forward with strong claims on the favour of
the people.

Quantum vos honoribus, &c. "As you have willed there should be
in my power conferring honours upon me," i. e. as you have willed should
be annexed to the offices which you have bestowed upon me.—*Honori-
mandandis.* Literally, "in assigning honours." Compare the ex-
position of Fabricius: "*dum honores mihi mandatis.*" The common
has *mandandum*, for which we have given *mandandis* with Fabri-
Ernesti, and others, on the authority of several MSS.

Et ad agendum, &c. "And as much fitness for addressing you, as
almost daily exercise of speaking could bring to a man of indus-
trious habits, from the practice of the bar," i. e. to one who has thus
been seen merely a pleader at the bar.

Ea apud eos utar, &c. "I will exert it in presence of those." The
allusion is to the Roman people assembled in comitia.

Dicendo. This serves to explain *ad agendum*, in the previous part
of the sentence, with which it is synonymous.

Fructum. The recompense alluded to was the prætorship, which
he had obtained that very year, A.U.C. 687.

Atque, illud, &c. "And I see that the following circumstance, in-
deed, ought with good reason to afford me a ground for rejoicing."
that I ought, with good reason, to congratulate myself on the
same account.

In hac insolita mihi, &c. "In this, to me unusual, mode of speak-
ing from the place where I now stand," i. e. unaccustomed as I am to
argue in this manner and from this place. The pronoun *hoc*, with
itself, indicates the gesture of the orator.

Oratio. "Eloquence." The subject is so noble and grand, as of
itself to supply an abundant flow of language.

Difficilior est exitus, &c. Cicero's harangue here will remind the
reader of the *exordium* of Lysias, in the speech against Eratosthenes.

quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam ¹ copia, modus in dicendo quærendus est.

II. (4.) Atque, ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, ² hæc omnis causa ducitur: bellum grave et pericu-
³ vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus potenti-
regibus infertur, ⁴ Mithridate et Tigrane; ⁵ quorum
relictus, ⁶ alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupan-
⁷ Asiam oblatam esse arbitratur. ⁸ Equitibus Ro-

Οὐκ ἀρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἀπορον εἶναι, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ . .
παύσασθαι λέγοντι.

¹ *Copia*. "An abundant supply of materials."—*Modus*.
limit."

² *Unde hæc omnis causa ducitur*. "Whence the whole of the
positional is derived." We have adopted *ducitur*; *dicitur* is exhibit
the common text.

³ *Vestris vectigalibus atque sociis*. "Against your tributary
allies." The *vectigales* were they who paid taxes or tribute in the
produce of their lands; the *stipendiarii*, on the contrary, in money.
The former were in a better condition than the latter, since the pro-
duce of produce paid by them depended always on the nature of the
harvest being less in years of scarcity than in those when the harvest
was abundant: whereas, in the case of the *stipendiarii*, the amount was
always the same one year with another. Consult ERNESTI, *Cl.*
s. v. *stipendiarius*, and the authorities there cited.

⁴ *Mithridate et Tigrane*. The former, king of Pontus, the latter of
Armenia. Tigranes was son-in-law to Mithridates. Consult His
Index.

⁵ *Quorum alter relictus*. "The one of whom being left un-
defeated after defeat," i. e. not being pushed further after his defeat; the
other on the part of the Romans not being followed up. The allusion is to
Mithridates, who, after being repeatedly overcome by Lucullus, again
became powerful, the Roman general not being able to follow up
his successes, in consequence of the mutinous spirit of his army.
Part of his army had been discharged and disembodied, the remainder
transferred to Glabrio. Compare the end of chapter 9: "*Hic
illo malo*," &c.

⁶ *Alter lacessitus*. "The other provoked by your arms," i. e.
brought to action by the movements of Lucullus. This is a mere
oratorical exaggeration. The truth was, Mithridates and Tigran
were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with their whole
armies when Lucullus marched into Armenia. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 2)

⁷ *Asiam*. The Roman province of Asia is here meant, compris-
ing Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia. Consult Geographical Index.
The revenues of this province were extremely rich, and hence the
tempting nature of the prize. Compare the remark of MANILIUS
"Asiam cujus certissima et magna vectigalia."

⁸ *Equitibus Romanis*. The Roman knights, or equites, farm
the public revenues from the censors.—*Honestissimis viris*. "The

nestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie literæ, quorum magnæ res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exerndis ¹⁰ occupatæ; ¹¹ qui ad me, pro necessitudine, quæ mihi t cum illo ordine, causam rei publicæ ¹² periculaque rerum arum detulerunt:) (5.) ¹³ Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra procia est, vicos exustos esse complures: ¹⁴ regnum Ariobaranis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in stium potestate: Lucillum, magnis rebus gestis, ¹⁵ ab eo

nourable class of men." Cicero, himself of equestrian origin, always uses this and similar language in speaking of the equites.

¹⁰ *Quorum magnæ res aguntur, &c.* "Large sums belonging to whom are now at stake there, being vested by them in the farming of your revenues." The equites, or, as they were more commonly called, *publicani*, had purchased the revenues of the province of Asia from the state, for a large amount, and were to look to the actual collection of those revenues for reimbursement and profit. The large sums of money, thus advanced by them to the state, were endangered by the prospect of war, since success on the part of the foe, and the consequent ravaging of the fields, would impair of course the productiveness of the province, and lessen materially the chances of repayment.

¹¹ *Occupatæ.* "Vested." Equivalent here to *collocatæ*. Compare *Flacc.* 21: "*Pecuniam adolescentulo, grandi fenore, fiducia tamen accepta, occupavisti.*" and also *In Verr.* 1, 36: "*Pecunias occupat ad populos, et syngraphas fecerat.*"

¹² *Qui.* "These."—*Pro necessitudine, &c.* "On account of the intimate connexion which exists between me and that order." Cicero, as we have already remarked, was himself of equestrian family. Compare *Pro Rab.* 6: "*Vos equites Romani videte: scitis me ortum a vobis.*" *necessitudine.* Because Cicero himself was of equestrian rank, (*Municipalis eques* JUVEN.) and because he always favoured them.]

¹³ *Periculaque rerum suarum.* "And the dangers to which their private fortunes are exposed."

¹⁴ *Bithyniæ.* Consult Geographical Index.—*Quæ nunc vestra procia est.* "Which is now a province of yours." Nicomedes, the last sovereign of Bithynia, had, by his will, made the Roman people his heir. The ostensible cause of this bequest was gratitude to the Romans, for having been restored to his dominions by Sylla after having been driven out by Mithridates. (EUTROP. 6, 6.—APPIAN, *M.* 7.)

¹⁵ *Regnum Ariobarzanis.* Cappadocia. Ariobarzanes was thrice driven from his throne by Mithridates. The first and second time he was restored by Lucullus, the third by Pompey. The period alluded to in the text is that which intervened between his second expulsion and final restoration, and during which Mithridates had again become powerful, in consequence of the recall of Lucullus. (APPIAN, *B. S.* 48.—*Id. B. M.* 10, *seqq.*)

¹⁶ *Ab eo bello discedere.* It was now about eight years since Lucullus was sent to the Mithridatic war and he had, during this period, by

bello discedere ¹ huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: ² unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti: eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, præterea neminem.

(6.) ³ Causa quæ sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur ⁴ de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum.—Genus est belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ⁵ ad studium persequendi debeat: ⁶ in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis

a series of brilliant successes, acquired for himself a high military reputation. He had driven Mithridates out of his kingdom of Pontus, and gained several memorable victories over him and his son-in-law Tigranes. His success, however, occasioned envious feelings at Rome, and it was alleged against him, that he had not pushed the war with vigour against either Mithridates or Tigranes, that he might furnish a pretext for his being still continued in command. His army, besides, had become restless and mutinous, from the perpetual fatigues to which they were exposed, but principally from the factious arts of Clodius, brother-in-law to Lucullus, who was an officer in the army, and conceived himself neglected by the commander. The disaffection of the troops was still farther increased by an unlucky defeat of Triarius, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus, who, in a rash engagement with Mithridates, was destroyed, with the loss of his camp and the best of his troops. As soon, therefore, as they heard that Glabrio, the consul of the previous year, was appointed to succeed him, and had actually arrived in Asia, they broke out into open mutiny, and refused to follow Lucullus any longer, declaring that they had ceased to be his soldiers.

¹ *Huic qui successerit*, &c. "That the individual who has succeeded him is but ill prepared for the management of so important a war." The allusion is to Glabrio, who was appointed to succeed Lucullus. The words *non satis esse paratum* ostensibly refer to the inadequate state of his resources; but they contain also a covert allusion to his mental incapacity. Cicero (*Brut.* 68) describes Glabrio, as "*securus ipsius natura, negligensque.*" The student will mark the force of the subjunctive mood in *successerit*. The speaker gives merely the language of rumour, and does not state as a fact within his own knowledge, that Glabrio has, by this time, actually assumed the command. So that *qui successerit* means, in truth, "who is said, by this time, to have succeeded him." In place of *successerit* some read *succurrerit*, which last Hotomann endeavours to defend, as exposing the eagerness with which Glabrio seized the command, when superseding Lucullus. [And this is supported by the *ὑπαρπάσων* of Dio. Cass.] But *successerit* is every way preferable.

² *Unum*. "That one individual." Alluding to Pompey.—*Eundem hunc unum*, &c. "That this same one individual is feared by the enemy, no one besides."

majoribus, cum magna in rebus omnibus, tum summa in e militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella viderunt: aguntur ⁷ certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima: quibus amissis, ⁸ et pacis ornamenta, et subsidia belli requiretis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicæ causa consulendum.

III. (7.) Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriæ præter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, ¹⁰ delenda vobis est la macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscepta, quæ enitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani

² *Causa quæ sit.* "What is the nature of our cause," i. e. what is the nature of the discussion which now claims your attention.

⁴ *De genere belli.* "Of the character of the war."

⁵ *Ad studium persequendi.* ["To a desire to pursue it to the end."] These words are omitted in the common text, but supplied by Grævius and Ernesti from MSS.

⁶ *In quo agitur, &c.* "For in it the glory of the Roman people is at stake." *In quo*, beginning the clause, is equivalent to *nam in eo*.

⁷ *Certissima vectigalia et maxima.* "The surest and most important revenues." Elsewhere (*De Leg. Agr.* 2, 29) Cicero speaks of the Campanian *vectigalia* as the surest and the best: "*An ignoratis, cetera illa magnifica populi Romani vectigalia, perlevi sæpe momento fortunæ, inclinatione temporis pendere? Quid nos Asiæ portus, quid Syriæ rura quid maria transmarina vectigalia juvabunt, tenuissima suspitione prædonum et hostium injecta? At vero hoc agri Campani vectigal cum ejusmodi sit, ut domi sit, et omnibus præsidiis oppidorum tegatur: tum neque bellis confectum, nec fructibus varium, nec cælo ac loco calamitosum esse solet.*"

⁸ *Et pacis ornamenta, &c.* "You will have to seek anew for both the ornaments of peace, and the sinews of war," i. e. you will miss, you will feel the want of what constitute the ornaments of peace, &c. M. RULLUS (c. 29): "*Pacis ornamentum, subsidium belli, fundamentum vectigalium.*" and chapter 6 of the present speech: "*Si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis.*"

⁹ *A vobis et ipsorum, &c.* In the early editions, and in most MSS. we find *a vobis et imperatoribus rei publicæ consulendum*. Lambinus obtained the reading in the text from three MSS., and it has been adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and others. Ernesti remarks: "*Ego vero nullam causam idoneam video quare hic imperatores populi Romani commendentur, cum de uno deligendo agatur, et quidem per populum Romanum.*" [Cicero uses the preposition with *a vobis* to guard against ambiguity, otherwise, *vobis consulendum* would be correct Latinity.]

¹⁰ *Delenda vobis, &c.* "That stain, contracted in the previous Mithridatic war, must be effaced by you, which has now sunk deeply in, and grown too old on the name of the Roman people." *Inveterasco*, means literally, "to grow old in," "to gather strength by age or time," "to become deeply rooted," &c.

nomine: ¹ quod is, qui, ² uno die, tota Asia, ³ tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, ⁴ atque una literarum significatione, Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, ⁶ illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat regnat, ut se non Ponto, ⁷ neque Cappadociae latebris tace velit, sed emergere ⁸ e patrio regno, atque in vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiae luce versari. (8.)] adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperato

¹ *Quod is, &c.* "That he," &c. Referring to Mithridates, indiscriminate slaughter of the Romans in Asia. This monarch secret orders to all the governors of his Asiatic provinces, &c. them to massacre, on the thirtieth day after the receipt of these orders, all the Romans and Italians in their several districts, regard to age or sex, and to leave their bodies without the burial. (APPIAN, *B. M.* 22.) Plutarch makes the number on this occasion to have been 150,000. (*Vit. Syll.* c. 24.) Maximus (9, 2, 3) gives it as 80,000, which is probably near the truth. This event occurred in the consulship of Sylla and Q. P. Rufus, A.U.C. 666; B.C. 88.

² *Uno die.* The massacre took place on the same day throughout the cities of Asia. The interval of thirty days was prescribed in order that the secret intelligence might be communicated in the more distant cities. The messengers would have time to arrive in thirty days, and all would then be prepared to act in concert.

³ *Tot in civitatibus.* Appian (*B. M.* 23) enumerates several Greek cities of Asia which obeyed the cruel directions of Mithridates, and mentions also the different ways in which the order was executed. Temples and altars afforded no refuge. The only two states which remained faithful to the Romans, amid the general defection, followed this disaster, were Magnesia and Rhodes.

⁴ *Atque una literarum significatione.* "And by the import of a letter." The confidential messenger had a letter, or general order, which he showed to each of the governors of the cities.

⁵ *Cives Romanos, &c.* "Marked out Roman citizens for butchery." *Trucido* is to put to death with circumstances of cruelty, as a butcher, &c. from *tauro-cædo*.

⁶ *Sed ab illo tempore, &c.* "But is now reigning for the twelfth year from that period." This oration was delivered A.U.C. 668, the massacre took place A.U.C. 666.

⁷ *Neque Cappadociae latebris.* "Nor in the retreats of Cappadocia." The term *latebræ* refers to the inland situation of this country compared with the other regions that border upon Pontus. THUCYDIDES: "*Quia gentium universarum, quæ Pontum accolunt, una introrsus recedit.*" and also CICERO (*Agr.* 2, 21), "*In Paphlagoniae tenebris, atque in Cappadociae solitudine.*"—[Occultare, emergere, to emerge from the setting and rising of a star: the same idea is used in *Asiae luce versari*.]

illo ⁹insignia victoriæ, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit ¹⁰L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri, et omni imperatores: sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille ¹¹pulsus superatusque regnaret. Veruntamen illis imperatoribus laus ¹²tribuenda, ¹³quod egerunt: venia danda, quod reliquerunt: propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam ¹⁴res publica, ¹⁵Murenâ Sulla revocavit.

IV. (9.) MITHRIDATES autem ¹⁵omne reliquum tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi

⁸ *E patrio regno.* Pontus. Mithridates was the seventh monarch of a name that ruled over this country.—*Atque in vestris vectigalibus, &c.* “And to carry on his operations in the midst of your tributes, that is, in the most brilliant realms of Asia.” The force of *luce*, in this clause, is apparent from its being contrasted with *latebris occultare*. Compare *Ep. ad Quint. Fratr.* 1, 1, 2: “*Istam virtutem non latere in tenebris, neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiæ, in oculis clarissimæ provinciæ, atque in auribus omnium gentium esse positam.*”

⁹ *Insignia victoriæ.* “The badges of victory,” i. e. standards and other emblems of success. Some commentators consider the allusion to be to triumphs, but erroneously.—*Non victoriam.* “Not victory itself.”

¹⁰ *L. Murena.* L. Licinius Murena was the lieutenant of Sylla. [He was who broke the treaty; seizing his opportunity when Mithridates was engaged in war with the Colchians and Bosporani, he made a sudden inroad into Cappadocia and rifled the temples of an immense mass of booty. He was shortly afterwards utterly routed by Mithridates and driven into Phrygia, where he gained assistance from L. Gabinius.]

¹¹ *Pulsus superatusque regnaret.* “Though repulsed and vanquished, still reigned.”

¹² *Quod egerunt.* “For what they did,” i. e. *propter id quod egerunt.*—*Quod reliquerunt.* “For what they left undone.” Matthiæ considers *quod* a conjunction here, and after *reliquerunt* understands *Mithridatem*. The construction we have adopted is much simpler. If *quod* be a conjunction with *reliquerunt*, it must also be a conjunction with *egerunt*, than which nothing can be more awkward.

¹³ *Res publica.* “The state of public affairs at home.” The successes of the Marian faction at home induced Sylla to return to Italy. He made one treaty with Mithridates; and Murena, his lieutenant, when recalled by him, made another. Hence, in strictness, the present was the third Mithridatic war.

¹⁴ *Murenâ Sulla revocavit.* Sylla had pressing occasion, very probably, for all these troops in Italy. According to Plutarch (who obtained his information from the commentaries of Sylla), he had to encounter on his return home, upon this occasion, fifteen generals, who had under them not less than twenty-five legions. (Vit. Sull. 47.)

¹⁵ *Omne reliquum tempus.* Referring to the interval between the de-

contulit: ¹ qui posteaquam maximas ædificasset orn
classes, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex
potuisset, comparasset; et se ² Bosporanis, finitiu
bellum inferre simulasset; usque in Hispaniam ³ le
litteras misit ⁴ ad eos duces, quibuscum tum belli
bamur: ut, cum, duobus in locis disjunctissimis ma
diversis, ⁵ uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bell
marique gereretur, ⁷ vos, ancipiti contentione dist

parture of Murena and the renewal of hostilities by the Roman
comparationem novi. "To preparations for a new one."

¹ *Qui posteaquam*, &c. "For after he had built and equipped
Qui beginning a clause is here equivalent to *ille*.

² *Bosporanis*. "Against the inhabitants on the Bosporus
people of the Cimmerian Bosporus are meant, who had revolted
him to the Romans.

³ *Legatos*. L. Magius and L. Fannius, expatriated citizens
and belonging to the Marian faction, who had fled to Mithridates
had persuaded him to send them as ambassadors to Sertorius
of the Marian party, who was now very powerful in Spain.
B. M. 68.) Asconius, in his comments on the first oration of
Verres, (c. 34,) remarks as follows: "*Hi transfugæ facti, a
exercitu, apud Mithridatem agentes, ab eodem rege ad Sertorium
erant de paciscenda societate belli adversus Romanos: quos in
positos, et ad Sertorium festinantes, et hostes judicaverat, et in
mandaverat senatus.*"

⁴ *Ac litteras*. "And letters," i. e. proposals or despatches.
MSS. vary considerably here. Some have *Ecbatanis*, which is
ing adopted in the common text, others *Electanis*, *Electari
tanis*, *ac litteras*. This latter reading has been adopted by
Orellius, and others. It is certainly far preferable to *Ecbatana*,
Ecbatana, in Media, does not appear to have been visited by
dates, or even Tigranes.

⁵ *Ad eos duces*. Referring to Sertorius and his followers.
Mithridates had formed a senate, composed of the senators pro
Sylla, as well as others of his own choosing, and endeavoured to
possible respect, to imitate the form of government at home.
leaders referred to were, besides himself, his lieutenants and
officers.—*Duobus in locis*. Pontus and Spain.

⁶ *Uno consilio*. "With one plan of operations."—*A binis
copiis*. The distributive numerals are used with words which
singular, or whose singular, as in the present instance, has a
signification from the plural. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 72.) This is the
use in translating: thus *duæ litteræ*, "two letters of the alphabet";
binæ litteræ, "two epistles." *Tria vestimenta*, "three pieces of
but *terna vestimenta*, "three suits of clothing." *Quatuor castella*,
fortresses," or "castles," but *quaterna castra*, "four camps," &c.

⁷ *Vos, ancipiti contentione districti*, &c. "You, embarrassed
contest on both sides, might have to contend at the risk of

perio dimicaretis. (10.) ⁸ Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis, quæ multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat. ¹⁰ Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: ¹¹ in altera parte res a Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut ¹² initia gestarum rerum magna atque præclara, non felicitatis, sed virtuti; ¹³ hæc autem extrema, quæ nuper accurrunt, ¹⁴ non culpæ, sed fortunæ tribuenda esse videantur. Ad de Lucullo dicam ¹⁵ alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut

a for the very existence of your empire. *Districti* is here equivalent to *in angustias redacti*. Some read *destricti*, others *distracti*, but both inferior.

⁸ *Sed tamen alterius partis, &c.* "The danger, however, which threatened on one side, from Sertorius and Spain." Manutius suspects the words *Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis* of being a gloss.

⁹ *Firmamenti ac roboris.* "Of stability and strength." Owing, namely, to the military talents of Sertorius.

¹⁰ *Cn. Pompeii divino consilio, &c.* "Was repelled by the godlike wisdom and unequalled valour of Cneius Pompeius." Sertorius was a better general of the two, and had he not lost his life by the treachery of some of his followers, would most likely have proved superior in the contest. Cicero had the consulship in view, and his object, therefore, was to gain the good will of the people by extolling his favourite, and secure also by this means the friendship of Pompey.

¹¹ *In altera parte.* "In the opposite quarter. Referring to Asia.—*res a L. Lucullo, &c.* Cicero's object is to depreciate Lucullus, in proportion as he seeks to elevate the character of Pompey. He manages this, however, with great adroitness, for he apparently allows due praise to Lucullus, but then there is always something added which diminishes its force. Whereas, in Pompey's case, his commendations are unbounded, and even fulsome. Lucullus, like Sertorius, was superior to Pompey in military talents.

¹² *Initia gestarum rerum.* "Commencement of his exploits." Allusion to the earlier movements of Lucullus in the Mithridatic war.

¹³ *Hæc autem extrema.* "These latter reverses, however." Mithridates had, on the departure of Lucullus, not only regained possession of Pontus, but had even made an inroad into the Roman province of Asia. He had defeated also the lieutenants of Lucullus, and made himself master of a large part of Asia Minor. Compare chapter 9.

¹⁴ *Non culpæ, sed fortunæ.* "Not to any fault of his, but to his ill-fortune." This, though apparently fair, is in fact very invidiously worded. Cicero, afterwards, in enumerating the qualities of an able general, gives good fortune a very conspicuous place, and finds, of course, a very great abundance of it in his favourite Pompey.

¹⁵ *Alio loco.* He returns to Lucullus in the 8th chapter.—*Oratione mea.* "By any remarks of mine."

neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostra, neque¹ afficta esse videatur. (11.) De vestri imperii di-
atque gloria, quoniam is est² exorsus orationis meae,
quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. MAJORES vestri sæpe, ³mercatoribus ac navi
injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos, ⁴tot
Romanorum millibus uno nuntio atque uno tempore:
quo tandem animo esse debetis? ⁵Legati quod
appellati superbis, Corinthum patres vestri, totius
lumen, ⁶extinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem i-
esse patiemin, qui ⁷legatum populi Romani, cons-
vinculis ac verberibus, atque omni supplicio excru-
necavit? ⁸Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imm

¹ *Afficta esse.* "To be bestowed upon him." *Affingere*
means to add by framing, devising, or inventing. Compare *Pr*
c. 4: "*Faciam ut intelligatis . . . quid error affinxerit, quid*
conflarit."

² *Exorsus.* "The true beginning."—*Quem vobis, &c.* "What
you are to think ought to be entertained by you."

³ *Mercatoribus ac naviculariis, &c.* "Because their traders &
owners were treated with injustice." The *mercatores*, and
Romans, remained a very short time in a place, visited many
and were almost constantly occupied with exporting and im-
porting articles of merchandise. The *negotiatores*, on the other hand,
remained for some considerable time in a particular spot.—*Nav-*
This is the reading of Lambinus, and is adopted also by (Ernesti,
and others. It is found in good MSS. The early MSS. have
naviculatoribus, which occurs nowhere else in the ancient
[The *navicularii* are shipowners who bring corn to Rome, or where
the Roman general may be stationed.]

⁴ *Tot millibus.* Plutarch, as we have already remarked, mentions
number 150,000, but Valerius Maximus 80,000.

⁵ *Legati quod erant appellati superbis, &c.* "Because the
ambassadors were addressed in too haughty a manner." Cicero pre-
sents the nature of the offence, that it may be contrasted with
forcibly with the conduct of Mithridates. He makes it to be
merely an employment of haughty language on the part of the
Corinthians. What the insult really was, is differently represented by
ancient writers, and nowhere clearly appears. Strabo (8, p. 381,
says, that filth was thrown upon the Roman ambassadors from
the houses of the city, as they were passing by: *Τινες ἰσχυρῶς
πρίσβεων παριόντων τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν, ἐθάρρησαν κατα-
βόρβορον.* Livy, on the other hand (*Epit.* lib. 52), states that
violence was offered them: "*Corinthum ex senatus-consulto dirigi
ibi legati Romani violati erant.*"

⁶ *Extinctum.* Referring grammatically to *lumen*. Some
read *extinctam*, agreeing with *Corinthum*. Corinth was destroyed by

on tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: ¹⁰ vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? (12.) Videte, ne, ut illis ulcherrimum fuit, tantam vobis imperii gloriam relinquere; sic vobis turpissimum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse. ¹¹ Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminet ¹² duo reges toti Asiæ, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Græcia, vestrum auxilium expectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur: ¹⁴ imperatorem a vobis certum deprecari, cum præsertim vos alium miseritis,

nus, the Roman consul, and with it fell the Achæan league. Consult Geographical Index.

⁷ *Legatum populi Romani*, &c. The allusion is to Manius Aquilius, who had defeated the slaves in Sicily. He was sent at the head of the Roman commissioners to restore to their kingdoms Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, who had been driven out by Mithridates. His haughty demeanour soon brought matters to an open rupture with that monarch, who defeated and took him prisoner. The conqueror led him about the country on an ass, and obliged him by blows and scourging to proclaim, from time to time, to the assembled spectators, that he was Manius Aquilius. At length he brought him to Pergamus, where he caused melted gold to be poured down his throat, as a sarcasm upon the cupidity of the Romans. (APPIAN, *B. M.* 21.—PLIN. *H. N.* 33, 14.)

⁸ *Illi libertatem civium*, &c. "They brooked not even an infringement of the personal privileges of Roman citizens."

⁹ *Verbo*. "Only by word." Compare the language of the speaker just above: "*Legati quod erant appellati superbius*."—*Illi persecuti sunt*. "They avenged."

¹⁰ *Vos legatum*, &c. "Will you leave unnoticed an ambassador put to death by every species of torture?" Before *relinquetis* some editions have *inultum* expressed, but it arose probably from a marginal gloss. *Relinquetis* is far better without the presence of *inultum*, and is elegantly opposed to *persecuti sunt*.

¹¹ *Quid, quod salus sociorum*, &c. "What shall I say of this, that the safety of your allies is brought into the most imminent danger?" The ellipsis in *quid, quod*, is to be supplied as follows: *Quid, dicam de hoc, quod*.

¹² *Duo reges*. Mithridates and his son-in-law Tigranes.

¹³ *Cuncta Asia atque Græcia*. Weiske considers *Asia* and *Græcia* as adjectives, "throughout all Asia and Greece." The nominative, however, appears neater, "the whole of Asia and of Greece."

¹⁴ *Imperatorem certum*. "A particular commander." Pompey.—*Alium*. Glabrio, the consul of the previous year, now, of course, pro-consul.

neque audent, neque se id facere ¹summo sine posse arbitrantur. (13.) Vident et sentiunt hoc id vos, ²unum virum esse in quo summa sint omnia ³prope esse, (⁴quo etiam carent ægrius,) cujus adve-
atque nomine, tametsi ille ad ⁵maritimum bellum tamen ⁶impetus hostium repressos esse intelligitur tardatos. Hi vos, ⁷quoniam libere loqui non licet rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum dignos existimetis, ⁸quorum salutem tali viro committitur ⁹atque hoc etiam magis, quam ceteros, quod ejus

¹ *Summo sine periculo.* The risk alluded to is that of office to the commander actually appointed.

² *Unum virum.* Pompey.—*In quo summa sint omnia.* “the highest qualities centre,” i. e. the highest qualification for the successful management of the war.

³ *Prope.* Pompey had just brought the war with the pirates to a successful issue, settling many of them in the little towns. He was now employed in visiting some of the cities of the east.

⁴ *Quo etiam carent ægrius.* “Wherefore they even feel the want of him the more sensibly.”

⁵ *Maritimum bellum.* “The war with the Cilician pirate power of the pirates, as Plutarch remarks (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 24) was the foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous because at first it was little noticed. In the Mithridatic war they assumed confidence and courage, on account of some services which they rendered the king. Afterward, in the interval between the second Mithridatic wars, the Romans being engaged in civil war, at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and pirates by degrees attempted higher things; not only attacking the coast, but islands, and maritime towns. They had, in various places, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities taken to four hundred. They not only insulted the Romans frequently, but also in their convoys, and made prisoners of their generals. Nay, they not only attacked the Romans at sea, but infested the great rivers, and plundered the villas near the coast. Two prætors, Sextilius and Cæcilius, were carried off with all their servants and lictors; and the daughter of Antonius, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, was seized by them as she was going to her country-house near Brundisium, and the father was forced to pay a large ransom for her release. At length, by the Gabinian law, Pompey was sent against them, and he speedily reduced them to subjection and broke up their haunts.”

⁶ *Impetus hostium.* Referring to the forces of Mithridates, and his movements, according to Cicero, were “checked and retarded by the mere knowledge that Pompey was in Asia, though in a different part of the country.”

⁷ *Quoniam libere loqui non licet.* Through fear, namely, of the Roman commander who then had charge of the Mithridatic war.

iam homines ¹⁰ cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam si ab
 efendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum
 altum ab hostili expugnatione differant. ¹¹ Hunc
 nt antea, nunc præsentem vident, ¹² tanta tempe-
 tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissi-
 videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

(14.) QUARE, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria
 , majores vestri ¹³ cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum
 cum Pœnis bella gesserunt; quanto vos studio con-
 'injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum

um salutem tali viro commendetis. "Of having their safety
 by you to such an individual." Literally, "whose safety you
 ust," &c.

: hoc etiam magis, quam ceteros. "And on this account even
 u the rather deem them worthy than the rest," i. e. *atque ut*
: se hoc etiam magis dignos quam ceteros socios, &c.

imperio. "With military command."—*Ipsorum adventus,*
 e entrance of these same individuals into the cities of our
 rs," &c. Literally, "the entrances," &c., *adventus* being the
 e plural. Among the Latin writers, abstract and verbal
 e often put in the plural, to mark that the action designated
 e at various times, where in English we only use the singular.
: audiebant antea. Alluding to his previous operations in
 ica, Spain, &c. Consult Historical Index.

x temperantia. "Of so much self-control." This virtue is
 osely named first, that it may be contrasted in a more
 egree with the rapacity that characterised the other Roman
 rs.

Antiocho. The order of time is not observed. The war with
 aginians should, strictly speaking, have been named first. It
 : A.U.C. 489, and the ostensible cause was the lending of aid,
 t of the Romans, to the Mamertines, in Messana, who had
 their aid against the forces of Carthage. The true motive to
 as the spirit of rivalry between Rome and Carthage. It is
 istory the First Punic War. Next in order was the contest
 p, king of Macedonia. He was the third of that name, and
 be confounded with the father of Alexander, who lived long
 The Romans made war upon him because he had attacked
 uians, the allies of the republic. This occurred A.U.C. 553.
 ion with Antiochus the Great took place A.U.C. 562, and the
 s terminated by his defeat and submission the ensuing year.
 nected with the war against the Ætolians, who had raised
 is in Greece against the allies of Rome, and had invited
 , monarch of Syria, to their aid.

is provocatos. "Irritated by a series of personal injuries,"
 s offered, not to your allies, but to yourselves.

imperii vestri dignitate defendere; ¹præsertim (vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum vinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, ²tanta sunt, ut iis a provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus: ³Asia tam opima est et fertilis, ⁴ut et ubertate agrorum varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum, quæ exportantur, facile omnibus terrarum cellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si ⁵utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis, non calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defenda- (15.) Nam ceteris in rebus, ⁶cum venit calamitas detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non sol-

¹ *Præsertim cum*, &c. "Especially when your most important revenues are at stake."

² *Tanta sunt*. "Are so inconsiderable." *Tanta* is here equivalent to *tantilla*, or, more correctly speaking, its literal meaning in this passage is, "so great, and no greater." Hence arises the idea of smallness and diminution. Instances of a similar usage occur in *B. G.* 6, 34: "*Præsidii tantum est* ('there is so small a garrison that the wall may be circled')," and *Cic. Ep. Ad. Fam.* 8, 10: "*hæc tantum erit* ('so unimportant') *ut vos aut successores sustineant*."

³ *Asia*. Referring to the Roman province of that name. See note 7, page 216.

⁴ *Ut et ubertate agrorum*, &c. Cicero here enumerates the sources of Roman revenue, the productions of the earth, the grounds, and the exports generally.

⁵ *Et belli utilitatem*, &c. "To uphold both the means of utility in war, and of dignity in peace." We have retained the coming with Ernesti and many others. Grævius gives *ad belli*, &c. instead of *et belli*, from one of his MSS., and makes *sustinere* refer to *belli* understood. The common lection is more Ciceronian.

⁶ *Cum venit calamitas*. "When calamity has actually come." *ut in vectigalibus*. "In the case of your revenues."—*Affert calamitas*. "Brings ruinous consequences along with it."

⁷ *Pecora relinquuntur*. "The flocks are abandoned." Servius' commentary (*ad Virg. Georg.* 3, 64), cites this passage apparently as if it read *pecua* from *pecu*. But *pecua* does not occur in any of the MSS.

⁸ *Mercatorum navigatio conquiescit*. "The trading of the merchants begins to subside."

⁹ *Ita neque ex portu*, &c. Cicero here enumerates the three principal sources of the revenue obtained from the Roman provinces. 1. *Ex portu*. "From the harbour," i. e. from duties imposed on exports and imports. 2. *Ex decumis*, "from tithes." The *decumæ* were a tenth part of corn, and a fifth of other produce, paid by those who cultivated the public lands.—3. *Ex scriptura*. "From the public wood sales." [*Scriptura*, a tax on cattle allowed to graze on the

tus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio facta sit, tamen ⁷pecora relinquuntur, agricultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. ⁹Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scriptura ¹⁰vectigal conservari est. Quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, ne uno belli terrore amittitur. (16.) Quo tandem animo existimatis aut eos, ¹¹qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis iis prope adsint? cum una excursio equitatus perbrevis tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? ¹²cum publicani alias maximas, quas in ¹³salinis habent, quas in agris,

ain land, the most ancient and for a long time the only revenue of Roman state. The herdsmen appearing before the officer enumerated to him the number and kind of cattle they wished to feed; he took down in writing, and from this document made up the amount, and the name, *scriptura*. When this tax was paid by patricians it was called *pascua*.]

Vectigal conservari potest. "Can any imposts be obtained."—*Totius fructus.* "The revenue of an entire year."

Qui vectigalia nobis pensitant. "Who pay duties unto us."—*Qui exercent atque exigunt.* "Who farm and collect them."

Cum publicani, &c. "When the farmers of the revenue think that to maintain at great risk, the very numerous bodies of slaves whom they have employed in the pasture-grounds, in the fields, in the harbours, and custom-houses." *Familia* is here used in its primitive sense, denoting a body of slaves belonging to a particular master. Compare the remark of FÆSTUS: "*Famuli origo ab Oscis dependet, apud quos ut famul nominabatur, unde et familia vocata.*"

Salinis. Anthon reads, *saltibus*; and thus remarks, the common has *salinis*, ("salt-works,") but no other trace has been discovered of revenue derived from salt-works in Asia Minor; and, what is of greater weight, if we retain the common lection, mention will only be made, in this passage, of two branches of revenue, the *decumae* and *ex portu*, while the third branch, *scriptura*, will be passed over in silence. Influenced by these considerations, Lipsius first conjectured *bus* for *salinis*, and his emendation has been approved of by Grotius, Burmann, Ernesti, Schütz, and others, and admitted by some into the text. We have followed their authority. One MSS. Lambinus's has *silvis*. Aldus conjectured *salictis*, as referring to pasture grounds, which abounded with groves of willows. (?) [If we restore *salinis*, there is no occasion that the three species of revenue should be continually enumerated. There were famous salt-works in Asia, (PLIN. xxxi. 7,) and that a tax was collected from salt-works only at Rome, (even so early as the time of the kings,) but in Asia, plain from Fr. 17, D. 50. *Publica vectigalia intelligere debemus, &c.*

quas in portibus atque ¹custodiis, magno periculo s arbitrentur? Putatisne vos ²illis rebus frui posse, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaveritis, non sol antea dixi,) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis f liberatos?

VII. (17.) Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligenti quod mihi ego ³extremum proposueram, cum essem genere dicturus, quod ⁴ad multorum bona civium norum pertinet: ⁵quorum vobis pro vestra sapien rites, habenda est ratio diligenter. ⁶Nam et p ⁷homines et honestissimi et ornatissimi, ⁸suas rat copias in illam provinciam contulerunt: quorum per se res et fortunæ curæ vobis esse debent. E vectigalia ⁹nervos esse rei publicæ semper duxin certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ce

quibus vectigal fiscus capit: quale est vectigal portus, vel venaliu item salinarum et metallorum.]

¹ *Custodiis.* By *custodiæ* are here meant a kind of custo where a number of persons, generally slaves, were *statione publicani*, to guard against evasion of the taxes, especial *scripturæ*. Sometimes the term is applied to the persons th and is then analogous to our modern expression, "cust officers."

² *Illis rebus frui posse.* "Can reap any advantage from tho — *Qui vobis fructui sunt.* "Who are the source of advantage i. e. whose exertions enable you to reap this advantage. The text has *fructuosi*, for which we have given *fructui*, the readi of the MSS. It was first adopted by Lambinus, and after Grævius and others, as more elegant than *fructuosi*.

³ *Extremum.* "As the last point on which to touch." — *dicturus.* "When I should come to speak."

⁴ *Ad multorum bona civium.* The individuals here mean Roman knights, who farmed the Asiatic revenues, and tho who were carrying on mercantile operations in that quarte which classes of persons had large sums of money laid out i vince, and which were consequently endangered by the war.

⁵ *Quorum vobis, &c.* "For whom you, in your wisdom, ought to have an especial regard," i. e. over whose interests y carefully to watch.

⁶ *Nam et publicani.* The particle *et* ("both"), is here o *deinde* ("and in the next place"), at the commencement of section.

⁷ *Homines et honestissimi, &c.* "Very honourable as well ligent men." *Ornatissimi* is considered by some to refer hea in the state. It has relation rather to general information ligence on the part of the individuals alluded to.

⁸ *Suas rationes, &c.* "Have transferred all their business c

rdinum recte esse dicemus. (18.) Deinde ¹⁰ ceteris ex ordinibus homines gnavi et industrii partim ipsi in Asia ¹¹ negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis: ¹² partim suas et suorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ, magnum eorum ivium numerum calamitate ¹³ prohibere: sapientiæ, videre, ultorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. ¹⁴ Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos publicanis amissa vectigalia postea victoria recuperare. Neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit, propter calamitatem, eque aliis voluntas, propter timorem. (19.) Deinde, quod eos eadem Asia, atque idem iste Mithridates ¹⁵ initio belli Asiatici docuit; id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria etinere debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asia ¹⁶ res magnas ermulti amiserant, ¹⁷ scimus, Romæ, solutione impedita,

ed means to that province." *Rationes* and *copiae* are explained immediately after by *res* and *fortuna*, "affairs and fortunes."

⁹ *Nervos*. "The sinews."—*Eum ordinem*. The equestrian order.

¹⁰ *Ceteris ex ordinibus*. Excepting of course the senate, the members of which order were not allowed to engage in trade.

¹¹ *Negotiantur*. "Carry on trade." As regards the distinction between the *negotiatores* and the *mercatores*, consult note 4, page 220.

¹² *Partim suas et suorum*, &c. The early editions and the MSS. give *partim eorum*, for which we have substituted the reading in our text, with Ernesti, Schütz, and others. *Partim eorum* is a good Ciceronian phrase, but it makes an awkward collocation here after *homines gnavi industrii partim ipsi . . . negotiantur*.

¹³ *Prohibere*. "To shield."—*Videre*. "To foresee."—*A re publica junctam esse non posse*. "Cannot be separated from that of the state," i.e. cannot fail to affect the public prosperity.

¹⁴ *Etenim illud primum*, &c. "For, in the first place, it avails but little, that you afterward recover by a victory the revenues that have been lost by the farmers of them; for neither will the same individuals possess the means of making a new contract, by reason of their losses, nor will others have the inclination so to do, on account of their fears," i.e. their fears of being involved in similar ruin with the previous contractors.

¹⁵ *Initio belli Asiatici*. He refers to the period of the general massacre of the Romans in Asia, by order of Mithridates. About twenty-three years had elapsed since that event.

¹⁶ *Res magnas*. "Large amounts." Referring to the large sums of money which very many farmers of the revenue had lost in the troubles and confusion that ensued.

¹⁷ *Scimus, Romæ*, &c. "We know, that, payments becoming embarrassed, public credit fell at Rome." Very many of the *publicani* in Asia having lost large sums of money there, in consequence of the disastrous state of public affairs, and others having been killed during

fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi¹ rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam, et, mihi credite, (id quod ipsi videtis,) ² hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. ³ Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactata motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, ⁴ in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunæ plurimorum civium ⁵ cum re publica defendantur.

VIII. (20.) QUONIAM de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. ⁶ Potest enim hoc dici; belli

the massacre of the Romans, there ensued of course a non-payment of large amounts due to the bankers at Rome, and which had been loaned to the former to enable them to meet their contracts. Hence a general embarrassment was felt in the money-market, and public credit fell.

¹ *Rem atque fortunas.* "Their property and fortunes." By *rem* is here meant their actual property and resources at the time; by *fortunas*, their prospects in business.

² *Hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, &c.* "This system of public credit, and these moneyed operations that are carried on at Rome, and in the forum, are connected with those sums laid out in Asia, and form a close union with them." Literally, "are bound up with and cling to them." The offices of the bankers were situate around the forum, which hence became their usual place for meeting and transacting business.

³ *Ruere illa non possunt, &c.* "The latter cannot fall without the former's being shaken by the same movement and falling along with them." *Illā* and *hæc* become here, when adapted to our idiom, "the latter," and "the former," but in strictness *illā* refers to what is more remote, the moneyed operations in Asia, and *hæc* to what is nearer home, the state of business in the Roman forum.

⁴ [*In quo.* "In endeavouring to prove which." Scil. That the war is highly important.]

⁵ *Cum re publica.* "Together with the interests of the state." Three MSS. have *cum re publica conjunctæ defendantur*, but *conjunctæ* savours of a gloss. Gruter, Grævius, and others, read *defendantur*, but Ernesti defends the common form; "Defendantur *recepti, quomodo Ciceronem scripsisse semper putavi, nam ita ratio Latinitatis postulat.*"

⁶ *Potest enim hoc dici.* "For this may possibly be affirmed," i. e. this assertion may be made by some who would oppose the motion I urge, and who endeavour to persuade you that there is no cause for alarm.

⁷ *Ne forte a vobis.* [This whole passage seems carelessly written—*Gerendum, pertimescendum, laborandum—providenda, contemnenda.* Weiske proposes *ne a vobis contempta esse videantur*. Schütz *ne forte an, vobis, &c.* Anthon has *ne forte ea vobis*. For the construction *a vobis contemnenda*, cf. end of chap. 2. *Quibus est a vobis consulendum.* Yet some editors omit the preposition.]

e ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime labo-
 st, ⁷ne forte a vobis, quæ diligentissime providenda
 emnenda esse videantur. ⁸Atque, ut omnes in-
 ne L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum
 et sapientissimo homini, et magno imperatori
 dico, ejus adventu maximas ⁹Mithridatis copias,
 rebus ornatas atque instructas, fuisse; ¹¹urbem-
 clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum,
 esse ab ipso rege ¹²maxima multitudine, et oppug-
 nementissime; quam L. Lucullus virtute, assidui-
 lio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit: (21.) ab
 peratore ¹³classem magnam et ornatam, ¹⁴quæ

t omnes, &c. He now returns to Lucullus, whom he has
 tioned in chapter 4.

itis. Anthon reads *Mithridati*, the dative, as occurring in
 MSS., and depending on *fuisse*: "Mithridates was in pos-
 sery great forces." Ernesti also approves of *Mithridati*,
 gives the genitive in his text. Some of the earlier editions
 after *fuisse*, on conjecture, but then *obsessam esse* must be
iberatam esse.

s rebus, &c. "Equipped and supplied with all things,"
 d with arms and provisions of all kinds. According to
M. 72,) and PLUTARCH, (*Vit. Lucull. c. 8, seqq.*) the forces
 es were very scantily supplied with provisions, which was
 rincipal causes of his abandoning the siege of Cyzicus.

ue Cyzicenorum. Consult Historical Index, s. v. *Lucullus*,
 hical Index, s. v. *Cyzicus*.

et multitudine, &c. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull. c. 7*),
 Mithridates consisted of 120,000 infantry, 16,000 cavalry,
 riots armed with scythes. Appian (*B. M. 72*) gives the
 it, in round numbers, as about 300,000 men. The Roman
 Lucullus, was 30,000 foot and 600 horse, according to
 Plutarch makes the horse to have been 2500.

magnam, &c. After Cyzicus had been relieved, and the
 Mithridates defeated at the river Granicus, Lucullus received
 hat thirteen of the king's large galleys had been seen off
 Troas, steering towards Lemnos. He instantly went in
 them, and killed their admiral Isidorus, [having over-
 ose under Tenedos.] When this was done, he made all
 he others, which were in advance of them, and were lying
 the island. Here again he was successful; and among
 taken was Marius, (or, as Appian calls him, Varius,) an
 by Sertorius. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull. c. 12.*) Appian makes
 of vessels left by Mithridates under the command of Varius
 r leaders to have been fifty. (*B. M. 77.*)

cibus, &c. "Which, inflamed with desire for vengeance,
 towards Italy, under leaders sent by Sertorius." It do~

gentes supplicem contulisse: atque hæc omnia populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus, es Satis opinor hoc esse laudis; atque ita, Quirites, ut intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrecta atque causæ, L. Lucillum similiter ex hoc loco datum.

not appear from any other authority, except Cicero's own as the oration for Murena (c. 15), that the destination of the Italy; and as for the leaders sent by Sertorius, there was in one. Consult preceding note.

¹ *Magnas hostium*, &c. Plutarch makes the enemy to have the whole campaign nearly 300,000 men, including the servile army. In the battle of the Granicus alone, 20,000 were slain.

² *Patefactumque*, &c. Compare the oration for Archias, *capulus Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum*, &c.—*Qui* "Which had hitherto been shut on every side against the people." Literally, "from (i. e.) in every avenue of approach." Compare the language of Cicero, in the passage just referred to, oration for Archias: "*et regis quondam opibus, et ipsa natura vallatum.*"

³ *Domicilia*. "Palaces."—*Omnibus rebus*, &c. "Adorned and stored with all things." *Referta* from *refercio*.

⁴ *Uno aditu atque adventu*. "By his mere arrival and a Lucullus spent, however, a long time before Amisus, and finished the siege in the hands of Murena his lieutenant. (PLUT. V. c. 15.)

⁵ *Ad alios reges*. To Tigranes, king of Armenia, his &c. Plural for singular.

⁶ *Salvis populi Romani sociis*, &c. "The allies of the Romans being safe from injury, and your tributaries uninjured."

⁷ *Istorum*. Scil. Catulus and Hortensius. It was incumbent on them, in their speeches against the proposed law, to do justice to Lucullus, and to show that he was abundantly qualified, by previous exhibitions of military talent, to bring the war to a speedy termination.

⁸ *Quemadmodum*, &c. "How, if these things are so, what of the war can be at all important."

⁹ [*Profugit*. "Fled onward." *Fato profugus*. (VIRG. *Æn.*

IX. (22.) **REQUIRETUR** fortasse nunc, ⁸quemadmodum, cum hæc ita sint, reliquum possit esse magnum bellum. agnoscite, Quirites: non enim hoc sine causa quæri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates ⁹profugit, ut eodem Ponto ¹⁰Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: nam prædicant in fuga, ¹¹fratris sui membra in iis locis, ut se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut ¹²eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. ¹³Sic Mithridates, fugiens, ¹⁴maximam in auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse, bello superiore ex Asia direptas, in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto neminem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita ¹⁵illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. (23.) ¹⁶Hunc

Ex eodem Ponto. Medea fled from Colchis, but it is here included under one common name with Pontus, on account of its proximity, and the sake of the figure.

⁸ *Medea illa.* "The far-famed Medea." Literally, "that Medea," of whom we all have heard.

¹¹ *Fratris sui.* Absyrtus. [Cf. OVID, *Trist.* iii. ix. 23.

"*Atque ita divellit, divulsaque membra per agros
Dissipat in multis invenienda locis.*"]

Persequeretur. "Would pursue her," i. e. would have to pass in pursuit of her.

¹² *Eorum collectio dispersa.* "The collecting of them in their scattered state. Goerenz (*ad Cic. de Fin.* 3, 4) suggests *dispersorum* for *peræ*; and Schütz adopts the emendation in his text, calling at the same time the common reading an absurd one. He mistakes, however, elegance for an absurdity.

¹³ *Sic Mithridates, &c.* Plutarch states, (*Vit. Lucull.* 17,) that Mithridates, being hard pressed in his flight, was nearly taken, when a mule loaded with gold, either by accident or the king's contrivance, came between him and his pursuers. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and quarrelled about the contents, which gave Mithridates time to escape. Appian (*B. M.* 82,) informs us, that the king's mules happened to strike the load of one of the mules that were carrying away the treasure, and that the gold in consequence fell on the ground.

¹⁴ *Maximam vim omnem.* "All that vast store."—*Direptas congesserat.* To be rendered as two verbs with the connective: "had plundered from the whole of Asia and accumulated in his own kingdom."

¹⁵ *Illum.* "The former." Alluding to Æetes, the father of Medea. Consult Ov. *Trist.* 3, 9, 21, and Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 12.—*Hos.* "These latter," i. e. the Roman soldiery.

¹⁶ *Hunc.* "This Mithridates."—*Exceptit.* "Took in," i. e. afforded

in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, exceptit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, ¹plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus ²neque lacesendas bello neque tentandas putavit. ³Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, ⁴fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae ⁵novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi ⁶urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et proelii usus erat secundis, ⁷tamen nimia longinquitate locorum

him shelter.—*Confirmavit*. “Encouraged him.”—*Et afflictum erexit*, &c. “And raised him from his fallen state, and relieved him in his ruin.”

¹ *Plures etiam gentes*. Alluding to the numerous nations that swelled the ranks of Tigranes, the Medes, Arabians, Albanians, Iberians, &c. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 26.)

² *Neque lacesendas*, &c. “Ought neither to be assailed nor even menaced with war.” *Tentare* itself is frequently employed in the sense of attacking; here, however, it yields that meaning to *laccio*. The idea of menacing arises very naturally from the general import of the verb, viz. “to make trial of one.”

³ *Erat etiam alia*, &c. “There was also, besides this, a strong and powerfully exciting opinion.”

⁴ *Fani locupletissimi*, &c. “For the purpose of plundering a very rich and revered temple.” The temple was that of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. (Consult Geographical Index.) These apprehensions were far from being ill-founded, since this same shrine had been already plundered by Murena; [and therefore this temple is not likely to be the one intended here. See WEISKE.] (APPIAN, *B. C.* 64.)

⁵ *Novo terrore ac metu*. “By a new cause of terror and alarm.” Their religious fears were now excited.

⁶ *Urbem*. Tigranocerta, the capital of the kingdom. Compare PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* 26, *seqq.*, and consult Geographical Index. [Lucullus is stated to have found here 8000 talents of gold.]

⁷ *Tamen nimia*, &c. “Were, nevertheless, strongly influenced by the excessive distance of these regions, as well as by a longing desire for their families.” Plutarch states, that Lucullus was anxious to reach Artaxata, in Upper Armenia, but that his troops were discouraged by the severity of the climate, and refused to proceed. (Vid. *Lucull.* 32.)

⁸ *Hic jam plura non dicam*, &c. Cicero purposely avoids entering upon the question respecting the movements of Lucullus in his Asiatic campaign. The merits and demerits of that commander were canvassed very freely about this time at Rome, and the orator is care-

suorum commovebatur. (24.) ⁸ Hic jam plura non fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus reditus magis maturus, quam processio longior quæ-

¹⁰ Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmavit eorum, qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis iis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. ¹¹ fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, quæ eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; tale iis nomen ¹² magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incoquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem; ¹⁴ ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram umquam: ¹⁵ sed in exercitum vestrum, clarum atque victo-

ore, to give offence, if possible, to neither his friends nor his country. One thing is very certain, that Lucullus eventually lost the confidence of his soldiers, a result which Plutarch ascribes to his disposition, and others to his cupidity and avarice. There is no doubt but that the intrigues of the infamous Clodius, his brother-in-law, who was an officer in his army, operated very powerfully in producing this unfortunate result.

enim illud extremum, &c. "For the issue of all this was, that a speedy return from these regions was sought for by our country, rather than a farther advance."

ridates autem, &c. "Mithridates, however, had both revived the confidence of his immediate band of followers, and was strengthened by the numbers of those who had collected from his kingdom, and by the forces that had come from many kings and nations." *animus* for *manus*, but *suam manum* means the confidence which he had firmly adhered to him in defeat and disaster; *eorum* refers to the fugitives who had fled from the battle, but afterwards collected and joined him.]

In the sense of *accidere*, "to happen."—*Regum afflictæ fortune*, "The fallen fortunes of monarchs."

magnum et sanctum. "Something great, and worthy of veneration."

e tantum, &c. "Accordingly, he was able to effect more after the war, than he ever dared to hope for in the season of prosperity." *innoxius*, i. e. uninjured by the attacks of any foe.

in eam, posteaquam, &c. "That he should ever set foot again in the country after he had been once driven from it." The allusion is to the time when he was driven from the country.

in exercitum vestrum, &c. Mithridates, once more entering the country, he sent word to Fabius, whom Lucullus had left in command there, that he was on the point of defeating him, when he himself was wounded and obliged to retire from the fight. After a cessation of hostilities

rem, impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, (sicut¹ solent, qui res Romanos scribunt,) præterire me ne calamitatem: quæ tanta fuit, ut eam, ad aures L. L.² non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor affert (26.)³ Hic in ipso illo malo, gravissimæque belli offerretur L. Lucullus, qui tamen, aliqua ex parte, iis incommodis fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod in diuturnitati modum statuendum veteri exemplo putaretur partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, de partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa præterea consulto ea vos conjectura perspicitis, quantum illud bellum finis putetis, quod jungant reges potentissimi, renoventur nationes, suscipiant integræ gentes, novus imperator accipiat, vetere pulso exercitu?

for several days, Triarius, another of the lieutenants of Lucullus, came to the aid of Fabius, who resigned the command to him. Thereupon, hearing that Lucullus was upon the march himself with the army, and desiring to engross the whole glory of the victory in the battle to Mithridates. The Romans, however, met with a signal defeat; above 7000 were slain, among whom were 150 centurions and 24 tribunes. This was the most severe defeat which the Romans experienced in all their wars against Mithridates. Compare the account of Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* 35), with that of Appian (*B. M.* 89), it is stated, that, in consequence of a wound received by Mithridates, his friends were on the point of sounding a retreat, when the appearance of the monarch in the fight secured to him the day.

¹ *Poëtæ*. Perhaps in allusion to Nævius, who wrote a chronicle of the first Punic war; and to Ennius, who composed a history likewise in verse, comprising the history of Rome, from the earliest periods down to the close of the second Punic, or, more correctly speaking, the Istrian war. Nævius flourished from B.C. 235 to 204, and Ennius lived from B.C. 239 to 169. [Cicero alludes rather to the poetic writers of Roman history.]

² *Non ex prælio nuntius, &c.* "No messenger from the field of battle, at Zelia, but rumour from the converse of men." This, of course, is oratorical exaggeration.

³ *Hic in ipso illo malo, &c.* "Here, in the midst of this misfortune itself, and heaviest disaster of the war."

⁴ *Quod imperii diuturnitati, &c.* Because you thought that, in accordance with ancient precedent, a limit should be set to the continuance of command." The army had been under the command of Lucullus for the space of seven years, from A.U.C. 630 to 636.

⁵ *Qui jam stipendiis, &c.* "Who had now served out their term." The oldest of the troops, including the Fimbrian legions, as they were called, were sent home by Lucullus. The period of their legal service was nine campaigns, and they had now served nearly ten.

⁶ *Multa præterea consulto, &c.* "I purposely pass over many things."

X. (27.) SATIS mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc illud esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculum: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo, ⁹ac tantis rebus præficiendo, dicendum esse videatur. Utinam, virites, virorum fortium atque ¹⁰innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam missimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo virum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam ¹¹antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit; quæ res est, quæ iusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? 28.) Ego enim sic existimo, ¹²in summo imperatore quatuor res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine ¹³scientior equam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui ¹⁴e ludo atque

that you yourselves clearly perceive them, by putting these instances together." The usual text has a colon after *consulto*, and a comma after *perspicitis*, connecting, of course, the clause *sed ea vos*, &c., with what follows: but Ernesti objects that *ea* in the plural can never refer to the simple idea expressed in *quantum illud bellum*, and he consequently puts a comma after *perspicitis*, &c.

Quantum illud, &c. "Of how much importance, then, are you to imagine that war has become, which two very powerful monarchs are now waging, which irritated nations renew, which communities hitherto untouched by your arms are taking up as their own, which a new commander of yours is to receive, the former army having been driven from the field."

⁹ *Novus imperator*. Alluding to Glabrio. The epithet *novus* appears to have here a covert meaning also, in relation to Glabrio's want of experience compared with Lucullus, who had been seven years in command.

¹⁰ *Ac tantis rebus præficiendo*, &c. "And the setting him over so important operations."

¹¹ *Innocentium*. "Uncorrupt," i. e. men of strict probity, of principles superior to all corruption, and who would not convert the facilities, which supreme command might afford, into the means of enriching themselves and oppressing others.

¹² *Antiquitatis memoriam*. "The remembrance of all antiquity," i. e. the brightest examples that antiquity can recall to our remembrance.

¹³ *Virtute*. "By his merit."

¹⁴ *In summo imperatore*, &c. "That in a consummate general these four qualities ought to centre, a full acquaintance with the military art, honour, reputation, and good fortune." By *auctoritatem* is here meant that weight of character which a series of successful operations bestows.

¹⁵ *Scientior*. "More profoundly versed in military science."

¹⁶ *E ludo*. "From school." On leaving school, at the age of 17,

pueritiæ disciplina, ¹ bello maximo, atque acerrimis l
ad patris exercitum atque in militiæ disciplinam p
est; ² qui extrema pueritia miles fuit summi imp
³ ineunte adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperat
sæpius cum hoste confligit, quam quisquam cum
concertavit, plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt,

Pompey served under his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in t
war.

¹ *Bello maximo.* "During a most dangerous war." The S
is meant. It arose from the refusal of the senate and people
the rights of citizenship to the Italian allies. This was the
gerous war in which the Romans had ever been engaged, s
were compelled to contend with those who were well acquaint
their discipline, and had hitherto formed the main strength
armies.

² *Qui extrema pueritia, &c.* "Who, at the close of his boy
a soldier under a very able commander." The allusion is th
in the preceding clause, viz. to his serving in the army of his
the early age of 17. Some commentators very erroneously
Sylla to be meant by the words *summi imperatoris*. Pompey,
repaired to Sylla as the leader of a large body of forces, not
ple soldier; see next note.—*Extrema pueritia.* Among the
boyhood, or *pueritia*, ended at 17 years of age, when *adoles*
youth, commenced, and continued on until about 30 or ove
the end of *adolescentia* until 45 or 50, they were called *juven*
precise limit, however, of each of these periods, is far fr
clearly ascertained.

³ *Ineunte adolescentia.* "In the beginning of his youth."
alludes to Pompey's having, at the age of 23, by his own s
raised three legions, and marched with them to the aid of
feating on the way the leaders of the opposite party. Sylla
him with great honour, and saluted him with the title of i
This compliment was the more remarkable as Pompey was no
enough to be admitted into the senate.

⁴ *Qui sæpius cum hoste confligit, &c.* "Who has engaged
quently with a public foe, than any one has contended with
enemy." *Hostis*, "a public foe," "an enemy to one's
Inimicus, "a private foe," "a personal enemy." The differe
also be marked between *confligere* and *concertare*: the form
"to engage," "to come into actual collision with," "to fight
with arms;" the latter, "to contend in words," "to quarrel."
Compare MANUTIUS: "*Concertavit*, i. e. *verbis, nam confligere*
contendere. Thus, Cic. Ep. ad Att. 3, 12: "*Quia nunquam*
cum eo verbo uno concertarem."

⁵ *Plures provincias confecit.* "Has completed the allocation
provinces." *Confecit* has here, in some degree, though not ex
force of *administravit*. Compare Ep. ad Att. 4, 17: "*Conf*
tania obsidibus acceptis," &c.

ias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; ⁶ cujus adoles-
 ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed
 peris, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non
 iis, sed ⁷ triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus
 se potest, ⁸ in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei
 ? ⁹ Civile, ¹⁰ Africanum, ¹¹ Transalpinum, ¹² Hispani-

adolescentia, &c. "Whose youth was trained to a know-
 the military art, not by the precepts of others, but by his
 charge of the duties of a commander: not by disasters in war,
 ctories; not by campaigns, but by triumphs."

nphis. Pompey had already enjoyed two triumphs, one for
 brow of Hiarbas, king of Numidia; and the other for bring-
 ar in Spain to a close. Some commentators make him to
 , by this time, three triumphs. This, however, is quite erro-
 ice his third and most splendid triumph was at the end of the
 ic war. (PLUT. *Vit. Pomp.* c. 45.)

io illum, &c. "In which the good fortune of the republic has
 ed him," i. e. has not given him an opportunity of displaying
 es for the good of his country.

Between Sylla, on the one hand, and Cinna and Carbo,
 remains of the Marian party, on the other. Pompey sided
 B.

canum. Against Cn. Domitius, and other proscribed mem-
 ie Marian faction, who had united their forces with those of
 king of Numidia. On Pompey's return from this war,
 ted him with the title of *Magnus*, or "the Great." (PLUT.
 p. c. 13.) Pompey was then only in the 24th year of his

salpinum. Sertorius had probably formed alliances with the
 ant Gallic tribes between the Pyrenees and the Alps, and
 pear to have resisted Pompey on his march into Spain.
 gives an account of his operations against these tribes, in his
 he senate, which has come down to us among the fragments
 ird book of Sallust's Roman History: "*Nomine modo imperi-
 cepto, diebus quadraginta exercitum paravi; hostesque, in cervi-
 ice jam agentes, ab Alpibus in Hispaniam summovi. Per eas
 l atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci. Recepi Galliam,
 a, Laletaniam, Indigetes.*" Compare APPIAN, *B. C.* 1, 109.

aniense. The war with Sertorius, which lasted from A.U.C.
 12.—*Mixtum ex civitatibus, &c.* "Carried on in union by re-
 stes and most warlike communities." Literally, "composed
 ed states," &c. By *civitatus* are here meant those states, or

Spain that had gone over from the Romans to Sertorius.
 MANUTIUS: "*Civitatus; quæ a populo Romano ad Sertorium
 t.*" As regards the expression, *ex bellicosissimis nationibus*, it
 emarked, that the army of Sertorius consisted principally of
 warlike tribes of Spain, whom he had disciplined in a great
 ter the Roman manner.

ense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex belliconissimis
ibus, ¹servile, ²navale bellum, varia et diversa ge-
bellorum et ³hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc u-
etiam ⁴confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu
positam, quæ hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. (29.) ⁵JAM vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ po-
oratio inveniri? quid est, quod quisquam aut digni
aut vobis novum, aut cuiquam inauditum possit
⁶Neque enim illæ sunt solæ virtutes imperatoriae, quæ
existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis
tria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium
videndo: ⁷quæ tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in c-
reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus, aut audivim

¹ *Servile*. The war against Spartacus, the well-known lead
gladiators and slaves. Crassus deserved the credit of termin-
war, having defeated the enemy, and slain 12,000 of them;
Pompey merely encountered the fugitives from the field of battle
killed 5000. Still the popular voice assigned the chief praise to
Pompey; and Cicero, in order to flatter him, re-echoes the opinion of
PLUTARCH, *Vit. Pomp.* c. 21.)

² *Navale*. The war against the pirates, called also, in the
part of this oration, *maritimum bellum*.

³ *Hostium*. These are enumerated as follows by the Dauphin
kings, exiles, proscribed persons, pirates and slaves.

⁴ *Confecta*. "Brought to a close."—*In usu militari*. "Within
range of military experience."

⁵ *Jam vero virtuti*, &c. "In the next place, what strain of
can be found, commensurate with the warlike virtues of Cne-
Pompey?" *Jam vero* is elegantly employed by Cicero, on many occasions
in the sense of *deinde*, to mark a transition from one head-
course to another.

⁶ *Neque enim*, &c. "For neither are those the only virtues of
commander, that are commonly regarded as such." The other
imperatoriae are mentioned after a long digression, in the beginning
the 13th chapter, viz. *innocentia, temperantia, fides*, &c.—The other
virtutes imperatoriae may also be rendered more freely, "distinct
attributes of a commander."

⁷ *Quæ tanta sunt*, &c. "Which exist in a greater degree in
individual, than they have in all the other commanders whom
either seen or heard of." The student will mark the elegant
seology of *tanta quanta non*, in place of the
comparative with *quam*.

⁸ *Testis est Italia*. "Italy is a proof of this," i. e. a proof of
summate military skill of Pompey.—*Quam ille ipse*, &c. The
reference is to the important services rendered by Pompey, in aiding
the power of the Marian faction in Italy. Compare PLUTARCH
Pomp. c. 9: Πομπήϊον δὲ θαυμάζων δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ μάλα
ὄφελος εἶναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, κ.τ.λ.

t. (30.) ⁸ Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. ⁹ Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis, terrore belli, sed celeritate consilii, explicavit. ¹⁰ Testis Africa, quæ magnis oppressa hostium copiis, eorum ipso sanguine redundavit. ¹¹ Testis est Gallia, per quam legibus nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione, statum est. ¹² Testis est Hispania, quæ sæpissime plurimos ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis etiam et sæpius Italia, quæ, cum servili bello ¹³ tetra perique premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: bellum expectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. (31.) Testes

Testis est Sicilia. He was successful in an expedition against Perseus and Carbo in that island, A.U.C. 671. (PLUT. *Vit. Pomp.* c.

et in terrore belli, &c. "Not by the terror of his arms, but the terror of his operations," i. e. not so much by the terror of his arms as by the terror of his operations.

Testis est Africa. Alluding to the war against Domitius and Hiarcon. Consult note 10, page 237.

Testis est Gallia. Consult note 11, page 237.—*Iter.* Pompey in his speech to the senate, already cited (note 11, page 237), makes mention of the road which he had opened over the Alps, and Appian (*B. C.* 1, 10) informs us, that it was around the sources of the Rhone and Po, ἡ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ῥοῦνι καὶ τοῦ Πόδανου καὶ τῆς ἑσπέρης πηγῆς τοῦ τε Ῥοῦνι καὶ τῆς ἑσπέρης πηγῆς.

Testis est Hispania. The praise of Cicero here is mere flattery. Sertorius lived, his superior military talents completely eclipsed those of Pompey, and made Spain any thing else but a theatre of war for the latter. Pompey only became victorious after Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers.

et in periculosoque. The war is called *tetrum*, "disgraceful," from the character of the foe, who were principally gladiators and slaves; and styled *periculosum*, "dangerous," from these gladiators having been trained to the profession of arms, and, also, from the abilities of the leader Spartacus. Compare the words of PLUTARCH (*Vit. Crass.* 10) οὐκ ἔτι οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἡνώχλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως γελητόν· ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβον τε καὶ κίνδυνον, ὥς πρὸς ἓνα τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων, ἀμφοτέρους ἐξέπεμπον τοὺς ῥήτορας. "It was no longer, then, the indignity and disgrace of this war that afflicted the senate; but now, on account of the fear and danger, they sent forth both the consuls to this, as to one of their most important wars."

et in hoc bellum, &c. See note 1, page 238. Pompey wrote to the senate that Crassus had indeed gained a victory over the runaways in the battle, but that he himself had cut up the war by the roots, οὐ μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερᾷ Κράσσοις νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνέσχευε. (*Vit. Crass.* c. 11.)

vero jam ¹omnes oræ, atque omnes exteræ ²gentes ac nationes, ³denique maria omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim ⁴toto mari locus, per hos annos, aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? ⁵Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme, aut referto prædonum mari navigaretur? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, ⁶tam vetus, tam late dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut ⁷omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? (82.) Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hos annos? ⁸quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium de-

¹ *Omnes oræ.* Alluding to the power of the pirates, before they were reduced by Pompey, and their infesting all the shores of the Mediterranean. Compare the words of APPIAN, *B. M.* 92: Οὐ μόνος ἐν τῇ ἐώας θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἑρακλείου στήλης ἀπάσης.

² *Gentes ac nationes.* "Nations and communities." *Gens*, when contrasted with *natio*, may be called the generic term, and implies a whole race. Thus, the Germans are a *gens*, the Saxons a *natio*. (Caesars, *Gymn.* vol. ii. p. 247, 4th ed.)

³ *Denique maria omnia, &c.* "In a word, all seas, as well the whole taken collectively, as the bays and harbours in each." By *omnia maria* are here meant all the seas composing the Mediterranean, such as the *Mare Siculum*, the *Mare Hadriaticum*, *Mare Ægeum*, *Mare Creticum*, &c., and by *universa* (sc. *maria*) the whole Mediterranean, of course, is implied. The common text has *oris* after *singulis*, but Grævius very properly rejected it on the authority of one of his MSS. *Singulis* (sc. *maribus*) is opposed to *universa*.

⁴ *Toto mari.* "Throughout the whole Mediterranean."—*Aut tam fuit abditus, &c.* "Or was so retired as to escape the notice of the foe." By the foes are meant the pirates.

⁵ *Quis navigavit, &c.* "Who sailed abroad, that did not expose himself to the risk either of death, or of slavery, since he must either traverse the sea during the winter season, or when it was swarming with pirates?" In the winter the sea would be free from pirates. The common text has *navigaret*, but Heumannus restored *navigaretur* from the early editions. *Navigaretur* is to be taken impersonally, in the sense of *navigandum esset*.

⁶ *Tam vetus.* "Of so long continuance." These depredations had continued from about A. U. C. 666. The present oration was pronounced A. U. C. 687, so that the whole period had been about 21 years.—*Tam late dispersum.* "So widely disseminated." Consult note 5, page 221, where an account is given of the extensive power of the pirates.

⁷ *Omniibus annis, &c.* Pompey broke the power of the pirates in the space of forty-nine days, and terminated the whole war in about three months. (PLUT. *Vit. Pomp.* c. 26, 28.—Compare Florus, 2, 4)

audistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas, aut a prædonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

XII. SED quid ego ⁹longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc nondam, fuit ¹⁰proprium populi Romani longe a domo beluæ, et ¹¹propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua acta defendere. ¹²Sociis vestris ego mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, cum exercitus nostri a ¹³Brundisio nunquam, nisi ¹⁴summa hieme, transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab æteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, ¹⁵cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum ¹⁶duodecim secures in prædonum potestatem per-

⁹ *Quod vectigal.* "What branch of revenue."—*Cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis?* "To whom have you been a source of protection with our fleets?"

¹⁰ *Longinqua.* "Things at a distance." Opposed to things nearer home, in which the Romans were personally concerned, and had been personal sufferers.

¹¹ *Proprium populi Romani.* "The peculiar glory of the Roman people."

¹² *Propugnaculis imperii.* "By the forces of their empire." By *propugnacula* are here meant all the means of defence at the command of the republic. Ernesti thinks, that the term refers to the Roman colonies planted in conquered countries, and which would furnish the means of defence against foreign aggression. Shütz takes a more correct view of the subject when he remarks, "*Classes et exercitus intelligitur ex antecedentibus et sequentibus.*"

¹³ *Sociis vestris, &c.* "Need I tell you that the sea has been closed, during these later years, to your allies, when even our own armies have never crossed over from Brundisium unless in the depth of winter?" The seas being closed upon their allies is one of the *longinqua*, which there is no need of dwelling, when the orator can tell of other things so much nearer home.

¹⁴ *Brundisio.* Brundisium was the usual sea-port from which they sailed for Greece. Consult Geographical Index. The Roman armies added to in the text were those sent against Mithridates.

¹⁵ *Summa hieme.* When the pirates would be away. Consult note 5, page 240.

¹⁶ *Cum legati, &c.* "When even the ambassadors of the Roman people were ransomed from captivity," i. e. when your own ambassadors are made captives by the pirates, and a ransom had to be paid for them. Who these ambassadors were is not known, nor at what time or under what circumstances they were taken.

¹⁷ *Duodecim secures.* "Two prætors with their lictors." Literally twelve axes." Each prætor had in Rome two lictors; in the provinces six. The prætors taken on this occasion are called by Plutarch, *Sexilius* and *Bellinus*. (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 24.)

venerint. (33.) ¹ Cnidum aut Colophonem, aut et nobiles et nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias, captas es memorem, cum vestros portus, ² atque eos portus, vitam et spiritum ducitis, in prædonum fuisse potestatis? An vero ignoratis, portum Caietæ, celeberrimum plenissimum navium, ³ inspectante prætore, a præte esse direptum? Ex Miseno autem, ⁴ ejus ipsius liberum cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus sublato? Nam quid ego ⁵ Ostiense incommodum illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicæ querar, cum inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui ⁶ consul populi

¹ *Cnidum aut Colophonem, &c.* Consult Geographical Index *innumerabilesque alias*. Plutarch makes the number of cities in Sicily them amount to four hundred: *αἱ δ' ἀλοῦσαι πόλεις ὑπὸ τετρακόσιαι*.

² *Atque eos portus, &c.* "Aye, and those harbours too, from which you derive life and respiration," i. e. the very means of subsistence. The allusion is to the harbours of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, from which the metropolis was supplied with corn. In consequence of their being masters of the sea, the markets at Rome were ill supplied with grain, and hence arose serious apprehensions of famine. (Plutarch *Pomp.* c. 25.)

³ *Inspectante prætore.* "Under the very eyes of a prætor." This prætor was not clearly ascertained. He is thought by some to have been M. Antonius, son of the famous orator of that name, the father of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was afterward sent against the pirates, and attacked the Cretans who had been pirates, and were connected with them, but was defeated, with the loss of most of his ships, which were taken by the enemy. (Plutarch *Pomp.* 3, 7.—LIV. *Epit.* 99.)

⁴ *Ejus ipsius liberum.* "That the child of this same prætor." According to Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 24), a daughter of M. Antonius, prætor, was taken by the pirates, and ransomed from them for a large sum.—*Liberum.* The term *liberi* is employed, in the present case, for a single child. The authorities for this usage are very ably adduced by Scheller. (*Lat. Deutsch. Wörterb.* vol. iii. col. 5685.) The passage which we will here cite is that of Caius (*Ad. Dig.* lib. 50, tit. 148): "*Non est sine liberis, cui vel unus filius, unave filia est, enuntiatio, habet liberos, semper plurativo numero profertur pignus et codicilli.*" Dacier falls into an amusing error, through much haste in translating the present passage of Cicero. He translates *liberos* for *libros*, and makes the Roman prætor to have lost not his child: "Ignorez-vous que ses livres ont été enlevés par les corsaires?" (PLUTARQUE, par Dacier. *Vie de Pompée, in notis*.)

⁵ *Ostiense incommodum.* "The disaster at Ostia." Ostia, a city at the mouth of the Tiber, and regarded as the harbour of Rome. The pirates took and plundered it, and destroyed the fleet there.

repositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? ro dii immortales! tantamne ⁷ unius hominis incredibilis ac ivina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre rei publicæ potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ii nunc nullam ⁸ intra Oceani ostium prædonum navem esse audiat? (34.) Atque hæc, qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo prætermissa non sunt. Quis enim umquam, aut ⁹ obeundi negotii, ut consequendi quæstus studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca dire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, ¹⁰ quam celeriter, Cn. Pompeio duce, belli impetus navigavit? qui ¹¹ nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari ¹² Siciliam adiit, Africam explo-

eat, indeed was their daring on this occasion, that they even remained there a considerable time, and exposed their booty to sale. (DIO CASSIUS, 36, 5.)

⁶ *Consul populi Romani.* The name of this consul does not appear on any ancient writer. DIO CASSIUS (l. c.) makes no allusion to any all—*Capta atque oppressa est.* “Was taken and sunk.”

⁷ *Unius hominis.* Pompey.

⁸ *Intra Oceani ostium.* “Within the straits of the ocean,” i. e. the straits of Gibraltar. There is great propriety in the use of the expression *Oceani ostium*, (literally, “mouth of the ocean,”) to designate the straits in question, since a strong and constant current flows into the Mediterranean from the Atlantic Ocean, in the middle of the straits.

⁹ *Obeundi negotii.* “Of transacting business.”—*Tantos cursus.* “So many voyages.”

¹⁰ *Quam celeriter, &c.* “As rapidly as, under the guidance of Pompey, the whole charge of war sped over the deep.” *Impetus belli* is a poetic form of expression, for the simple *bellum*, with the associate idea, however, of impetuosity and power. Thus we have in LUCRETIUS (5, 101), “*impetus cæli*,” for *cælum*; and in ACCIUS, (*Ap. Cic. de Divin.* 1, 22,) “*nocturnus impetus*,” for *nox*. Compare the following remark of ERMESTI: “*Tota forma, belli impetus navigavit poetica est. Sensus est; quanta celeritate Pompeius bellum, et quam strenue gesserit.*”

¹¹ *Nondum tempestivo, &c.* “Before the sea was yet fit for navigation,” i. e. before the season for sailing was come. *Tempestivo* is here equivalent to *tempore opportuno*, “fit by reason of the time of year.” The season for navigation usually commenced about the rising of the Pleiades, on the 22nd of April.

¹² *Siciliam adiit.* Pompey directed his earliest attention to Sicily, in order to secure that important granary of the republic. He then proceeded, with the same view, to Africa and Sardinia. The management of the war against the pirates was conferred on Pompey by the Gabinian law. This law invested him with the command of the whole Mediterranean, and with power over the land for four hundred stadia (about 46 miles) from the coasts. He was empowered also to take

ravit: inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque ¹ hæc tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicæ firmissimis præsiidiis classibusque munivit. (35.) Inde se cum in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Cisalpina præsiidiis ac navibus confirmatis item in oram ² Illyrici maris, et in Achaïam omnemque Græciam navibus, ³ Italiae duo maria maximis classibus, firmissimisque præsiidiis adornavit: ipse autem, ⁴ut a Brundisio profectus est, undequingagesimo die ⁵totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit; omnes, qui ubique per dones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim ⁶unius hujus imperio ac potestati se dediderunt. Idem ⁷Oretensium cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperii

with him out of the senators fifteen lieutenants to act under him; was to take from the quaestors, and other public receivers, what he pleased, and equip a fleet of 200 sail. The number of his forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion. The day after this law was passed, Pompey summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had bestowed. He was empowered to fit out 500 galleys, and to raise an army of 120,000 foot and 5000 horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants, and he had two quaestors allowed. (PLUT. *Vit. Pomp.* c. 25. seq.)

¹ *Hæc tria frumentaria subsidia.* "These three granaries." *Duabus Hispaniis.* "The two Spains," i. e. hither and farther Spain, *Citerior* and *Ulterior*. Consult Geographical Index.

² *Illyrici maris.* The *Mare Illyricum* was that part of the Adriatic which lay along the Illyrian coast.—*Achaïam.* The Roman province of Achaia included all the Peloponnesus, and a part of Greece north of the isthmus of Corinth. By *omnem Græciam* is, therefore, meant the rest of Greece.

³ *Italiae duo maria.* The upper and lower seas, or the Adriatic and Tuscan.—*Adornavit.* "He furnished," i. e. supplied. *Adornare* is here equivalent to *instruo*, with the collateral idea of decking or adorning. Compare CÆS. B. C. 1, 26: "*Eodem conatu, apparatuque, omni opum insignium armorum bellum adornaverant.*"

⁴ *Ut a Brundisio, &c.* "On the forty-ninth day after he set out from Brundisium." *Ut* is here elegantly used for *postquam*. Consult TURSELLINUS, *de Part. Lat.* s. v. § 1, 22.

⁵ *Totam Ciliciam.* The power of the pirates had its rise in Cilicia, and this country eventually became their centre of operations, and chief stronghold. Pompey defeated them in a naval battle off Cynosium, on the coast of Cilicia Trachea.

⁶ *Unius hujus imperio ac potestati.* "To the absolute control of one individual," i. e. they surrendered themselves unconditionally to Pompey. When *imperium* and *potestas* are opposed to each other,

ta tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque diversum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, in Pompeius extrema hieme ⁸apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media æstate confecit.

XIII. (36.) ⁹Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid? ceteræ, quas paullo ante commemorare cœperam, quantæ atque quam multæ sunt? ¹⁰non enim solum bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quærenda est; ¹¹sed multæ sunt artes eximiæ, hujus administræ comitesque virtutis. Ac primum, ¹²quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores? quanta deinde omnibus in rebus temperantia? quanta fide? ¹³quanta facilitate? quanto ingenio? quanta humanitate? Quæ breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio,

latter denotes military power, the latter civil; and when both are combined in one clause, as in the present instance, the idea intended to be conveyed is that of full and absolute authority.

⁷ *Oretensibus*. Crete, next to Cilicia, was the greatest nursery of pirates, and one of their chief receptacles. Metellus had been sent to Crete, by the Roman people, some time before Pompey was employed in this war. Metellus had broken up many strongholds of the pirates in that island, when the remainder, who were besieged by him, compliantly addressed themselves to Pompey, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within that distance from the sea to which he was authorized to carry his arms. Pompey listened to their application, and by a letter directed Metellus to take farther steps in the war. At the same time, he ordered the cities of the island not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command. [On Metellus treating Pompey's order with contempt, Octavius threw himself into Lappa, which eventually was taken by Metellus; and Octavius had, after further opposition, to leave the island.]

⁸ *Apparavit*. "Prepared for."—*Media æstate*. Plutarch says the war was brought to a close in three months at farthest: οὐκ ἐν πλείονι τριῶν μηνῶν. (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 28.)

⁹ *Est hæc divina, &c.* "Such is the divine and incredible valor of our commander."

¹⁰ *Non enim solum, &c.* Consult note 6, page 238.—*Bellandi virtus*. Ability in war."

¹¹ *Sed multæ sunt, &c.* "On the contrary, there are many other excellent qualities, the handmaids and attendants of this virtue."—*Hujus virtutis, sc. imperatoricæ*.

¹² *Quanta innocentia, &c.* "Of how much moral purity ought commanders to be."—*Temperantia*. "Self-control."—*Fide*. "Good faith." Adherence to their word.

¹³ *Quanta facilitate*. "How affable and easy of access."—*Quanto ingenio, &c.* "Of how much penetration, of how much humanity?"

consideremus. ¹ Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites; sed ea magis ² ex aliorum contentione, quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. (37.) Quem enim ³ possumus imperatorem aliquo in numero putare, ⁴ cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatus atque venierint? ⁵ quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex ærario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut ⁶ propter cupiditatem provinciæ magistratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam Romæ ⁷ in quæstu reliquerit?—⁸ Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui hæc fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ⁹ ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam

¹ *Summa enim omnia sunt.* "For these all exist in the highest degree," i. e. in the character of Pompey all these qualities are found in the highest perfection.

² *Ex aliorum contentione.* "By a comparison with others." Thus, CIC. *de Off.* 1, 17: "*Si contentio quædam et comparatio fiat,*" and PARTIT. *Or.* 2: "*Rerum contentiones, quid majus, quid par, quid minus sit.*"

³ *Possumus aliquo in numero putare.* "Can we hold in any estimation." Literally, "can we reckon in any number," i. e. of generals; can we regard as at all fit to be numbered among generals.

⁴ *Cujus in exercitu, &c.* "In whose army commissions for the office of centurion are now and have heretofore been sold." The allusion cannot be to Lucullus, on whom he had already bestowed so many encomiums, but, from the use of the present tense (*veneant*), seems aimed at Glabrio. The student will mark the force of the subjunctive mood in this and the succeeding clauses, as indicating, not what Cicero asserts on his own authority, but from the rumour of the day. It is equivalent, in fact, therefore, to "in whose army, as is said," &c.

⁵ *Quid hunc hominem, &c.* "What lofty or generous sentiments can we imagine that man can entertain respecting his country?" Supply after *quid*, the words *possumus putare* from the preceding clause, but in a somewhat different sense.

⁶ *Propter cupiditatem provinciæ.* "From the desire of retaining his province for a longer period," i. e. of holding over in his command beyond the time appointed. The money was given, not to procure a province, but to induce the magistrates at home to interfere, and prevent any recall, at the end of the year, from the province where the individual was then acting. Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: "*Non ut provinciam decernerent, sed ut impedirent ne anno exacto decedere de provincia juberetur.*" Ernesti supposes Lucullus to be the person meant. This, however, cannot possibly be correct. Lucullus had set out against Mithridates many years before the period when this speech was delivered; whereas, from the language of Cicero, the transaction referred to would seem to have been of a very recent date. So again, in chapter 22, the orator speaks of the *injuriae* and *libidines*

um, quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? (38.) ¹⁰ Itinera, quæ annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium nostrorum imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum atuetis, quid apud exterarum nationum fieri existimetis. Iures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum in urbes, an ¹¹ hibernis sociorum civitates esse deque enim potest ¹² exercitum is continere imperator, ipsum non continet: neque severus esse ¹⁴ in iudicio alios in se severos esse iudices non vult. (39.) Iam nunc, hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cuius in Asiam pervenerunt, ut non modo manus tanti

ian commanders sent out that very year, which of course in any way apply to Lucullus. Acilius Glabrio is undoubtedly in the *ut provinciæ magistratibus* seems to be balanced with *Romæ*. And *propter cupiditatem* corresponds with *propter avaritiam*. Inder, then, "who, to screen his extortion, divided the money, among the magistrates of his province (lest they should join in action) or to gratify his avarice, left those sums at interest in

tu. "At interest." Compare *Or. in Pis.* c. 35.

admurmuratio, &c. "Your murmurs, my countrymen, are a parent, that you recognize the individuals who have acted in this way, your murmuring makes it evident that you appear to be discontented." &c.

"Previously."—*Avaritiam*. "Rapacity." Compare the SCHELLER (*Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 69): "*Avarus non est, sed nimis parcat; hic tenax dicitur; sed pecunie consequendæ est.*"

"The marches."—*Per hosce annos*. "During these latter years the allusion is to the movements of the Roman forces, sent, by different commanders, against Mithridates, Sertorius, Spartacus, in which troops had to pass through different parts of Italy, before they reached their destined scenes of action. From the lance-ro, they would appear to have been guilty of excesses, by acting against their own countrymen.

is. "By their wintering among them." Referring to the rapacity exercised by the Roman soldiery against their own countrymen in winter-quarters throughout their cities.

exercitum continere. "To restrain his army," i. e. from the plundering of our allies.

ipsum non continet. "Who does not restrain himself," i. e. in the same matters practises no restraint over himself. Grævius says, from one of his MSS., but, as Ernesti correctly remarks, the allusion to *alios* requires *se ipsum*.

in iudicando. "In judging of others." Supply *de aliis*, or else *alios*.

exercitus, ¹sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nō dicatur? Jam vero, ²quemadmodum milites hibe quotidie sermones ac literæ perferuntur. Non mod sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur: s cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. ⁴Hiemis enī avaritiæ perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque corum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. (40.) AGE vero, ceteris in rebus ⁵qualis sit t rancia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, i incredibilem cursum ⁶inventum putatis? ⁷Non enim eximia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam guber aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter ⁸in ultimas terras :

¹ *Sed ne vestigium quidem.* "But even its very footsteps. meaning of the whole clause is, that the army led by Pompey from plundering any thing, did not even set foot in any place v was unlawful for them to come," i. e. violated the sanctity shrine, as had been the case, for example, in former years, with Comana. Compare the explanation of HOTOMANN: "*Non mod raptuisse, sed ne pedem quidem, ubi non licebat, posuisse.*"

² *Quemadmodum milites hibernent.* "As to the way in whi soldiers now conduct themselves in winter-quarters," i. e. as regularity of their deportment in winter-quarters now that the Pompey over them.

³ *Ut sumptum faciat in militem.* "In order that he may expense upon a soldier," i. e. to compel him to expend any part means in the maintenance of our soldiers.—*Cupienti.* "When c so to do."

⁴ *Hiemis enim, &c.* "That there should be a refuge fr severity of winter, not for the indulgence of rapacity, in the ings," &c.

⁵ *Qualis.* The early editions have *quali*.

⁶ *Inventum.* "Were obtained." Some of the early edition *initum*, which arose very probably from the copyists not unders here the peculiar force of *inventum*. Even Lambinus seeks the text, and gives *natum* for the true reading. The use of *in* in this passage, is correctly styled by Ernesti, "*exquisitius loquendi.*" Compare the Greek usage of employing the verb εἶν on many occasions, in the sense of *parare*, *consequi*, &c.

⁷ *Non eximia vis remigum.* "No extraordinary exertions on t of rowers."

⁸ *In ultimas terras.* The allusion is to Pamphylia and Cilicia. pare chapter 16, where the Cretan ambassadors are said to hav to Pompey, who was then in Pamphylia, "*in ultimas prope ter*

⁹ *Ceteros.* "The rest of your commanders." So *ceteri* in th paragraph.—*Non retardarunt.* "Retarded not his progress."

¹⁰ *Devocavit.* "Called him away." This is the reading of earlier editions, except the Aldine, where *revocavit* appears, p

sed eæ res, quæ ⁹ ceteros remorari solent, non retar-
 non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam
 vit, ¹¹ non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad
 ionem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non
 labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo ¹² signa, et tabulas,
 ie ornamenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ ceteri
 esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem
 vit. (41.) Itaque omnes quidem, nunc in his locis
 apeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed
 delapsum, intuentur: nunc denique incipiunt
¹³ fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia:
 jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriæ

or of the press. From this last edition the form *revocavit*
 way into the later ones, until Gruter restored the true

libido ad voluptatem, &c. "No licentious feeling to an indul-
 pleasure; no charms of scenery to gratification of this kind;
 n of any city to visiting and becoming acquainted with it;
 , not toil itself to repose."

et tabulas. "Statues and paintings." With *tabulas* supply
hæc ceteri tollenda esse, &c. Statues, and paintings, and works
 general, were favourite objects of rapacity with the Roman
 ers, and were carried off without any scruple. The statues
 res which Marcellus transported from Syracuse to Rome,
 ed that cupidity which led the Roman provincial magistrates
 , without scruple or distinction, the houses of private indi-
 and the temples of the gods. Marcellus and Mummius, how-
 boiled only hostile and conquered countries. They had made
 : plunder to the public, and, after it was conveyed to Rome,
 it to the embellishment of the capital; but subsequent
 of provinces, having acquired a taste for works of art, began
 riate to themselves those masterpieces of Greece, which they
 erly neither known nor esteemed. Some contrived plausible
 for borrowing valuable works of art from cities and private
 without any intention of restoring them; while others, less
 or more shameless, seized whatever pleased them, whether
 private property, without excuse or remuneration. But
 his passion was common to most provincial governors, none of
 r came up to the full measure of the rapacity of Verres, when
 Sicily. He seized tapestry, pictures, gold, and silver plate,
 ns, and Corinthian bronzes, till he literally did not leave a
 ticle of value of these descriptions, in the whole island.
 s *Roman Literature*, vol. ii. p. 284, *seq.*)

ne quando. "That there once were." They now believe that
 n as Curius Dentatus, Fabricius, and others, once actually

et jam nationibus exteris, &c. The accounts which the Romans

proditum videbatur. ¹ Nunc imperii vestri splendentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa suos tum, cum ² hac temperantia magistratus habere servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis, ³ Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, querimoniarum de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, et dignitate principibus excellit, ⁴ facilitate par inferior videatur. (42.) Jam quantum ⁵ consilio, quantum gravitate et copia valeat, ⁶ in quo ipso inest quædam imperatoria, vos, Quirites, ⁷ hoc ipso in loco sæpe. Fidem vero ejus inter socios quantam existimarum ⁸ quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam juvant. Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu si hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint,

gave them of the continence and virtue of their fathers, has been unworthy of belief to foreign nations, when contrasted with the rapacity and extortion that characterized their descendants.

¹ *Nunc imperii vestri*, &c. "Now the true lustre of your empire shines resplendent among those nations." Pompey revives in himself all the glory of the good old Roman times, and that glory by his country.—*Lucet*. In the palimpsest fragment of the recently discovered, we have *lucem afferre cæpit*, which also has two other MSS. but it is evidently a mere gloss for *lucet* or a very good one either.

² *Hac temperantia*. "Distinguished for his self-control, characterized by that same moderation which Pompey now exercises in *Imperare aliis*. "To rule over others."

³ *Jam vero ita faciles*, &c. "So easy, too, is said to be to the private individuals to him, so freely allowed their every demand respecting the wrongs done them by others." As regards *jam vero*, consult note 7, page 253.—*Faciles*. No forms and ceremonies are required in approaching Pompey.—*Liberae*. There are no obstacles whatever upon the freedom of complaint.

⁴ *Facilitate*. "In affability."

⁵ *Consilio*. "In wisdom."—*Dicendi gravitate et copia*. "In weight and flowing eloquence." As regards the peculiar force of *gravis*, in a rhetorical point of view, compare the remark of ERNESTI, in his *Lex. Technol. Lat. Rhet.* p. 191: "*Sed non modo est, gravem orationem appellatam Latinis Rhetoribus esse, quod et splendidis, altisque sensibus animos legentium implet; et ipsam tatem tributam iis oratoribus vel scriptoribus, qui tales se conciperent, atque omnino rebus augendis, exaggerandisque parati*"

⁶ *In quo ipso*, &c. "In which very talent itself there exists a quality adapted to the character of a leader." The reference is to the art of haranguing, which suits so well the character of a commander. Some editors refer *in quo ipso* to Pompey; but then *quædam dignitas*, is not sufficiently complimentary.

rem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio esse videatur?

(43.) Et, quoniam ¹¹ auctoritas multum in bellis administrandis atque in imperio militari valet, certe dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum ¹² Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus vestris sentiant, quis ignorat, cum sciamus, homines in tantis rebus aut contemnant, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament, non minus ¹³ et fama, quam aliqua certa ratione fieri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum fuit? cujus res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id maxime ¹⁵ facit auctoritatem, ¹⁶ tanta et tam præclara

ipso in loco. In the forum, where they have often heard harangue.

hostes, &c. "When the common enemies of all nations regarded it as inviolable," i. e. as worthy of the most implicit

Quam is here equivalent to *cum eam*.—By *hostes omnium* Cicero meant the pirates. Cicero employs the same circumlocution of this class of persons, on two other occasions: *In* 10, and *De Off.* 3, 29: "*Pirata est communis hostis omnium.*"

um bellum. This is the reading of the earlier editions, which has just been restored. The common text has *tantum bellum hoc*, which is transposed, reading *hoc tantum bellum*.

æ memoriae. "Of our time."—*Videatur.* The use of the verb here is worth noting. The meaning is, "who seems, as far as we can perceive," i. e. as far as it is allowed mere mortals to scan the works of Omnipotence. The indicative would have been too strong. *ritas.* "High reputation." *Auctoritas* is here equivalent to *insignis de alicujus virtute*, &c. (ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.

menter pertinere ad bella administranda. "Intimately pertains to the management of foreign wars," i. e. exercises a powerful influence on the success of your arms abroad.—*Vestris.* The palimpsest fragment reads *nostris*.

ma. We have here adopted the reading of the palimpsest, as far as preferable to the ordinary one, *opinionem non minus quam aliqua certa ratione.* "Than by some fixed and reasonable opinion."

ius. "More illustrious than his," i. e. Pompey's.

auctoritatem. "Causes high reputation." [Anthon inserted *auctoritatem*,] on the conjecture of Weiske, who considers the common reading, *facit auctoritatem*, as doubtful in point of Latin.

a et tam præclara, &c. "Have you made so distinguished

judicia fecistis? (44.) An vero ullum usquam etiam desertam putatis, quo non ¹ illius diei fama per cum universus populus Romanus, referto foro, re omnibus templis, ex quibus ² hic locus conspici potest sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. P. imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dica aliorum exemplis confirmem, ³ quantum auctoritas bello; ab eodem Cn. Pompeio ⁴ omnium rerum egregia exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bellum positus est imperator, tanta repente ⁵ vilitas annonae summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consequens unius hominis spe et nomine, quantam vix ex summate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. (45) ⁶ accepta in Ponto calamitate, ex eo proelio, de paullo ante invitatus admonui, cum socii pertinuissent opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium vincia non haberet: amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, n

and honourable expressions of opinion?" The term *judicia* applied to the honours and rewards bestowed upon merit. the remark of ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*): "*Judicia dicuntur honores, praemia, quia dantur his qui iis digni judicantur.*" obtained the honours of a triumph, while he was only a knight, and not yet of an age to entitle him to a seat in the Senate. He was sent against Sertorius, with proconsular command, though he was a simple quaestor; and he obtained the consulship before he was thirty-six years old, and without having gone through the usual offices; in the regular course of things, he was, at thirty years old enough to have been made aedile. The legal age for the consulship was forty-three.

¹ *Illius diei.* The day when the Gabinian law was passed. note 12, page 243.—*Cum universus populus Romanus.* "When the whole Roman people with one voice." The student will mark *universus* here.

² *Hic locus.* The rostra.—*Unum ad commune omnium gentium bellum imperatorem.* "As sole commander of a war that involved the common interests of all nations." The reference is to the war with the pirates. Compare note 8, page 251.

³ *Quantum auctoritas.* The common text has *quantum hujus auctoritas*. But *hujus* is not needed here, since the remark is a general one and does not refer to any individual in particular. Ernesti thinks *hujus* must either be rejected, or else changed into *ducis*. He follows the former course, and accordingly throws it out of his text.

⁴ *Omnium rerum egregiarum.* "Of every thing exalted."

⁵ *Vilitas annonae.* "A cheapness of provisions." As long as the pirates held possession of the sea, exportation from the coast provinces was checked, and large stores must necessarily be

ris ⁹divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones for-
ali Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithri-
nsolita inflammatum victoria continuit, et Tigranem
opiis minitantem Asiæ retardavit. Et quisquam
quid virtute ¹¹profecturus sit, qui tantum auctori-
ecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu
vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ¹²ipso nomine ac
efenderit?

46.) AGE vero, ¹³illa res quantam declarat ejusdem
apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex
longinquis, tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore
i huic se dediderunt? quod ¹⁴Cretensium legati,
orum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset,
ompeium ¹⁵in ultimas prope terras venerunt, eique
Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid
Mithridates? nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium,
isque in Hispaniam misit? ¹⁶eum quem Pompeius

vere. Pompey's appointment restored public confidence,
power of the pirates was now thought to be soon about to
rge shipments were expected to be shortly made from the
ies, the price of grain fell, of course, at Rome.

ma inopia, &c. "From the greatest scarcity and dearness
-Unius hominis spe et nomine. Compare the language of
(Vit Pomp. c. 26), Αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ τῶν ὀνίων, εὐθὺς πεσοῦσαι,
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ παρεῖχον, ὥς αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου
πόλεμον.

"Still farther." Compare the remark of FORCELLINI (*Lex.*
i sapissime conjungendi orationem vim habet, et transitionibus
præterea."

in Ponto calamitate. Alluding to the defeat of Triarius.
ote 15, page 233.—Cum. To be repeated, in translating,
of the two succeeding clauses.

us. "Providentially."

inflammatum victoria. "Fired with unaccustomed victory."
ers to his having been so often defeated before this by Sylla,
d Lucullus.—Continuit. "Checked."

turus sit. We have adopted *profecturus sit* and *profecerit*,
as, Ernesti, and Schütz, from many MSS. and early editions.
in text has *perfecturus sit* and *perfecerit*.

mine ac rumore. "By his very name and reputation."

s. "The following circumstance."

nium legati. For an account of this affair, consult note 7,
Noster imperator. Metellus.

mas prope terras. To Pamphylia. Consult Liv. *Epit.* 29.

uem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit. Pompey, of course,

legatum semper judicavit: ¹ii, quibus semper erat mo-
ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam l
judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constitui
rites, hanc auctoritatem, ²multis postea rebus
magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatum, quantum
illos reges, quantum apud exterarum nationes valitura
existimetis.

(47.) Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, ³quam præ-
se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de-
possumus, sicut æquum est homines ⁴de potestate de-
timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: ⁵Maximo
Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus
non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter for-
sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse com-
Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quædam

would entertain this opinion from motives of vanity. The first
Metellus represented that the individual alluded to was a mere

¹ *Ii, quibus, &c.* Referring in particular to Metellus, who was
manding in conjunction with Pompey in Spain. He was a relative
the Metellus just mentioned, note 14, p. 253.—*Ad eum potissimum*
What gave offence, if the story be true, was that the individual
have been sent to so young a man as Pompey, and one too young
only a quæstor with proconsular command.

² *Multis postea rebus gestis.* "By many subsequent exploits."
refers to the period after the Spanish war, and to Pompey's operations
against the pirates.—*Vestris judiciis.* "Expressions of opinion
part." Compare note 16, page 251.

³ *Quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, &c.* "Which no
exhibit at pleasure in his own case; but which we can call
and make mention of in the case of another," i. e. no man can
successful when he pleases; this lies entirely within the power,
regulated by the will, of the gods. But he may tell without success
the success with which others have been favoured.

⁴ *De potestate deorum.* "In relation to a thing that lies wholly
the power of the gods," i. e. success or good fortune; of which
ing to Cicero, we must speak cautiously and briefly, lest we be
ascribing too much to human agency. Compare the explanation
ERNESTI: "De potestate deorum, i. e. de re ea, quæ est tota in
deorum, ut cavendum sit ne in ea plus homini tribuamus." [This
is, *reliquum est, ut de felicitate (quam præstare de se ipso nemo
meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus) dicamus timide et
sicut æquum est homines dicere de potestate deorum.*]

⁵ *Maximo.* Fabius Maximus.—*Marcello.* The celebrated officer
of Hannibal.—*Scipioni.* It is uncertain whether Cicero meant
elder or younger Africanus. Manutius thinks it is the latter,
opinion appears to be the correct one. For an account of the
individuals here alluded to, consult Historical Index.

dinem et ad gloriam, et ad res magnas bene gerendas
 s adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis feli-
 e quo nunc agimus, ⁷ hac utar moderatione dicendi,
 in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed
 erita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut
 liis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse
 :. (48.) Itaque ⁸ non sum prædicaturus, Quirites,
 ille res domi militiæ, terra marique, quantaque
 e gesserit: ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo
 senserint, socii ⁹ obtemperarint, hostes obedierint,
 am venti tempestatesque ¹⁰ obsecundarint. Hoc
 me dicam, neminem unquam ¹¹ tam impudentem
 qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus
 optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn.
 um detulerunt. ¹² Quod ut illi proprium ac perpe-

mplitudinem et ad gloriam. "For their elevation and glory." As
 and *gloria* are here nearly synonymous, the preposition
 eated in some editions before the latter. We follow Orelli.—
 "By the favour of Heaven."

For *tali*.—*In illius potestate.* "Under his control." Cicero
 at he will employ such moderation in speaking, as not, on the
 , to assert that Pompey is master of events, for such language
 offensive to the gods (*invisa diis immortalibus*); and, on the
 rely to make it apparent, that he has not forgotten the past
 of that commander, but regards them as an earnest of future
 for to forget them would be rank ingratitude against the
 who have thus far presided over his career.

sum prædicaturus. "I am not going vauntingly to state."
perarint. "Yielded to." *Obedire* denotes more of literal
 lute obedience than *obtemperare*, and is therefore used in the
 use, when speaking of enemies. *Obtemperare* is to obey the
 a command; as a son, for example, obeys a father. Compare
Cæcin. 18: "*Imperium domesticum nullum erit, si servulis nos-*
concesserimus, ut ad verba nobis obediant, non ad id quod ex
telligi possit obtemperent."

secundarint. "Favoured." Referring in particular to his rapidity
 g the pirates from the surface of the Mediterranean.

impudentem. "So presumptuous." *Tacitus.* "Even in un-
 l prayer."—*Detulerunt.* In many MSS. and early editions we
 ulerunt; but *detulerunt* expresses more of condescension and
 on the part of the gods.

et ut illi, &c. "And that this may be his peculiar and lasting
 , i. e. that these special favours may ever be vouchsafed unto
 proprium here implies, that no Roman commander has ever
 peculiarly favoured as Pompey; and the assembled people are
 l to pray, that these special acts of kindness, on the part of

tuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque iustum ipsius hominis causa (sicuti facitis) ¹ velle et debetis.

(49.) Quare cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut non possit : ita magnum, ut ² accuratissime sit admittendum : et cum ei imperatorem præficere possitis, in eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima augecchia fortuna : ³ dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc boni, quod vobis a diis immortalibus oblatum et datur rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam confidamus.

XVII. (50.) ⁴ Quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius perisset hoc tempore : tamen ad tantum bellum ⁵ is erigendus atque mittendus. ⁶ Nunc, cum ad ceteras salutares utilitates hæc quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui accipere statim possit : ⁷ quid exspectamus ? aut ci-

the gods, may be continued to him for the time to come, since it only prove a fresh source of honour and happiness to his country.

¹ *Velle et optare.* "To will and wish."

² *Accuratissime.* "With the utmost care."

³ *Dubitabitis, quin, &c.* "Will you hesitate, Romans, to engage in a great good as this." Many of the Oxford MSS. have *dubitate* the present tense is too strong here.

⁴ *Quod si.* "Even if then." *Quod*, in such cases as the premisses of a sentence, always refers to something going before and is not redundant, as some critics imagine. It is here the same as *propter quod*. Compare the remark of SCHUTZ (*Ind. Lat. s. v.*) : *ab initio periodi sæpe ponitur : sed semper refertur ad antecedens et transitioni servit.* Consult also PERIZONIUS, *ad Sanct. Min.* (vol. ii. ed. Bauer.)

⁵ *Is erat deligendus, &c.* "He ought to be selected," &c. In the consequent member of a conditional proposition, the past tense is frequently put in the indicative, to give more liveliness to the representation, although in the conditional clause the imperfect or perfect subjunctive has been used. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 327, *h. transl.*)

⁶ *Nunc cum, &c.* "Now, however, when to the other eminent advantages existing in his case, the following happy circumstance is further added, that he is present in those very districts," &c. By *locis* is meant Asia, the seat of the war. Pompey, having engaged in a piratical war, was engaged, at this time, in settling the affairs of the East and the adjacent countries, and in assigning habitations to the people who had surrendered.

⁷ *Quid exspectamus ?* "What wait we for?"—*Summa cum rei publicæ.* "With the greatest advantage to the state."—*Hoc regium.* "This war of the kings." Referring to Mithridates and Tigranes.

bus diis immortalibus, eidem, cui cetera summa cum rei publicæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium nittimus ?

1.) ⁸ At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicæ, ris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus; ¹⁰ item summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii itus, Q. Hortensius, ¹¹ ab hac ratione dissentiunt: ¹² quo ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum use, et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, si cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, et ratione exquirere possumus veritatem: atque hoc is, quod ea omnia, quæ a me adhuc dicta sunt, iidem vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse, et um, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. (52.) igitur ait Hortensius? "Si uni ¹³ omnia tribuenda

enim. Analogous to the Greek *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. In this combination, introduces a reason for the opposition, diversity, or objection to thing preceding, which is signified by *at*. Render: "But this, it you must not do, for," &c.

ris beneficiis amplissimis affectus. "And one who has been red with the most distinguished proofs of your regard." The n is to the famous Q. Lutatius Catulus. Consult Historical

enque summis, &c. "And likewise Quintus Hortensius possess- highest advantages that public honours, fortune, virtue, and can bestow." The allusion is to Q. Hortensius the celebrated

He had enjoyed the consulship, had amassed a large for- the legal profession, was a man of upright character, and a d and popular, though very showy, declaimer. Consult His- Index.

b hac ratione dissentiunt. "Differ from me in the view which I ken of this subject." Literally, "differ from this view of the ." Catulus and Hortensius led the opposition against the bill. t Introductory Remarks.

orum auctoritatem, &c. "I am willing to own that the au- of these individuals has exercised a very strong influence with many occasions, and ought so to do. In the present case, how- though you are well aware of the sentiments of the bravest and illustrious men, as being in direct opposition to theirs, still, authority on either side entirely out of the question, we can in the truth from the case itself, and from the dictates of reason." *toritates contrarie* are meant individuals who think with Cicero, ose character and standing are fully equal to those of Catulus ortensius.

omnia. "All things," i. e. unlimited power. The Manilian law ed, in effect, to invest Pompey with unlimited power against

sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium: sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere." Obsolevit jam ista oratio, ¹re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, ²pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra ³virum fortem A. Gabinium, ⁴graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra prædones constituendo legem promulgasset: et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. (53.) Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quam ipsius populi Romani salus et ⁵vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, prætores, quæstoresque ⁶capiebantur? cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu, et privato, et publico prohibebamur?

Mithridates and Tigranes. Compare the language of PLUTARCH (*Vie Pomp.* c. 30), in speaking of the provisions of the act: τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐπ' ἐνὶ συλλήβδην γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν.

¹ *Re.* "By facts." The allusion is to the proper use made by Pompey of the extensive power conferred upon him in the piratical war.

² *Pro tua summa copia, &c.* "With that rich fluency and eminent talent for speaking that are yours." The eloquence of Hortensius was of the class called Asiatic, being rather showy and declamatory than solid and powerful.

³ *Virum fortem A. Gabinium, &c.* Cicero calls Gabinus a courageous man from the spirit he displayed in carrying through his law amid the strenuous opposition of the senate. One of his colleagues in the tribuneship, L. Trebellius, interposed his veto, and assured the senate that he would rather lose his life than suffer the law to pass. Gabinus thereupon proposed to the people to deprive Trebellius of his magistracy, and the tribes having made great progress in voting upon this proposition, and the popular voice appearing decidedly against him, Trebellius became intimidated, and withdrew his intercession. An account of the whole proceeding is given by Dio Cassius, (36, 8, *scilicet*) and by Asconius, (*ad Cic. orat.* 1, *pro Cornelio*, p. 964,) from which it appears, that Trebellius persisted after seventeen tribes had declared against him, and only yielded when the eighteenth, which would have made a majority, were about to vote in the same manner.

⁴ *Graviter ornateque.* "Forcibly and eloquently." Compare note 6, page 250.

⁵ *Vera causa.* "The cause of truth," i. e. the true interests of the state.—*Teneremus.* "We would still retain."

⁶ *Capiebantur.* "Were frequently made captives," i. e. by the pirates.—*Commeatu.* "From supplies."

⁷ *Ut neque privatam rem, &c.* "That we could no longer transact any business, either of a private or a public nature, beyond the sea." The *res transmarinæ privatæ* refer to the private operations of the

ita clausa erant nobis maria omnia, ⁷ ut neque privatam
transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. (54.) Quæ civitas antea unquam fuit, ⁸ non dico
Atheniensium, quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur,
in ⁹ Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe maritimisque
bus valuerunt, non ¹⁰ Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram
memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quæ civitas
antea unquam ¹¹ tam tenuis, quæ tam parva insula fuit, quæ
in portus suos, et agros, et aliquam partem regionis atque
æ maritimæ per se ipsa defenderet? At hercle, ¹² aliquot an-
nos continuos ante ¹³ legem Gabiniam, ille populus Romanus,
jus, usque ad nostram memoriam, nomen invictum in na-
libus pugnis permanserat, ¹⁴ magna ac multo maxima parte
in modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit: (55.)
is, quorum majores ¹⁵ Antiochum regem classe ¹⁶ Persenque

man traders; the *publicæ*, to the revenues in the transmarine pro-
vinces.

⁸ *Non dico Atheniensium*, &c. "I do not say of the Athenians,
who are said to have held, in former days, a very wide dominion over
the sea."

⁹ *Carthaginiensium*. The orthography *Carthago* and *Carthaginienses*
more correct than *Karthago* and *Karthaginienses*. Consult *Rupertii*,
l. Sil. Ital. 1, 3, *var. lect.* [This is an error, but to avoid singularity
in the text, I have allowed the orthography to stand.]

¹⁰ *Rhodiorum*. The Rhodians were still celebrated for their naval skill
and discipline, and their former glory was still fresh in remembrance.

¹¹ *Tam tenuis*. "So feeble."—*Aliquam partem regionis*. "Some
portion at least of her territory."

¹² *Aliquot annos continuos*. "For several successive years."—*Invic-
ta*. "As ever associated with victory."

¹³ [Cn. Piso, M. Aulus Glabrio, Coss. Aulus Gabinus proposed:—
That the war with the pirates should be entrusted to one man
for three years. II. That the power of this commander should super-
cede all other authority. III. That he should have under him a cer-
tain number of lieutenants named by the senate.]

¹⁴ *Magna ac multo maxima*, &c. "Felt themselves deprived of a
great share, and by far the largest share, not only of their revenues, but
of their dignity and their empire. *Utilitatis*, more literally, "of what
might contribute to their advantage."

¹⁵ *Antiochum*. [This monarch was conquered in three successive
battles, Antiochus being defeated A.U.C. 563, at Thermopylæ by M.
Aulus Glabrio, A. Acilius, the Roman admiral off the island of Lesbos,
excepted and conquered the king's fleet. C. Livius, aided by Eu-
menes, king of Pergamus, defeated Polyxenidas, the king's admiral,
sinking thirteen ships and sinking ten; next year Polyxenidas was
defeated by Æmilius, at Corcyra, with the loss of forty-two ships.]

¹⁶ *Persenque*. No trace appears in history of any naval victory over

superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthagini homines ¹in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimos vicerunt, ²ii nullo in loco jam prædonibus pares esse mus: nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri salvos ³præstare poteramus: tum, cum insula Delos procul a nobis in Aegeo mari posita, ⁴quo omnes undique mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis sine muro, ⁵nihil timebat; ⁶iidem non modo provinciis oris Italiae maritimis, ac portibus nostris, sed etiam jam via carebamus; et his temporibus non pudebat m

Perses. After his defeat at Pydna, by Paulus Aemilius, he took refuge in the island of Samothrace, where he surrendered himself to the consul Cn. Octavius, who had been sent thither with a fleet by the same consul. A naval triumph was decreed to Octavius, but it was not to have been bestowed upon him for receiving Perses as his prisoner for any actual engagement; and hence Livy (45, 42) calls it, "*tantum sine captivis, sine spoliis.*" It is more than probable, however, that Cicero alludes to some actual conflict, an account of which does not come down to us. [Steinmetz cites from Livy, xlv. 42. *Cn. Octavius kalendis Decembribus* (A. 586), *de rege Perseo navalem triumphum*

¹ *In maritimis rebus, &c.* "Most experienced, and abundantly supplied with every thing requisite in maritime affairs."

² *Ii.* We have nothing in our own idiom analogous to the usage of *ii* for the first person. In rendering, we may consider *ii* equivalent here to *nos tales*, i. e. (*nos, tales, cum essemus,*) "We, though sprung," i. e. we, though descended from such fathers.

³ *Præstare poteramus.* "Could show forth to the world." *Præstare* is here equivalent to *exhibere* or *ostendere*.—*Tum, cum.* "In that time when."

⁴ *Quo omnes, &c.* The port of Delos was a convenient place for those who sailed from Italy or Greece to Asia.—*Referta* "Though filled to overflowing with riches." Literally, "crowded."

⁵ *Nihil timebat.* Because the Roman power was then what it was, and Delos relied securely on this for protection.

⁶ *Iidem, &c.* "We, that same people, were deprived of them, not only our provinces, and the whole sea-coast of Italy, and its harbours, but even now at length of the Appian way." The position of *jam*, in the latter member of this sentence, is equivalent here to *jam tandem*.

⁷ *Appia via.* This road led through Capua, to Brundisium (see Geographical Index.) The part of it which approached the city appears to have been infested by the pirates, who probably had their places on shore.

⁸ *In hunc ipsum locum.* Alluding to the rostra.—*Escendit* is an old form for *ascendere*. Grævius first gave this reading from his MSS., and he has been followed by Ernesti, Schütz, Ore

us populi Romani, ⁸ in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum um vobis majores vestri ⁹ exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis natum reliquissent!

XIX. (56.) ¹⁰ Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus omanus, et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere istimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis; sed tamen ¹¹ in salute comuni idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit, quam auctoritati vestræ obtemperare. Itaque ¹² una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberit: sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. (57.) ¹³ Quo

here. The orator may purposely have used the old form here, to all early times to the minds of his hearers, and show how the manners of the latter day to which he alludes (*his temporibus*) had degenerated from the practice of their fathers.

⁹ *Exuviis nauticis*, &c. "Adorned with naval trophies and the spoils of fleets." The *rostra* was adorned with the beaks (*rostris*) of ships taken in early times from the Antiates. Consult *Liv.* 8, 14, and note 2, page 208.

¹⁰ *Bono animo*. "In the sincerity of your heart," i. e. with a fair and honest intention. Cicero alludes to the opposition made by Hortensius and others to the passing of the Gabinian law, he allows them the utmost sincerity in their opposition, but adds, that the Roman people, though fully aware of the honesty of their intentions in endeavouring to defeat that law, took the true view of the case and rejected it. And so (this is the tacit inference to be drawn from what he says) will they again act on the present occasion. [Hortensius and Cælius had gained over two tribunes, Trebellius and Roscius, to give their veto on the law. Gabinius proposed to degrade Trebellius from his tribunate, thus imitating the example of Gracchus against Tiberius. See note 3, page 258.]

¹¹ *In salute communi*. "In a case involving the common safety."—*Dolori suo*. "Their own feelings of indignant grief." *Dolor*, in its primitive signification, means the smart attendant upon a wound. It comes, therefore, a very strong term, when applied, in a figurative sense, to the moral feelings.

¹² *Una lex*. The Gabinian law.—*Unus vir*. Pompey.—*Unus annus*, i. e. 686, the year previous to that in which this oration was delivered. Cicero does not of course, mean that it took the entire year to bring out the change alluded to, but that a single year saw the power of the pirates at its height, and that same power annihilated by Pompey.

¹³ *Quo mihi*, &c. On which account it appears to me even the more worthy, that opposition should have been hitherto made, shall I say to Gabinius, or to Pompeius, or to both of them? (which is nearer the truth,) in order that Aulus Gabinius might not be appointed a lieutenant to Cneius Pompeius, though earnestly desiring, and in fact demanding him for one." [The senate, in order to disappoint the private

mihi etiam indignius videtur obtreectatum esse ad huc, Gabinio dicam, anne Pompeio, an utrique? (id quod est verius;). ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, cum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an ipso, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta

views of Gabinius, refused to nominate him among the fifteen who were chosen to accompany Pompey.] The transaction to which Cicero here alludes was simply this. Aulus Gabinius procures a law to be passed, investing Pompey with supreme command. When the latter obtains this appointment he wishes to have Gabinius as one of his lieutenants, but meets with so decided an opposition as to be compelled to abandon the idea. Cicero complains of this opposition to Pompey's wishes, and insists, that Gabinius ought to be preferred to every other individual. It must be evident to any one, who will take the trouble of reflecting only a moment on the subject, that the opposition to Gabinius was perfectly proper, and that Cicero does himself very little credit by the course which he takes in relation to it. The whole affair had too much the appearance of a corrupt transaction, a mere matter of bargaining and sale, and the precedent would have been a dangerous one for the interests of the state, and the purity of legislation. Gabinius was, in fact, a man of infamous character; and it is amusing to see how easily-sighted Cicero subsequently became, respecting the merits and standing of this individual. In the speech delivered by the Roman orator before the senate, after his return from banishment, he paints the character of Gabinius in the strongest and most revolting colours. He describes him as a man polluted by every excess; as one, whose only refuge from imprisonment, for numerous debts, was the inviolability of his person as tribune. He alludes also to the law which this man, Gabinius had procured, respecting the appointment of Pompey against the pirates, and then adds, that, had he not caused this law to be passed, his own necessities would have driven him to turn pirate himself. And yet this is the very man, whom Cicero, certainly with a full knowledge of his character, recommends to the notice and approbation of his countrymen!

¹ *Ceteri*. "Your other commanders."—*Ad expilandos socios*, &c. Cicero knew perfectly well, notwithstanding all that he says here, that Gabinius, if an opportunity should offer, would do the very same things which are here condemned.

² *Ipsa*. Referring to Gabinius.—*Constitutum est*. "Have been placed on a sure basis."

³ *Qui consilio ipsius*, &c. "Who have been called into action by his own counsels, and at his own individual risk." Literally, "who have been appointed," or "set on foot." *Periculo*. Because, if anything adverse should befall Pompey, the blame would fall on Gabinius.

⁴ *Honoris causa*. "With the utmost respect." *Honoris causa* was

st, expers esse debet gloriæ imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, ³ qui consilio ipsius atque periculo est constitutus? 58.) An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius Latiniensis, M. Lentulus, quos omnes ⁴ honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni plebis fuissent, ⁵ anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, neminem ⁷ per vos ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse deberet? ⁸ de quo legando spero consules ad senatum rela-

sequently means, "out of respect," and is then equivalent to *honorandi causa*.

³ *Anno proximo*. No one, who had been a tribune of the commons, could fill the office of lieutenant under a general appointed to a command during the magistracy of the former, until a year had elapsed since the period of his retiring from the tribuneship. The object of this regulation was to prevent bribery and intrigue. Cicero, however, has some instances here of a violation of this rule, and of ex-tribunes having been appointed lieutenants the very next year after they had laid down their tribuneships.

⁴ *In hoc uno Gabinio, &c.* "Are people so scrupulous in the case of this Gabinus alone, who, as far as regards this war, which is waged in accordance with a law of his own proposing, as far as regards this commander and army, whom he himself has called into action through our suffrages, ought to enjoy even an especial right of being appointed?" i. e. ought to be preferred to all other applicants. From the language of Plutarch, and the provisions of the Gabinian law, it would appear that Pompey had the right to select his own lieutenants. If, so is opposition to Gabinus must have been grounded on the previously existing Æbutian law, and the infamy of his private character must have made this opposition the more formidable. The Æbutian, which appears to have been the same with the Licinian law, forbade the proposal of a law, concerning any charge or power, assuming that charge or power, or deriving any advantage from it. The same prohibition was extended also to his colleagues, relations, &c. The principle on which this law was founded, is very neatly stated by CICERO (*Agr.* 2, 8, *et Rull.*): "*Etenim, si populo consulis, remove te a suspicione alicujus tui omnimodi: fac fidem, te nihil, nisi populi utilitatem et fructum querere: sine ad alios potestatem, ad te gratiam beneficii tui pervenire.*"

⁷ *Per vos ipse*. Gruter first proposed this reading from two MSS., and it has been adopted by Grævius, Beck, Shütz, and many other editors. Ernesti, however, retains the common lection, *per se ipse*, making *per se* refer to the law which Gabinus proposed and exerted himself to have passed. He doubts the Latinity of *per vos* in connection with *ipse*; but this is, in fact, the very language required by the occasion, *ipse* referring to the individual exertions of Gabinus, and *per vos* to their being crowned with success by the suffrages of the people.

⁸ *De quo legando, &c.* "I hope the consuls will consult the senate

turos. Qui si dubitabunt, ¹ aut gravabuntur, ² ego profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cujusquam, (³ inimicum edictum, quo minus, fretus vobis, vest beneficiumque defendam: neque, ⁴ præter interces quidquam audiam; de qua (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, nantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabun quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinus, belli rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio ⁵ socius adscribitur terea quod ⁶ alter uni id bellum suscipiendum vestri giis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

relative to his appointment as lieutenant," i. e. will lay the matter before them, and get that body to interpose their authentication to the appointment. The consuls of this year were Lælius Volcatius Tullus. (Consult SIGONIUS, *Fast. Cons.* p. 480, ed. 1609.)

¹ *Aut gravabuntur.* "Or shall raise any difficulties." *Gravari* here used in a deponent sense.

² *Ego memet profiteor relaturum.* "I openly declare that I will lay the matter before them." In place of the common *me*, we have given *memet* on the suggestion of Goerenz, *Ad* (1872), 16. Nothing could be laid before the senate against the consuls. The prætors, of which class of magistrates Cicero was at this time a member, could only convene the senate when they were absent from the city, and could at these times only lay matters before them as they pleased. It will be perceived, therefore, that the language of Cicero, on the present occasion, partakes of that of a mere boast, and is intended to conciliate the favour of the consuls. He declares, that, if the consuls hold back, he himself will make the requisite application to the senate, in spite of them and of a *cum edictum* which they make in order to stop him; and that notwithstanding the short of the intercession of the tribunes would keep him back. Cicero knew very well, however, that the consuls had the power to rest

³ *Inimicum edictum.* "The unfriendly edict," i. e. on the part of the consuls, and aimed at his intended motion in the senate.—*Vest beneficiumque.* "The right and the favour which you have conferred." The Gabinian law gave Pompey the right of selecting his own tenants. (Consult note 13, page 261.) By *beneficium* is meant that of favour which the granting of this right implied.

⁴ *Præter intercessionem.* "Short of intercession," i. e. the tribunes' veto.—*De qua.* Referring to this intercession.—*Quid liceat considerabunt.* "Will do well to consider how far their power may go." i. e. will take care, if they value their own tranquillity, not to exceed the power vested in them by the laws. [It is a mistake to confine *intercessio* to the tribunes only; "*intercedendi, ne senatus consultum fieret, jus fuisse iis solis, qui eadem potestate, quâ ii, qui senatus consultum facere vellent, majoreve essent.*"]

⁵ *Socius adscribitur.* "Is a fit person to be added as a com-arms to Pompey." *Adscribitur* is here equivalent to *dignus adscribitur*.

X. (59.) RELIQUUM est ⁷ ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et entia dicendum esse videatur; qui cum ex vobis quæres⁸ si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid de eo im esset, in quo spem essetis habituri; ⁹ cepit magnum virtutis fructum, ac dignitatis, cum omnes, prope una, “in ipso vos spem habituros esse” dixistis. Etenim is est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam non ¹¹ et consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute cere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo ¹² vehementissime ntio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus

Alter. Referring to Gabinus.—*Un.* “To a particular commander.”—*Alter.* “That commander.” Literally, “the other.”

It dicendum esse videatur. Cicero appears to adopt this phrase on purpose here, as if the arguments of Catulus, on the present ion, seemed to him too weak to require a formal and laboured tion.

It in uno Cn. Pompeio, &c. “In what person, if you made all expectations centre in Cneius Pompeius, were you going to place hope, in case aught should befall him.” The expression, *si quid de eum esset*, is a euphemism, for “in case he should die.” The mention of death is omitted as ill-omened. We have restored, the old reading, with Heumannus, Matthiæ, and others. The n adopted by most editors, from the time of Lambinus, is *si quid tum esset*, omitting *de*.

Cepit magnum, &c. “Reaped the rich harvest of his own virtues high standing.”—*In ipso.* “In himself.” The anecdote here ed to is a very pleasing one. In an oration to the people, during discussion on the Gabinian law, Catulus asked them whom they l have to supply Pompey’s place, in case that individual should t off. The people exclaimed with almost one accord, “*Te Quinte a.*” “You, Quintus Catulus.” And thus the Roman people, as ius Maximus remarks, made Catulus the equal of Pompey and of glory. (VAL. MAX. 8, 15, 9.) Catulus, it seems, according to reh’s account, was arguing against the propriety of investing ey with the command in the piratical war, on the ground that eople ought to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so dangers. *Vit. Pomp. c. 25.*) The common text has *in eo ipso*. everal MSS. omit *eo*, and besides, as Lambinus and Matthiæ tly remark, it would refer to Pompey, not to Catulus. It is ed in consequence, by Lambinus, Weiske, and Matthiæ, and ed within brackets by Orellius.

talis est vir, &c. This praise was as richly deserved by Catulus, as seems to have been sincere in bestowing it. Compare *De Off.*

“*Mihi quidem neque, pueris nobis, M. Scaurus C. Mario, neque, rearemur in re publica, Q. Catulus Cn. Pompeio cedere videbatur.*”

et consilio regere, &c. “Both direct by his counsels, and support integrity, and accomplish by his valour.”

Vehementissime dissentio. Compare note 9, above.—*Quo minus*

diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vita atque virtute.—(60.) ¹ At enim nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—‘Non dico hoc loco, majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: ² non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniense, ab ⁴ uno imperatore esse confecta: duas urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: ⁵ non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum

certa, &c. “The more uncertain and brief that human life is.”—*Pro summi hominis, &c.* “To avail itself of the days and talents of a distinguished individual.” More freely, “to avail itself of the talents of a great man, as long as his life is spared to his country.”

¹ *At enim, &c.* The elliptical use of *at enim* here may best be explained by a paraphrase: “*But,*” remarks Catulus, “this whole proceeding is an improper one, *for* let no innovation be made, contrary to the precedents and institutions of our fathers.” Cicero proceeds to meet an objection urged by Catulus, that it was not right for the state to be dependent upon, and to have all its hopes centred in, a single individual. He cites, in opposition to this doctrine, the examples of Scipio the younger, and Marius.

² *Non dico hoc loco, &c.* “I urge not in reply here, that our fathers always consulted in peace established usage, in war utility; that they always adapted new plans to new emergencies.” *Novorum consiliorum rationes*, literally, “the plans of new counsels,” i. e. new plans which had been made the subject of previous deliberation.

³ *Non dicam, &c.* “I will not say, how two very important wars,” &c. Cicero will not dwell on these points, or make any formal reply. It is sufficient merely to glance at them.—*Punicum.* The third Punic war.—*Hispaniense.* The war with Numantia.

⁴ *Uno imperatore.* The younger Scipio.

⁵ *Non commemorabo, &c.* “I will not remind you, that, but a few years ago, this course appeared a proper one to you and your fathers, that the hopes of the empire should be made to centre in the single person of Caius Marius; that this same individual,” &c.

⁶ *In ipso Cn. Pompeio, &c.* “Recall to your recollections, how many things of a novel nature have been done by you, with the full approbation of Quintus Catulus, in the case of that same Cneius Pompeius, with regard to whom Quintus Catulus now wishes nothing of a novel nature to be adopted,” i. e. how many innovations on established usage, &c. These are enumerated immediately after.

⁷ *Summa Q. Catuli voluntate.* This is the very neat emendation of Grævius from one of his MSS. The old reading was *summaque Catuli*

Teutonis bellum administraret: (61.) ⁶ in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova ⁷ summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

XXI. Quid ⁸ enim tam novum, quam ⁹ adolescentulum, privatum, exercitum difficili rei publicæ tempore ¹⁰ conficere? —confecit:—huic præesse?—præfuit:—rem ¹¹ optime ductu suo gerere?—gessit. Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam homini peradolescenti, ¹² cujus a senatorio gradu ætas longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari? Siciliam permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum ¹³ confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam ¹⁴ equitem

voluntate. The prænomen Q. is often changed, in the MSS., into the conjunction *que*. The connective is not wanted here.

⁸ *Enim.* Referring to what immediately precedes (*quam multa sint nova, &c.*), and therefore very unnecessarily bracketed by some editors.

⁹ *Adolescentulum.* Pompey was, at the time here alluded to, in the twenty-third year of his age. Compare note 3, page 236.—*Privatum.*

¹⁰ *Holding no official station.* [Pompey had rendered numerous services to the aristocracy. He gained the popular favour by promising the restoration of the tribunitian power, and reform in the courts of justice; both which he effected in his consulship. The latter by the *lex Aurelia*. (See ARN. vol. i. 288.)]

¹¹ *Conficere.* "To levy." More literally, "to get together." The allusion in the text is to Pompey's levying an army, and marching with it to the aid of Sylla. Compare note 3, page 236.

¹² *Optime.* "Most successfully."—*Ductu suo.* "Under his own guidance," i. e. in person. When a Roman commander performed any thing in person, he was said to do it *ductu*, or *auspicio suo*.

¹³ *Cujus a senatorio gradu, &c.* The senatorial age appears to have been about thirty-two. (Consult the remarks of ERNESTI, *Ind. Leg. v. Annales*.) That is, the age for enjoying the quæstorship was about thirty-one, and, after having held this office, a person was eligible into the senate. Pompey, therefore, was about eight years under the senatorial age. Plutarch informs us that Pompey, at the time alluded to by Cicero, might have easily, as a matter of favour, been admitted into the senate, but that his ambition was to pursue honour in a more common track, and to triumph before he was a senator. (*Vit. Pomp. c. 14.*)

¹⁴ *Confecit.* "He terminated."—*Deportavit.* "He brought home." *Deportare* properly denotes, "to remove," or "transfer, from one place to another," as, in the present instance, from Africa to Italy.

¹⁵ *Equitem Romanum triumphare.* Plutarch states, that Sylla at first opposed Pompey's demand for a triumph, on this occasion, alleging that he was too young, and not yet of an age to be admitted into the

Romanum triumphare? ¹ At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed etiam studio omni visendi et concelebrandam putavit. (62.) Quid tam inusitatum quam ut, cum ² duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimus pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore cum esset ³ nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret, "Non oportet mitti hominem privatum 'pro consule,'" ⁴ L. Philippus didicitur, "Non se illum sua sententia pro consule sed consulibus mittere." Tanta in eo rei publicæ bene gerendæ spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius lescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut, ex senatusconsulto ⁵ legibus solutus, consul ante factus quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuit

senate. Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade Sylla command "that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun," intimating that his own power was increasing, while that of Sylla was on decline. Sylla did not distinctly hear what he said, but perceived from the looks and gestures of those present, that they were struck by what Pompey had uttered, he asked what it was, and, when he was informed, in admiration of Pompey's spirit, he cried out, "Let him triumph, let him triumph."

¹ *At eam quoque rem, &c.* In Cicero's account of this triumph mention whatever is made of any decree of the senate, or order of the people to that effect. The reason is this: Sylla, being dictator, had all the power of the state in his own hands, and awarded honours without consulting either senate or people.

² *Duo consules.* D. Junius Brutus and M. Æmilius Lepidus, A.U.C. 676.—*Bellum maximum; &c.* The war against Sertorius.

³ *Nonnemo.* "An individual." The student will note the difference between *nonnemo* and *nemo non*; the former being equivalent to *aliquis*, the latter to *omnes*.

⁴ *Pro consule.* "In place of a consul," i. e. with proconsular powers. The expression *pro consule*, or *proconsul*, was applied, among the Romans, not merely to one who, after having filled the consulship, was sent out, the next year, to govern a province or execute some particular charge; but, as in the present instance, to one sent in the place of a consul.

⁵ *L. Philippus.* A senator of great influence and weight of character.—*Pro consulibus.* Intimating, by this peculiar turn of expression, the opinion of the incapacity of both the consuls for that year. The consuls were M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus; A.U.C. 675.

⁶ *Legibus solutus.* The laws here referred to were the *Lex Villia Annalis* and two of the *Leges Corneliae*. They were often called by a general term *Leges Annales*, from their fixing the ages for holding the different offices in the state. Thus, the quaestorship could not be enjoyed until one had reached the age of 31 years, the ædileship 37, prætorship

quid tam incredibile, quam ut ⁷ iterum eques Romanus ⁸ ex senatusconsulto triumpharet? ⁹ quæ in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam hæc, quæ in hoc uno homine vidimus. (63.) Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, ¹⁰ profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

* XXII. QUARE videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem ¹¹ de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis improbatam semper esse: vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium, populi que Romani auctoritatem improbari: præsertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui ¹² dissentiant, possit defendere: propterea quod, iisdem istis recla-

and consulship 43. Such, at least, was the rule in Cicero's time. (FERRATIUS, *Index Legum*, s. v. *Annales*.) Now, Pompey was elected consul before he was full 36 years old, that is, before he was of sufficient age to obtain the ædileship, which was the first office properly called *magistratus*, although that title is often applied also to the questorship and tribuneship. Ferratius explains the words *ante quam alium magistratum*, &c., in a different manner. He supposes, that there was either an old law, revived by Sylla, or else a new one passed by him, which enacted, that no one who had not filled the office of questor could be a candidate for any other and higher office; and that, as Pompey had never been quæstor, he was, of course, legally excluded from the consulship. Cicero's words, however, by no means favour this interpretation. What, in such an event, becomes of *ante quam*?

⁷ *Iterum*. Alluding to Pompey's second triumph, which was granted him for his successes over the remains of the army of Sertorius, in Spain, after the death of that commander.

⁸ *Ex senatusconsulto*. Sylla had overthrown the tribunitian power, and, in consequence of this, the whole administration of the state, for some time after his death, centred in the senate. Hence, at the period referred to in the text, this order, and not the people, had the right of granting a triumph.

⁹ *Quæ in omnibus hominibus*, &c. "Whatever precedents of a novel nature have been established in the case of all men, within human remembrance," &c.

¹⁰ *Profecta sunt in eundem hominem*, &c. "Have taken their rise, for the same individual, from the express recommendation of Quintus Catulus," &c., i. e. have been established in favour of Pompey by the very recommendation of Catulus, &c.

¹¹ *De Cn. Pompeii dignitate*. "Concerning the elevation of Cneius Pompeius," i. e. his advancement in the state, and to public and consular honours.

¹² *Dissentiant*. We have adopted Ernesti's conjecture. The common

mantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædonum præponeretis. (64.) Hoc si vos ¹ temere fecistis, et rei publicæ parum consulistis; recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur: ² sin autem vos plus tum ³ in re publica vidistis; vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis: aliquando isti principes, et sibi, et ceteris, populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. [Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio, non solum ⁴ militaris illa virtus, quæ est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliæ quoque virtutes animi multæ et magnæ requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria, regnisque ⁵ interiorum nationum ⁶ ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, nisi de hoste ac de laude, cogitet. Deinde etiam ⁷ si qui sunt pudore ac tem-

text has *dissentiunt*.—*Iisdem istis reclamantibus*. Hortensius, Catulus, and other senators, had likewise opposed the Gabinian law. We give *iisdem* before *istis*, with Matthiæ and Orellius, from several MSS. It does not appear in the common text.

¹ *Temere*. “Rashly.”—*Studia vestra suis consiliis regere*. “To regulate your wishes by their counsels,” i. e. to interpose their authority and advice, and prevent you from blindly following the mere impulse of feeling, and from listening to the dictates of personal attachment, when these are in opposition to the public good.

² *Sin autem vos*, &c. “But if, on the contrary, you saw more clearly, on that occasion, than they did, what was for the interest of the state; if you, notwithstanding their opposition, did, by your own unaided efforts, bestow dignity upon this empire, and safety upon the world; let those leaders of the senate at length acknowledge, that both they, and the rest of their order, must yield obedience to the recommendation of the Roman people at large,” i. e. must not oppose the advancement of that individual whom the Roman people, with one voice, recommended as worthy of the highest honours.

³ *In re publica*. Literally, “in what concerned the republic.”—*Per vosmet ipsos*. The allusion is to the suffrages of the people, as unbiassed by the high standing of those who opposed the Gabinian law, and in opposition to their advice.—*Isti principes*. “Let those leaders of the senate.”

⁴ *Militaris illa virtus*, &c. “That military talent, which exists in a singular degree in Cneius Pompeius.”—*Virtutes animi*. “Qualities of mind.”

⁵ *Interiorum nationum*. “Of the more inland nations,” i. e. of the nations that are removed from the shores of the Mediterranean, and do not, like the countries just named, border upon them.

⁶ *Ita versari vestrum imperatorem*, &c. “For a commander of yours to so conduct himself, as to think of nothing but the foe and renown.” Cicero means, that, in countries at a distance from Italy, and from

perantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum, nemo arbitratur. (65.) Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterarum nationes, propter eorum, ⁸ quos ad eas per hos annos sum imperio misimus, ⁹ injurias ac libidines. ¹⁰ Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ ¹¹ requiruntur, quibus causa belli, propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. (66.) ¹² Libenter hæc coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera: vident eorum calamitates: querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an, ¹³ hostium simulatione, contra socios atque amicos? quæ civitas est in Asia, ¹⁴ quæ non

which, of course, complaints could less easily be brought to Rome, the temptation was a very strong one for Roman commanders to abuse their power, and turn their thoughts from the path of duty to views of self-interest and the indulgence of a rapacious spirit.

⁸ *Si qui sunt*, &c. "If there be any held under more restraint than others, by a sense of shame and a habit of self-control, no one thinks that they are really such, in consequence of the vast number of the rapacious," i. e. no one gives them credit for being sincere. A rapacious spirit is so sure a mark of a Roman commander, that, when one is found without it, he is merely thought to be acting an insincere part, and laying claim to a purity and disinterestedness which he does not really possess.

⁹ *Quos ad eas*, &c. Alluding particularly to Glabrio, but applicable in fact to the conduct of almost all the Roman proconsuls and governors of provinces, at this particular period.

¹⁰ *Injurias ac libidines*. "The oppressive conduct and libidinous excesses."

¹¹ *Quod enim fanum*, &c. "For what temple, think you, in those lands, has preserved its religious character in the eyes of our magistrates; what city has been held sacred by them? what private dwelling has been sufficiently closed upon, and defended against, their violence?"

¹² *Requiruntur*. "Are sought for." — *Quibus causa belli inferatur*. "Against which some pretext for war may be alleged."

¹³ *Libenter hæc coram*, &c. "Willingly would I enter upon an open discussion of these topics," &c.—*Querimonias audiunt*. Especially Hortensius, in his professional capacity.

¹⁴ *Hostium simulatione*. "Under the pretence of acting against enemies, but in reality against allies and friends."

¹⁵ *Quæ non modo imperatoris*, &c. "That can satisfy the grasping avidity, and the insolent pretensions, not merely of a commander, or a

Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. (67.) ³ Ecquam civitatem pacatam fuisse, quæ locuples sit? ecqu locupletem, quæ istis pacata esse videatur? Ora n Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam re ⁴ Videbat enim populum Romanum non locuplet tannis pecunia publica, ⁵ præter paucos; neque n

lieutenant, but of a single tribune of the soldiers?" There military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) in every legion, and they the charge of ten centuries.

¹ *Collatis signis*. "When an engagement takes place." *Signis* "to advance against the foe;" *conferre*, "to engage;" *conversum* "face about;" *referre*, "to retreat," &c.

² *Nisi erit idem*. "Unless he shall also be one."—*Ab auribus regia*. "From the gold and the treasures of kings."

³ *Ecquam putatis*, &c. "Think you that any state has been by our commanders, and still remains opulent; that there is still opulent, which appears to them to be as yet completely subjugated, i. e. complete subjugation to the Roman arms only begins when the thing like opulence ends. As long as wealth remains, so long commanders of Rome consider a state hostile, and make this for plunder.

⁴ *Videbat enim*, &c. "For it saw that the Roman people at Rome was not enriched from year to year by the public money, but only by individuals." *Videbat* refers to *ora maritima*. The old edition had *populus Romanus*, which is approved of by Gronovius (*De P. R.* 4), and retained by Grævius. Gruter and others, howe

quam aliud assequi ⁶ classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, ⁷qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus, proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non ⁸cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis ⁹ritibus, magnum esse videamus. (68.) ⁹Quare nolite dubitare. ¹⁰quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui ¹⁰inter annos tot unus eventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse padeant.] ¹¹Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis: est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius: cujus tantæ res gestæ terra marique exstiterunt, ut, cum ¹²de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat: est ¹³C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo

we here meant the bribes given to those in office, and to influential individuals out of office, and also to different persons throughout the tribes, for the purpose of obtaining some foreign command. The only way the individual had of reimbursing himself for these heavy expenses was by plundering and despoiling his province. (GRONOV. *de Fide Vet.* 4, 4.) Ernesti (*Clav. Cic.* a. v.) makes *conditio* equivalent here to *largitio*, an actual largess or present. It refers rather to a bargain agreement, to be fulfilled at some future period, and for the performance of which regular security is given; or, as Gronovius (l. c.) explains it: "*pactio, cautionibus et syngraphis facta.*"

⁶ *Cum suis virtutibus*, &c. "As well by his own virtues, as by the contrast also of the vices of others."

⁷ *Quare nolite*, &c. "Do not then hesitate to entrust," &c.

¹⁰ *Inter annos tot*. "For so many years." Equivalent to *per tot annos*. Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "*Inter tot annos est per tot annos, quod est et in Orat. Quintiana, nec esse debet Latinis auribus audire et Grævio visum est.*"—Schottus conjectured *inter tot* with an ellipsis of *imperatores*, throwing out, at the same time, *annos* from the text. This conjecture meets with the approbation of Grævius; but the ellipsis is a very harsh one, and is justly condemned by Ernesti.

¹¹ *Quod si auctoritatibus*, &c. "But if you think that this step needs to be supported by authorities, you have, as an adviser of the measure, Publius Servilius," &c. The individual here meant was P. Servilius Isauricus, who had been consul A.U.C. 674. He was sent against the Isauri after the defeat of the prætor Antonius, and was successful in several engagements with them. For his victories over the Isauri, a mountaineer race of Pisidia, he obtained the cognomen of Isauricus. Servilius had spoken before Cicero in favour of the law.

¹² *De bello*. "On any thing relating to war."—*Auctor vobis*, &c. "No one ought to be regarded by you as weightier authority."

¹³ *C. Curio*. C. Scribonius Curio, who had enjoyed the consulship, A.U. 677. His colleague was Cn. Octavius.—*Summis vestris beneficiis*,

ingenio et prudentia præditus: est ¹Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summam consilii summam gravitatem esse cognovistis: est ²C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. ³Quare videte, quæ horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui disceptationem respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. (69.) Quæ cum ita sint, O. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam laudo, mentissimæque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut, si quid populo Romano, maneat in sententia, neve cuiusquam aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi, perseverantiaque arbitror: deinde cum tantam multitudinem

&c. "Distinguished by your signal favours, and his own very glorious exploits, his distinguished abilities and wisdom. *Consult the Historical Index.*

¹ Cn. Lentulus. Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, consul A.U.C. 681. *In quo omnes, &c.* "In whom you all know the highest wisdom, the solid merit to exist, in full accordance with the very ample honour which he has received at your hands."

² C. Cassius. C. Cassius Varus, consul A.U.C. 680.

³ Quare videte, &c. "See then, whether we appear to have it not power to reply by means of these authorities to the remarks of those who differ in opinion from us." The whole sentence is ironical, as had editors generally borne this in mind, the difficulty under which they have laboured, as regards the true reading, would never have occurred. Gruter has given, for example, *videte, ut . . . videmus* from some MSS. and early editions, which Ernesti condemns very properly, but cannot, at the same time, see much to be pleased with *videte, num . . . videamur*, on account of the negative sense, while it appears to him to contain in common with Gruter's reading, as if it implied that the advocates of the law were not able to answer the opponents. The truth is, he does not see the ironical meaning of Cicero's words and the idea in fact conveyed by them, that the favourers of the law are fully able to reply. Compare the explanation of SCHUTZ: "*Sensus est cum ironia: cogitate, quæso, num horum auctoritates recte illis opponere posse videamur; h. e. sine dubio possumus.*" The reading we have adopted appears in some of the MSS. and early editions. [Orrelli reads *ut* for *num*.]

⁴ Istam tuam et legem, &c. "Both that law, and purpose, are of opinion of thine." *Voluntas.* The wish to have Pompey sent to the war. *Sententia.* The high opinion which he entertains of that commander's fitness for the present emergency.

⁵ Auctore populo Romano. "Since you have the Roman people on your side." *Auctor* is used here somewhat in the sense of *defensor*. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v. § 10*: "*Defensor quicumque, alicujus rem causamque gerit.*"

⁶ Perseverantia. This is the reading brought in by Gruter, from MSS. The earlier lection was *constantia*.

quo studio adesse videamus, ⁷ quantam nunc iterum
 eum homine præficiendo videmus: ⁸ quid est, quod
 re, aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego
 quidquid in me est ¹⁰ studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii,
 et ¹¹ hoc beneficio populi Romani, atque hac potestate
 et, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum; id
 et hanc rem conficiendam, tibi et populo Romano
 et ac defero. (70.) Testorque omnes deos, et eos
 et, ¹² qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium
 eorum, ¹³ qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime per-
 et me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, ¹⁴ neque quo
 Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem,

etam nunc iterum, &c. Most MSS., and all the editions before
 Grævius, together with that of Olivet, subsequent to his, have
non iterum vidimus; which makes no good meaning at
 all. The more concise language of Ernesti, "*sine sensu est.*"
 and reading was first given by Grævius, from good MSS. and
 at his time been very generally adopted, the only remarkable
 of deviation from it being in the case of Olivet. Grævius
 that, in one of his MSS., the words from *quantam* to *videmus*
 omitted, from which circumstance he was induced to think that
 after all, they were a mere interpolation.

dem homine præficiendo. "In appointing the same individual
 and."

est, quod, &c. "Why should we doubt either of the propriety
 we are seeking to obtain, or of our means of obtaining it?"
 should we doubt either the justice or success of our proposi-
 et re. Literally, "about the thing itself."

ii, consilii, &c. "Of zeal, of experience, of application, of talent."
beneficio populi Romani. "By means of this kindness on the
 the Roman people towards me, and this authority as prætor
 at present enjoy." *Beneficio* refers to what immediately follows,
 I have been elected, namely, to the office of prætor.

huic loco, &c. "Who preside over this spot, and the conse-
 quence where I am now standing." By *loco* is meant the forum,
 immediate vicinity of which were many temples, such as those
 of *Castor, Concord, &c.*—The term *templo* refers to the rostra,
 which Cicero was speaking. Among the Romans, every place
 dedicated by the augurs was entitled to the appellation of *templum*.
L. L. 6, 2.) Compare *Cic. in Vatin. c. 10*: "*In rostris, in illo,*
inaugurato templo ac loco." So also, *Livy 8, 14*: "*Rostraque*
temple appellatum."

ad rem publicam adeunt. "Who take part in public affairs."
ne quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam, &c. As Cicero was now in the
 flower of his fortunes, and in sight, as it were, of the consulship,
 and object of his ambition, it was very natural for many to suppose,
 that his conduct on this occasion was governed by interested views,
 and that he sought to facilitate his own advancement, by paying court

neque quo mihi ¹ ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut præ periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus quæram : propterea q pericula facile, ² ut hominem præstare oportet, innocen tecti repellemus : honores autem neque ab uno, neque hoc loco, sed eadem nostra illa laboriosissima ³ ratione v si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. (71) Quamobi quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id o me rei publicæ causa suscepisse confirmo : tantumque ab ut ⁴ aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæsisse videar, ut mu etiam similtates partim obscuras, partim apertas intellig ⁵ mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles, suscepisse. Sed me ⁶ hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affect statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem, et rei publicæ di tatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, meis omni commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.

to Pompey's power. He here solemnly denies the truth of the allega The opinion of modern times, however, is in general unfavourab his sincerity.

¹ *Ex cujusquam amplitudine.* "From the elevated standing of individual."

² *Ut hominem præstare oportet.* "As a man ought to do."—*Innoc tecti.* "Shielded by innocence."

³ *Ratione vitæ.* "Course of life."—*Si vestra voluntas feret.* "If inclinations shall lead you still to favour it," i. e. if your kind w shall still prompt you to favour my endeavours.

⁴ *Aliquam bonam gratiam.* "Any favourable influence with oth —*Similtates.* "Enmities."

⁵ *Mihi non necessarias, &c.* By pursuing his present course, C might make enemies of Lucullus and his friends, and irritate all opponents of Pompey. Labouring, as he did, under no necessi acting in this way, his doing so notwithstanding becomes a sure j of his sincerity. The public good also, as he insinuates, may b vanced by his present line of conduct, since some inquiries and ac tions may possibly follow.

⁶ *Hoc honore.* Alluding to the prætorship.—*Meis omnibus com et rationibus.* "To all my interests and views of advantage."

EXCURSUS ON THE CILICIAN PIRATES.

(From *Merivale*, vol. ii.)

The great traffic which flourished for centuries between G Egypt, and Syria, presented peculiar temptation to the habi piracy ; which seem to have prevailed in those seas from the ea

The father of history traces the origin of European and Asiatic to the predatory enterprises of lawless adventurers. Such is the natural configuration of the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, with the intermediate islands, that this plague of piracy has been thoroughly eradicated from the waters which flow about the sea-line of either continent is broken by innumerable bays and straits, and bristles with projecting headlands: in such regions the art of navigation requires the aid of peculiar local knowledge. The interior of the country is also generally difficult of access: pre-mountain ranges alternate with deep vallies; now and then only a narrow passage is opened by a river of more than usual volume. The population of the interior congregated, even in the best times, about a few isolated fertile tracts, large tracts of impassable mountain territory intervening between them. Under such circumstances, the recesses of the country formed the secret retreats for piratical adventurers, in which they and their vessels, enjoy their booty, and riot away the intervals of peace. The policy of the Romans did not allow the provincials to raise an effective military force to destroy these nests of malignity; during the Mithridatic war the coasts of Greece and Ionia were filled with them; but it was through the policy of the king of Pontus that Cilicia became their principal stronghold! Despairing of success, he determined, it was said, to leave a sting rankling in the vitals of the republic. With this view, having driven in the outposts of the Roman power, he encouraged the piratical depredations of the Eastern seas to collect on the coast of Cilicia. Here he established their docks, arsenals, and magazines, here there grew up an organized system of rapine and defiance, a fleet, a nation, and a government of pirates.

The honour and security of the republic demanded a decisive stand against this growing evil. Murena, and after him Servilius, while holding commands in Asia, had attempted to check it without success. But the republic had an immense maritime force at her disposal, it required only a controlling genius at the head to bring her to action. Pompeius, to whom the task was committed, distributed his armament in three divisions, so as to sweep the whole of the Mediterranean, and surprised the whole world by reducing the numbers of the pirates, together with their strongholds in Cilicia in the space of three months. He effected his purpose, indeed, as by negotiation as by force. He admitted the pretensions of the pirates to the dignity of a nation, not treating them as outlaws, descending to settle many of them in colonies both in Greece and Asia Minor, while he associated his own name with them, by the colony of Soli, which he rebuilt for their occupation, the sounding name of Pompeiopolis.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIO

PRO

T. ANNIO MILONE.

THE affray so admirably described in the following oration, took place on the 13th day before the calends of February, when Milo was proceeding to Samnium to nominate a flamen, and Clodius was returning to Rome after delivering an election address to the people of Aricia. The quarrel seems to have accidentally begun between the gladiators of Milo and the slaves of Clodius; Birrhia, a famous gladiator, pierced the shoulder of Clodius with a lance, as he interfered and threatened; then the affray became general and violent: the wounded Clodius was carried to an inn, but Milo, knowing that he would have to atone for this injury just as much as for his death, stormed the inn, and cast the corpse of Clodius into the public road, where it was found and brought to Rome by Sex. Tediū, a senator, who happened to be travelling on that way.

The affray took place about the ninth hour (nearly three o'clock), the corpse was brought to Rome about the first hour of the night, and placed in the atrium of the abode of Clodius. Next morning Munatius Plancus, Q. Pompeius Rufus, both tribunes of the people, carried the body, just as it was, into the forum and placed it at the rostra. After most inflammatory harangues, the people carry the body into the senate-house, and, tearing down the benches and galleries, make a funeral pile of the materials. The building itself soon caught fire, and the flames spreading, the Porcian Basilica also was consumed. This burning of the senate house excited greater indignation at Rome than the death of Clodius had. A reaction took place in favour of Milo, and he ventured to return to Rome; he even dared to continue his canvas for the consulship, and as an effectual mode of gaining the mob he divided among the tribes an immense sum of money, so as that every man should receive a thousand asses.

The three candidates for the consulship, Milo, Hypsæus, and Scipio, now kept the state in constant uproar, and though several interrexes had been appointed in succession, the comitia could not be held, in consequence of the violence of the contending parties. At length a

decree is passed by the senate to the effect, "That the interrex and tribunes of the people, and Pompey who was near the city in the capacity of proconsul, should take care the republic suffered no detriment, and that Pompey should hold a levy of troops throughout Italy."

About thirty days after the death of Clodius, Q. Metellus Scipio delivered an address in the senate against Milo. He compared the strength of the retinues of Clodius and Milo respectively, the former having had but twenty-six, the latter above 300 armed men. That Milo, not content with storming the inn and butchering Clodius, had made for the country seat of Clodius where his son had fled, and finding the youth withdrawn, had slain the steward and two servants, and tortured another so terribly as even to cut him limb by limb. Such odium was excited against Milo by these facts that he deemed it prudent to send to Pompey, offering to desist from his canvas for the consulship. Pompey, however, answered that he would not interfere in that matter. But meanwhile rumours were industriously spread by the popular party, that Pompey would be created dictator. The senate not wishing perhaps to irritate Cæsar, proposed to elect Pompey sole consul. But it will, perhaps be useful to dwell upon this circumstance a little more fully.

Of the three men who held the destinies of the Roman world in their hands, Crassus had fallen, the victim of self-conceit, irresolution, and disobedience. The strong ties which had bound Pompey to Cæsar were severed, and the former now drew closer the links which united the aristocratical party to his interests, while Cæsar, the idol and synonym of democracy, was training his faithful legions against the Gauls, or watching from his winter retreat at Lucca, the course of events at Rome, biding his time, and ready to make his swoop when opportunity favoured his desire.

For some time the feeling that a dictator was needed to restore and settle the state, was gaining ground. The consuls of the year 701 had not been elected until seven months of the natural period of their office had expired. The new year (702) also opened with an interregnum, and that last remedy, the dictatorship, seemed more and more necessary, but two circumstances prevented its application. Men had not yet forgotten the terrible effects of Sulla's murderous proscription, and that Pompey was the heir to his political views and forces. And again Pompey's irresolution and over-caution tempted him yet awhile to wait, ere, by the assumption of such supremacy, he should outrage Cæsar, and stand face to face with so powerful and so vigilant a foe.

The murder of Clodius, whether accidental or designed, seemed likely to precipitate matters, but cautious councils still prevailed, and at first instead of arming Pompey alone with power to bring Milo to his trial, a strange court was appointed, and the dictatorship put, as it were, in commission. The precise decree of the senate was this: "That the interrex, the tribunes, and Pompey should see that the republic suffered no detriment;" by this subterfuge the vital power of the dictatorship was in Pompey's hands, and yet Cæsar had no reasonable ground for offence, while even if he were inclined to interfere, the honours heaped upon him with hands so lavish bribed him to acquiesce. But his partizans at Rome were urgent in his cause, threats were uttered should Pompey assume the dictatorship, and hints thrown

THE FIRST DECREE.

S. C.—*Ut interrex et tribuni plebis, et Pompeius, qui pro conurbem erat, viderent, ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet: autem Pompeius tota Italia haberet.*

On the fifth day before the calends of March, on the m M. Bibulus, Pompey is named sole consul by the interrex S picius, and at once entered on his office.

On the third day after his appointment, Pompey proposed carried two decrees:—

I. *De vi*, which included not only the affray upon the Appian but the burning of the senate house and the attack upon the of Lepidus.

II. *De ambitu*.

On both these laws prosecutions were at once commenced Milo by the nephews of P. Clodius, and by Fulvius Neratius for conspiracy: (*De sodalitiis*.) As Milo was tried first, and conder the action *de vi*, there was no occasion to proceed with the other

NOVA FORMA NOVI JUDICII.

That during three days testimony should be taken, and the tions signed by the judices: that all interested should be pr the fifth day, and in presence of accuser and accused: the t which the names of the judges were written should be equal the following day an allotment of judges to the number of 81 take place, and that these should hold the trial immediately c selected: that the prosecutor should have two hours allowed address: three hours should be granted to the accused, and t tence should be passed on the same day. But that before the acquittal or condemnation both accuser and accused should cl fifteen judges each, i. e. five of each rank, and thus the num should pronounce upon the case should be reduced to fifty-one.

	Voted for Condemnation.	Voted for Acquittal.
Senators	12	6
Equites	13	4
Tribuni ærarii	13	3
	—	—
	38	+ 13 = 51

The trial took place on the third day before the Ides of April

I. (1.) Etsi vereor, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo ro dicere incipientem timere, minimeque deceat, quum T. minus ipse magis de rei publicæ salute quam de sua perurbetur, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem ferre non posse, tamen hæc ¹ novi judicii nova forma terret culos, qui, quocunque inciderunt, consuetudinem fori et ritinum morem judiciorum requirunt. (2.) Non enim corona consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; non usitata sequentia ² stipati sumus. Non illa præsidia, quæ pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, non afferunt tamen oratori aliquid: ³ ut in foro et in judicio, quamquam subsidiis salutaribus et necessariis sæpti sumus, tamen ne omni timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. Quæ si proposita Miloni putarem, cederem tempori, judices, nec inter tantam vim armorum existimarem esse orationi locum. Sed se recreat et reficit Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium; qui profecto nec justitiæ suæ ⁴ putaret esse, eundem reum sententiis judicum tradidisset, eundem telis militum dedere, nec sapientiæ, temeritatē concitatae multitudinis auctoritate publica armare. (3.) Quamobrem illa arma, cohortes, non periculum nobis, sed præsidium nuntiant, neque solum, ut quieto, sed etiam, ut magno animo simus, hortantur, neque auxilium modo defensioni esse, verum etiam silentium pollicentur. Reliqua vero multitudo, quæ quidem est civium, tota nostra est, neque eorum quisquam, quos undique intuentes, unde aliqua fori pars aspici potest, et hujus exitum judicii expectantes videtis,

¹ *Novi judicii*, i. e. "extraordinary." Extraordinary trials were held either regarding crimes for which no penalty had been fixed by law, or being contemplated by the legislator: or crimes which seemed from their atrocity deserving of a higher penalty than that originally appointed.—*Nova forma* refers to the guards before the temples, &c.—*MATH.* See Introd. at end.

² *Stipati sumus*. "*Tanquam honoris aut custodie causa: nam hoc proprium est stipare, non simpliciter circumdari.*"—*MATH.*

³ *Ut in foro, &c.* "So that in the forum and during a judicial trial, though surrounded by guards, protective and necessary, we cannot be devoid of fear, without some fear," i. e. the very means adopted, (*scil.* The presence of armed forces, to free us from alarm,) causes us apprehension. For the phrase compare *T. Rosc.* 24, 66. "*Ne pii quidem sine scdere esse potuerunt.*" *Vatin.* 11, 27. "*Ne recte quidem facere sine scdere potuisti.*" And see *Cat.* 1, 15.

⁴ *Putaret*, i. e. if his opinion were asked. Such is the meaning of the imperfect.

¹ non quum virtuti Milonis favet, tum de se, de lib de patria, de fortunis hodierno die decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobi quos P. Clodii furor rapinis et incendiis et omnib publicis pavit; qui hesternæ etiam contione incitati vobis ² voce præirent, quid judicaretis. Quorum c qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debet, ut eum ci neatis, qui semper genus illud hominum clamoresq mos ³ pro vestra salute neglexit. (4.) Quamobrem animis, judices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponi si umquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si umquam meritis civibus potestas vobis judicandi fuit, si dep quam locus ⁴ amplissimorum ordinum delectis vi est, ut sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ verbis sæpe significassent, ⁵ re et sententiis declaræ profecto tempore eam potestatem omnem vos ha statuatis, utrum nos, qui semper vestræ auctorita fuimus, semper miseri lugeamus, an, diu vexati a simis civibus, aliquando per vos ac per vestram fide tem sapientiamque recreemur. (5.) Quid enim nobi judices, laboriosius, quid magis sollicitum, magis ⁷ e dici aut fingi potest, qui, spe amplissimorum præm rem publicam adducti, metu crudelissimorum sup carere non possumus? Equidem ceteras tempe procillas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum

¹ *Non quum tum.* When *quum* precedes *tum*, the *c quum* has a wider extent than that which has *tum*. The fav to the manliness of Milo is a general and common feeling; th for his own fortunes is limited to each individual. ZUMPT. §

² *Voce præirent.* "By their cries dictate." *Præire* i priests; &c., who repeated the form of words to be uttered b

³ *Pro vestra salute*, i. e. "in defence of your safety." usual phrase is *PRÆ vestra salute*, which Haldric (Orell.) p read here. But compare below, xxv. 68: "*Periculum p dignitate fugisse.* (Flacc. xxviii. 67, &c.)

⁴ *Adeste animis.* "Be of courage." A phrase analogo "presence of mind," and shown by its opposition to *timorem* to have this meaning here. Elsewhere *adeste animis* means, in *Sull.* 11, 33. *Phill.* viii. 10, 30. Compare with this pass *Scip.* 1. "*Sed ille, Ades, inquit, animo, et omitte timorem.*"

⁵ *Amplissimorum ordinum.* By the law of Aurelius Cotta, were selected from senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*. (S Cicero here designates the whole body from the rank of the t grades.—MATH.

putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat; in judicio vero et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri judicarent, numquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad ejus⁸ non modo salutem exstinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam. (6.) Quamquam in hac causa, judices, T. Annii tribunatu rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicæ gestis ad hujus criminis defensionem non abutemur. ⁹ Nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Clodio factas, nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa præclara in rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi, ut, ¹⁰ si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati assignetis. Sin illius insidiæ clariores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos, judices, si cetera amisimus, hoc saltem nobis relinquantur, vitam ab inimicorum audacia telisque ut impune liceat defendere.

III. (7.) Sed antequam ad eam orationem venio, quæ est propria vestræ quæstionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ et in senatu ab inimicis sæpe jactata sunt et in contione ab improbis et ¹¹ paullo ante ab accusatoribus, ut, omni errore sublato, rem plane, quæ veniat in judicium, videre possitis. ¹² Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In qua tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? Nempe in ea, quæ primum judicium de

⁸ *Re et sententiis.* "By the fact (of acquittal), and by your votes."

⁹ *Exercitum.* "Harassed," "troubled," not to be confounded with *exercitatus*, "practised."

¹⁰ *Non modo, sed etiam.* "Not to say—but even." See *Leg. Man.* 84.

¹¹ *Nisi oculis.* "Unless you, with your very eyes," &c. *Nisi* is simply "unless." I will not, says Cicero, make use in this trial, of the tribunate of Milo, unless you behold, &c.; i. e. I will prove my point to demonstration, before I avail myself of his conduct in office.

¹² *Si.* Supposing the death of Clodius, &c. *Quum* would be a positive assertion admitting no doubt.

¹¹ *Paullo ante.* The accusers had spoken during the preceding two hours. See *Introd.*

¹² *Negant intueri.* The whole colour of the following argument is derived from DEMOSTH. *contr. Aristocr.* p. 164. 20. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι ληΐσαι τοῦτο πρῶτον πάντων οἱ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰ δίκαια φέροντες, ποτερ' οὐδένα χρή φόνον ὅσιον εἶναι νομίζειν, ἢ τινά γ' εἶναι ὅσιον νομιστέον. Λογιζόμενοι δ', ὅτι μητέρα Ὀρέστης ἀπεκτονῶς, φελογῶν, θεῶν δικαστῶν τυχῶν ἀποφυγγάνει, νομίσαι, δίκαιόν τινα εἶναι φόνον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ γε μὴ δίκαια θεοῦς ψηφίσασθαι.

capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimi viri, qui, nondum libera civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, quum sua manu sororem esse interfectam fateretur. (8.) An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, quum de homine occiso queratur, aut negari solere omnino esse factum, aut recte et jure factum esse defendi? Nisi vero existimatis, dementem¹ P. Africanum fuisse, qui, quum a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, seditiose in contione interrogaretur, quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, responderit, jure cæsum videri. ²Neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius aut P. Nasica aut L. Opimius aut C. Marius aut, me consule, senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, judices, non sine causa etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriæ prodiderunt, eum, qui patris ulciscendæ causa matrem necavisset, ³variatis hominum sententiis, non solum divina, sed etiam sapientissimæ deæ sententia liberatum. (9.) Quod si duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem ⁴quoquo modo, diurnum autem, ⁵si se telo defenderet, interfici impune voluerunt, quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, quum videat aliquando

¹ *P. Africanum.* Carbo had proposed that there should be no opposition or restriction on the re-election of the tribunes; to this proposal Scipio gave his vehement opposition, and in his speech uttered the expression in the text. The fact that Africanus was married to Sempronia, sister of the Gracchi, caused Carbo to expect a very different answer.

² *Neque enim.* "For otherwise Ahala, &c., would not have been devoid of guilt;" *enim* refers to *solere* in the preceding sentence; that a homicide could be legally committed.

³ *Variatis hominum sententiis.* Cicero adopts the account given by Æschylus, who represents Orestes as tried by the court of Areopagus. Demosthenes asserts he was tried by the twelve great gods.

⁴ *Quoquo modo.* "Under any circumstances," i. e. whether he defended himself or not.

⁵ *Si telo defenderet.* This law is attributed to Solon. (*Petit leg. Att.* p. 625.)

⁶ *Quæ multa sunt, quæ = qualia.* VIRG. *Æn.* viii. 427. "*Pulmen erat, toto genitor quæ plurima cælo Dejicit in terras.*"

⁷ *Eriperei,* i. e. "*eripere vellet, in eo esset ut eriperet, de re non perfecta.*"—MATH. *Scelere solutum.* "Freed from peril the man who was pure from guilt."

⁸ *Non scripta.* "Ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι." XENOPH. *Memor.* iv. 4, 19. These unwritten laws are alluded to in *Soph. CEd. Tyr.* 865. Νόμοι ὑψίροτες, οὐρανίαν δὲ αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες.

⁹ *Accepimus.* "Heard." "*Dicere genus designat, cujus partes sunt*"

ladium nobis ad hominem occidendum ab ipsis porrigi-
gibus?

IV. Atqui si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi, quæ multa sunt, certe illud est non modo justum, verum etiam necessarium, quum vi vis illata defenditur. Pudiciam quum ⁷eriperet militi tribunus militaris in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris, interfectus ab eo est, cui immafferebat. Facere enim probus adolescens periculose quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque hunc ille summus vir, scelere solutum, periculo liberavit. (10.) Insidiatori vero et latroni quæ potest inferri injusta nex? Quid comitatus nostri, quid patrum volunt? quos habere certe non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur hæc, judices, ⁸non scripta, sed nata ex, quam non didicimus, ⁹accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura patrum arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra aliquas insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expedienda salutis. ¹⁰Silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari debent, quum ei, qui exspectare velit, ante injusta poena luenda sit quam justa repetenda. (11.) Etsi persapienter et quodam modo tacite dat ipsa ¹¹lex potestatem defendendi,

audire et legere. *Ad quam non docti.*" Compare *Ter. Hec.* 11, 1, 6. "Doctæ ad malitiam."

¹⁰ *Silent enim leges.* This passage is always rendered, "For the laws are silent amid the din of arms, nor do they require their interposition to be waited for; since an unjust penalty must be paid by the man who is inclined to await their interference, before a just penalty can be exacted."—I venture to differ altogether from this interpretation. For 1st, *pœna* is always used of the guilty, not of the innocent. 2nd, *pœna luenda alicui* (ei) means "an atonement must be paid to some one." The usual rendering requires *pœna luenda ab eo*, or *eo*. I would render the passage then, "For the laws are silent amid the din of arms, nor do they require their interference to be waited for, since a penalty, though not regularly legal (*injusta*), must be paid to the man who is inclined to wait their interference, before a strictly legal atonement can be demanded." If a man be threatened by an assassin or robber, and seize, maim, or imprison him, he exacts a penalty not yet legitimated; when the case is proved, then his anticipation of the law is rendered legal, but up to that time he had committed an infringement upon the liberty, &c. of another.

¹¹ *Lex*, i. e. the *lex Cornelia de Sicariis*. "*Lege Cornelia de Sicariis* omnes tenentur, qui hominem occiderit, cujusque dolo malum incen-

ratia, appelletur ita sane, dummodo ea nos utamur pro salute
 onorum contra amentiam perditorum. (13.) Hanc vero
 questionem, etsi non est iniqua, numquam tamen senatus
 constituendam putavit. Erant enim ⁸leges, erant quæ-
 siones, vel de cæde vel de vi: nec tantum mærorem ac
 actum senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quæstio
 constitueretur. Cujus enim de illo incesto stupro ⁹judi-
 cium decernendi senatui potestas esset erepta, de ejus inte-
 ritu, quis potest credere, senatum judicium novum consti-
 tuendum putasse? Cur igitur incendium curiæ, ¹⁰oppugna-
 tionem ædium M. Lepidi, cædem hanc ipsam contra rem
 publicam senatus factam esse decrevit? Quia nulla vis um-
 quam est in libera civitate suscepta inter cives non contra
 rem publicam. (14.) Non enim est illa defensio contra vim
 equam optanda, sed nonnumquam est necessaria. ¹¹Nisi
 vero aut ille dies, quo Ti. Gracchus est cæsus, aut ille, quo
 Julius, aut quo arma Saturnini, etiamsi e re publica, oppressa
 sunt, rem publicam tamen non vulnerarunt.

VI. ITAQUE ego ipse ¹²decrevi, quum cædem in Appia
 factam esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra
 rem publicam fecisse; sed, quum inessent in re vis et in-
 idia, ¹³crimen judicio reservavi; rem notavi. Quod si per

Demosth. de Coron., εἰς νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις,
 καὶ καὶ μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῦτοις ἐξήν αὐτῷ ἅπασιν
 πρὸς κατ' ἐμοῦ.

⁸ *Leges*. Scil. *Cornelia de Sicariis*, *Aquileia de cæde*, *Lutatia de vi*.
questiones, i. e. "the *questiones perpetuæ* introduced by Gracchus"
 and which gave great impetus to the study of oratory.

⁹ *Judicium decernendi*. The senate had directed a *questio*, but were
 not allowed to pass sentence. (See *ad Att.* 1, 14, 16,) i. e. "the power of
 terminating a trial."

¹⁰ *Oppugnationem*. After the death of Clodius M. Lepidus was first
 named interrex. The faction of Scipio and Hypsæus surrounded his
 house with an armed mob demanding him to hold the consular comitia,
 an irregular proceeding, for the first named interrex never held the
 comitia. These bands were at length driven away by the arrival of
 Milo and his gladiators.—*ASCON.*

¹¹ *Nisi vero*, &c. Cicero means to say, that however necessary some-
 times this mode of defence may be, it is never to be desired, unless we
 should assert that the slaughter of Gracchus, &c. did not injure the
 state, and this no one could say.

¹² *Decrevi*. "Gave my vote." *Sententia mea judicari*. Thus below,
 cernebat enim ut quæreretur, i. e. *quærendum esse censebat senatus*.—
ATH.

¹³ *Crimen judicio . . . notavi*. "I reserved the question of guilt

furiosum illum tribunum senatui, quod sentiebat, perlicuisset, novam quæstionem nullam haberemus. ¹ Decernebat enim, ut veteribus legibus, tantummodo extra ordinem quæreretur. ² Divisa sententia est postulante nescio nihil enim necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre. reliqua auctoritas senatus emptâ intercessionem sublata.

(15.) At enim Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua ³ et de re et de causa judicavit; tulit enim de cæde, quæ in Appii facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus esset. Quid ergo tibi Nempe ut quæreretur. Quid porro quærendum est? tumne sit? At constat. A quo? At patet. Vidit igitur etiam in confessione facti, juris tamen defensionem suam posse. ⁴ Quod nisi vidisset, posse absolvi eum qui fateri quum videret nos fateri, neque quæri umquam jussisset vobis tam hanc salutarem in judicando litteram quam in tristem dedisset. Mihi vero Cn. Pompeius non modo in gravius contra Milonem judicasse, sed etiam statuisset, quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret. Nam qui poenam confessioni, sed defensionem dedit, is causam in ius quærendam, ⁵ non interitum putavit. (16.) Jam si ipse dicet profecto, quod sua sponte fecit, Publione Clodii tribuendum putarit an tempori.

VII. Domi suæ nobilissimus vir, ⁶ senatus propugnator atque illis quidem temporibus pæne patronus, avunculus hujus judicis nostri, fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribuni plebis M. Drusus occisus est. Nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla quæstio decreta a senatu est. Quan-

for the judicial trial. I censured the actual fact.—*Rem*, i. e. *res insidias*.

¹ *Decernebat enim*. On the motion of Hortensius.—*ASCON.*

² *Divisa sententia ut*. The bill contained two distinct heads. 1. That an extraordinary trial should be held. 2. That it should be held under the ancient laws. Calenus demanded that the heads should be voted for separately (*dividere sententiam*.) On the question being whether it should be held under the old laws, Plancus and Sallustius *trib. pop.* put in their veto, believing that Pompey would fix a heavier penalty than the older laws allowed. The second head then being negatived, the senate could not propose the first without lowering their dignity and passing some law which might please the tribunes and so the whole measure fell to the ground.—*ASCON.* and *GARAT.*

³ *Et de re et de causa*. “Both regarding the act (i. e. the affray), and the legality of it.” Just as we have *rem* and *crimen* opposed in the preceding chapter.

luctum in hac urbe fuisse a nostris patribus accepimus, quum P. Africano, domi suæ quiescenti illa nocturna vis esset illata? quis tum non gemit? quis non arsit dolore, quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejusne¹ necessariam quidam expectatam esse mortem? Num igitur ulla quæstio de Africani morte lata est? Certe nulla. Quid ita? (17.) Quia² non alio facinore clari homines, alio obscuro necantur. Intersit inter vitæ dignitatem summorum atque infimorum; mors quidem illata per scelus idem et poenis teneatur et legibus. Nisi forte magis erit pericida, si qui consularem patrem, quam si quis humilem occiderit, aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodii, quod is³ in monumentis majorum suorum sit interfectus. Hoc enim ab istis sæpe dicitur; proinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam tenuerit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi impune sui hostes latrocinaarentur. (18.) Itaque in eadem ista Appia, quum ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus poeniendum; homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat; nunc ejusdem Appiæ nomen quantas tragædias excitat! Quæ cruentata antea cæde honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebro usurpatur, postquam latronis et parricidæ sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemoro? Comprehensus est in templo Castoris servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum collocarat; extorta est confitenti sica de manibus; caruit ore postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico; janua

¹ *Quod nisi vidisset, posse absolvi.* "Quod ad antecedentia relatum applicatur verbis posse absolvi, ubi nos nempe adderemus."—MATH.

² *Non interitum.* "Not the question whether any one was slain."

³ *Senatus propugnator.* Since he endeavoured to restore their ancient judicial privileges to the senate.—*Pæne patronus.* His father was *vere patronus*. See SUT. Tiber. 3.—*Hujus nostri judicis*, i. e. Cato. See chapter xvi. § 44.

⁴ *Necessariam mortem.* "Natural death;" the death which the necessity of nature inflicts.

⁵ *Non alio facinore.* "With no different degree of guilt," i. e. the guilt is the same in the case of the murder, whether the murdered be notorious or ignoble.

⁶ *In monumentis.* Appius Claudius Cæcus made the Appian way during his censorship, A.U.C. 442; he was *tritavus* of P. Clodius. C. Clodius,—Appius Claudius minor,—Publius Clodius, slain by Milo.

⁷ *Papirium.* See note 8, chap. xiv.

se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque texit. (19.) Num quæ rogatio lata, num quæ nova quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si res, si vir, si tempus ullum dignum fuit, certe hæc in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in foro collocatus atque in vestibulo ipso senatus; ei vero autem mors parabatur, cujus in vita nitebatur salus civitatis; et porro rei publicæ tempore, quo, si unus ille occidisset, non hæc solum civitas, sed gentes omnes concidissent. Nam vero, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda; præterea quasi ¹ exitus rerum, non hominum consilia legibus vincuntur. Minus dolendum fuit, re non perfecta, sed puniendum certe nihilo minus. (20.) Quoties ego ipse, judex ex P. Clodii telis et ex cruentis ejus manibus effugi? et quibus si me non vel mea vel rei publicæ fortuna servasset, quis tandem de interitu meo quæstionem tulisset?

VIII. Sed stulti sumus, qui Drusum, ² qui Africani Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum P. Clodio conferre audeamus. Tolerabilia fuerunt illa; P. Clodii mortem nemo æquo conferre potest. Luget senatus, mæret equester ordo, tota civitas confecta senio est, squalent municipia, afflictæ coloniae, agri denique ipsi tam beneficum, tam salutarem, tam mansuetum civem desiderant. (21.) Non fuit ea causa, judices, profecto, non fuit, cur sibi censeret Pompeius quæstionem ferendam; sed homo sapiens atque ³ alta et divina quadam mente præditus multa vidit; fuisse illum sibi inimicum, familiarem Milonem; in communi omnium lætitiis etiam ipse gauderet, timuit, ne videretur infirmior fides ⁴ reconciliatæ gratiæ, multa etiam alia vidit, sed illud maxime, quamvis atrociter ipse tulisset, vos tamen fortiter judic-

¹ *Exitus rerum.* Cf. JUVENAL, xiii. 209. "*Nam scelus intra es tacite qui cogitat ullum, Facti crimen habet.*"

² *Qui audeamus.* "Since we dare." *Qui* being equal to *quis*. Whence the subjunctive.

³ *Alta mente.* "Far-seeing." *Quæ alte in rerum naturam quasi penetrat*, MATH. Ernesti explains "*quæ res humanas contemnit.*" Cf. *Salm. Ap. Plut. Sal.* 14: οὐκ ἔφν Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνὴρ.

⁴ *Reconciliatæ.* The quarrel of Pompey with Clodius is mentioned above. When Pompey sought a second consulship, knowing the power of Clodius among the lower class of electors, he became reconciled to him.

⁵ *Secrevit.* "Rejected," "set aside." This the enemies of Pompey asserted Pompey had done. Cicero denies that he did, and asserts that even if he wished to do so it was impossible to effect it.

turos. Itaque delegit e florentissimis ordinibus ipsa lumina. Neque vero, quod nonnulli dictitant, ⁶secrevit in iudiciis legendis amicos meos. Neque enim hoc cogitavit vir iustissimus, neque in bonis viris legendis id assequi potuisset, etiamsi cupisset. Non enim mea gratia familiaritatibus continetur, quæ late patere non possunt, propterea quod consuetudines victus non possunt esse cum multis; sed, si quid possumus, ex eo possumus, quod res publica nos coniunxit cum bonis; ex quibus ille quum optimos viros legeret, etque maxime ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei. (22.) Quod vero te, L. Domiti, huic quæstioni præesse maxime voluit, nihil quæsivit aliud, nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem. Tulit, ut consularem necesse esset; credo, quod principum munus esse ducebat resistere et levitati multitudinis et perditorum emeritati. Ex consularibus te creavit potissimum. Dederas enim, quam contemneres populares insanias, jam ab adolescentia ⁷documenta maxima. (23.) Quamobrem, iudices, ut liquando ad causam crimenque veniamus, si neque omnis confessio facti est inusitata, neque de causa nostra quidquam liter, ac nos vellemus, a senatu iudicatum est, et lator ipse regis, quum esset controversia nulla facti, juris tamen disceptationem esse voluit, et ⁸delecti iudices isque præpositus quæstioni, qui hæc juste sapienterque disceptet, reliquum est, iudices, ut nihil jam quærere aliud debeatis, nisi, uter tri insidias fecerit. Quod quo facilius argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quæso, diligenter attendite.

IX. (24.) P. Clodius quum statuisset omni scelere in

⁶ *Ut consularem necesse esset.* Scil. huic quæstioni præesse. Domitius had been consul two years previous with Appius Claudius.—*Munus esse ducebat.* See *Manil. Leg.* 17.

⁷ *Documenta maxima.* Manilius, shortly after his elevation to the tribunate (687), had proposed a law to allow the Libertini to be enrolled in and give their votes with the country as well as the city tribes; relying upon a host of Libertini and slaves, he endeavoured to rise upon the capitol. Domitius broke through the multitude and slew many of his faction. Manilius, by this proposal, had aroused the hostility of the senate; and to secure Pompey's favour as a defence against this body, he proposed the celebrated *Lex Manilia*, giving to Pompey the chief command against Mithridates.

⁸ *Delecti iudicis.* Judges are said *legi*, or *delegi*, not *elegi*. *Deligere* is to select out of many fitting persons. *Eligere*, to take out of a promiscuous multitude. See KRITZ, *Sall. Catil.* 6, 6, p. 35.

quod ipse dicebat, ad præturam gerendam, hoc est, tendam rem publicam, plenum annum atque integrum.³ Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem præturam suam consule Milone; eum porro summo consensu populi consulem fieri videbat. Contulit se ad⁴ ejus comitia, sed ita, totam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam in consilio gubernaret: tota ut comitia suis, ut dictitabat, humeris tineret.⁵ Convocabat tribus, se⁶ interponebat;⁷ novam delectu perditissimorum civium conscribebat. Clodius ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies convalescens. Ubi vidit homo ad omne facinus paratissimus, formidulosum virum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum consulem, intellexit non solum sermonibus, sed etiam suffragiis. Romani⁸ sæpe esse declaratum, palam agere cœpit dicere, occidendum Milonem. (26)¹⁰ Servos agrestes, baros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat Etruria.

¹ *Ita tracta.* "So long deferred." The tribunes prevented the *comitia* from being held. DIO. CASS. xi. 45: ὥστε μόλις ἐβλήθη τὸν τε Καλουῖνον καὶ τὸν Μισσαλᾶν ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι.

² *Annum suum.* "His regular year," i. e. the year appointed by the *Lex Villia Annalis* for holding the prætorship, i. e. at the age of 40. *Annum proximum*, i. e. 41. See *Lex Villia*, Ind.

³ *Occurrebat.* After this word some editors insert *enim*; but Clodius was not giving a reason why Clodius abandoned his own year, but was endeavouring to prevent Milo from obtaining the consulship.

erat, ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erat imine obscura. Etenim dictitabat palam, consulatum eripi Miloni non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc sæpe in statu; dixit in contione; quin etiam M. Favonio, fortissimo viro, quærenti ex eo, qua spe fureret. Milone vivo, respondit, duo illum aut summum quatruiduo esse periturum; quam rem ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius dedit.

K. (27.) Interim quum sciret Clodius (neque enim erat facile scire), iter sollemne, legitimum, necessarium ¹¹ ante nonas Kalendas Feb. Miloni esse Lanuvium ¹² ad flaminem prodendum, quod erat dictator Lanuvii Milo, Roma ito ipse profectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum (quod intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque ¹³ ita profectus est, ut contionem turbulentam, in qua ejus furor consideratus est, quæ illo ipso die habita est, relinqueret, nisi obire facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, numquam reliquisset. (28.) Milo autem quum in senatu fuisset eo, quoad senatus est dimissus, domum venit; ¹⁴ calceos et timentia mutavit; paullisper, ¹⁵ dum se uxor (ut fit) commoratus est, deinde profectus id temporis, quum Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire non posset. Obviam fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in equo, nulla da, nullis impedimentis, ¹⁶ nullis Græcis comitibus, ut

Sæpe esse declaratum, i. e. by the votes of the centuries given at the violent breaking off of the election.

¹ *Servos agrestes*. The lands of Clodius were near the Aurelian way to Etruria. The schol. hints that Clodius had collected there the remnant of Catiline's army.

² *Ante diem*. See *Catil.* 3.

³ *Ad flaminem*. Appian gives a different reason for his departure, *καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μίλων* (on account of the interruption of the comitia), *καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπίστου γιγνομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑπέβηκεν*. When Municipia were governed by two magistrates, they were called *duumviri*, when by one he was styled *prætor* or *tribunus*.

⁴ *Ita profectus est*. "Under such circumstances." Ernesti erroneously, "eo tempore."

⁵ *Calceos*, i. e. the senatorial buskins, bound to the leg with four straps. Cf. HOR. *Serm.* i. 6, 27. They were ornamented with gold embroidery, and bore the letter C, &c.

⁶ *Dum se uxor*. Heumann comp. TER. *Heaut.* 11, 2, 11. *Muliercs se meliuntur dum comuntur annus est*. His wife was *Fausta*, daughter of *Sylla*.

⁷ *Nullis Græcis*. "Græcos philosophos, poëtas, grammaticos secum"

seque acri animo defenderet, illi, qui erant cum gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergum nem adorirentur, partim, quod hunc jam interfectum rent cædere incipiunt ejus servos, qui post erant, ex³ qui animo fideli in dominum et præsentem fuerunt, occisi sunt, partim, quum ad rhedam pugnari vi domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonem occisum ipso Clodio audirent et re vera putarent, fecerunt id Milonis (dicam enim aperte non derivandi criminis sed ut factum est,) nec imperante nec sciente nec domino, ⁵ quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere vo-

XI. (30.) Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, j⁶ insidiator superatus est; ⁷ vi victa vis vel potius o virtute audacia est. Nihil dico, quid res publica co sit, nihil, quid vos, nihil, quid omnes boni. Nihil prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quide vare potuerit, quin una rem publicam vosque servare

habuisse hominem, vix credo, sed coquos, pinsores, alios libidinarios." MATH.

¹ *Magno et impedito.* Scil. *comitatu*, supplied from next clause a large and encumbered retinue of slaves laden with baggage read *magnis impedimentis*, and others *impedimento*, which is not the singular in this sense.

² *Hora fere undecima.* "About four in the afternoon," it was the 20th day of the month of January.—*Secus*, "or not far from."

³ *Qui animo fidenti.* "Who were of courageous spirit."

jure fieri non posset, nihil habeo, quod defendam. Sin-
 ce et ratio doctis et necessitas barbaris et mos gentibus et
 etiam beluis natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper
 m, quacunque ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita sua
 pulsarent, non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare,
 in simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint,
 et illorum telis aut vestris sententiis esse pereundum.

1.) Quod si ita putasset, certe optabilius Miloni fuit dare
 gladium P. Clodio, non semel ab illo neque tum primum
 latum, quam jugulari a vobis, quia se non jugulandum
 tradidisset. Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit, illud jam
 iudicium venit, non, occisusne sit, quod fatemur, sed jure
 injuria, quod multis in causis sæpe quæsitum est. ⁹ In-
 iurias factas esse constat, et id est, quod senatus contra
 a publicam factum judicavit; ab utro factæ sint, incertum
 . De hoc igitur latum est ut quæreretur. Ita et senatus
 a, non hominem, notavit, et Pompeius de jure, non de
 to, quæstionem tulit.

XII. Numquid igitur aliud in iudicium venit, nisi, uter
 i insidias fecerit? Profecto nihil; si hic illi, ¹⁰ ut ne sit
 pune; si ille huic, tum nos scelere solvamus.

(32.) Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni
 esse Clodium? Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci, tam
 faria belua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in
 ilonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse. Ita-
 e ¹¹ illud Cassianum, ¹² cui bono fuerit, in his personis

tion is not momentary but continues through all that time (*illo
 tempore*), and in the conjunctive, for it refers not to what Milo thought,
 but to what was thrown out by the enemies of Milo. MATH. Thus
 get rid of the emendations *potuisset* (Ernesti) and *possit* (Garat.)

⁹ *Insidias factas*—*factum*—*factæ sint*. *Est species aliqua πολυπρώτου,
 a figura est rhetorica.* MATH.

¹⁰ *Ut ne sit impune*. The adverb used adjectively. Cf. LIV. 1, 58,
ad impune adultero fore.

¹¹ *Illud Cassianum*. "That maxim of Cassius." In criminal trials
 regarding homicide or murder, when the murderer was not certainly
 known, Cassius influenced the judges to discover whose interest it
 was, that the man should die. His severity and strictness were pro-
 verbial. When Sex. Pudæus, *Trib. Pop.* accused Metellus the Pontifex
 maximus and the whole college of pontiffs, because they had decided
 unjustly in acquitting two vestal virgins notoriously guilty of a breach
 of their vows, the people appointed this Cassius to hold a trial, in
 which he procured the condemnation not only of the two previously
 acquitted, but of many others.

¹² *Cui bono fuerit*. *Cui* dative of person, *bono* dative of thing, as in

valeat; etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fra-
improbi sæpe parvo. Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodius
assequabatur, non modo ut prætor esset, non eo co-
quo sceleris facere nihil posset, sed etiam, ut iis consi-
prætor esset, quibus si non adjuvantibus, at conniver-
certe, speraret, se posse ¹eludere in illis suis cog-
furoribus; cujus illi conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur
cuperent reprimere, si possent, quum tantum beneficii
se debere arbitrarentur; et, si vellent, fortasse vix per-
frangere hominis scleratissimi corroboratam jam veteri
audaciam. (33.) An vero, iudices, vos soli ignoratis
hospites in hac urbe versamini? vestræ ²peregrin-
aures, neque in hoc pervagato civitatis sermone versæ
quas ille leges (si leges nominandæ sunt, ac non faces
et pestes rei publicæ) fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus
³inustus? Exhibe, quæso, Sexte Clodi, exhibe librum
illud legum vestrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo
mediis armis turbaque nocturna tamquam Palladium

the phrase, *hoc mihi damno est*, Cf. *De l. Agr.* 11, 2, 5. *Cui (per-
errato nulla venia.—In his personis. “In hominibus hac indole
moribus præditis.”—ERN.*

¹ *Eludere.* “To baffle.” A metaphor from gladiators. I
explains differently on *Sext.* 43, § 94. “*Eludere, hoc est in
se gerere, vel ut ipse explicat, bacchari quodammodo, et quasi per
ac jocos nemine resistente, audacissime omnia permiscere, subvertere*

² *Peregrinantur.* “On a pilgrimage.” *Arist. Equit.* 1120. “*ὁ δὲ σου παρὼν ἀποδημεῖ.*—ABRAM.

³ *Inustus.* “Brand upon us all.” As if we were slaves con-
tinue.

⁴ *Atque per omnes.* This passage is restored to the text by
partly from *Quintil.* ix. 2, and partly from the *Schol. Ambros.* Stei-
conjectures that in this passage two distinct laws of Clodius
alluded to. I. To distribute the freedmen among all the
country as well as city. II. To give those slaves who are in a state
manumission the privilege of voting with those libertini. I do
learn any thing from the commentators regarding the phrase
morarentur in libertate.” The usual rendering given above, “we
kept in a state of manumission is just nonsense. I think we may
something from this passage. The censor’s office was originally
for five years, but that the city might not be embroiled in a con-
registration continually, the actual period of the censorship, pro-
so called, was limited to eighteen months; by this, that period
given for registration, and for three years and a half no further
registration took place, and the list of persons entitled to vote was kept
So that if any slaves were manumitted during these three years and
half, they could not come into the enjoyment of their franchise

ut præclarum videlicet munus atque instrumentum
 utus ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio
 tum gereret, deferre posses. 'Atque per [omnes
 divisus libertinis servos ille omnes, qui in libertate
 ntur, lege nova additurus erat, ut ipsi cum ingenuis
 er suffragia ferrent.] An hujus ille legis, quam Sex.
 a se inventam gloriatur, mentionem facere ausus esset,
 ilone, ne dicam consule? De nostrum omnium—non
 otum dicere. Videte, quid ea vitii lex habitura fuerit,
 ericulosa etiam reprehensio est. Et adspexit me illis
 oculis, quibus tum solebat, quum omnibus omnia
 tur. Movet me quippe ⁶ lumen curiæ.

[L. Quid? tu me tibi iratum, Sexte, putas, cujus tu
 asimum multo crudelius etiam punitus es, quam erat
 itatis meæ postulare? Tu P. Clodii ⁶ cruentum cadaver
 domo, tu in publicum abjecisti, tu spoliatum ⁷ ima-

erty, until that whole time was expired, i. e. until the new
 came into office; now, I take the words *qui morarentur in*
 to mean, "those who, though manumitted, were delayed in the
 session of their liberty," because they could not be enrolled
 as next censors. We thus see how dangerous Clodius' law was,
 passed, it would be easy for him or any extensive slave-owner
 , to manumit his slaves, get them enrolled at once, and thus
 to gain a majority in any or even in all the tribes, where
 were evenly divided

in curiæ. Sex. Clodius, who carried the body of P. Clodius
 senate house, and then caused it to be burned. In allusion to
 lagration of the *curiæ* he is called *lumen curiæ*.—*Jocum ex*
 —MANUT.

intum cadaver. "His blood-stained corpse;" which should
 be washed and anointed.—*Ejecisti*, when it should have been
 in the atrium. Dio Cass. speaking of this burning of P. Clo-
 , Τὸν ὄμιλον πάντα τὰ περὶ τὰς τάφας νόμιμα συγχέται. *Ca-*
rom cado, Gr. *πτῶμα*,) is used contemptuously for *corpus*.

pinibus. Likenesses in wax of the ancestors of noble families
 de. They were hollow so as to admit of being put over the
 shoulders of living men, and were thus borne in the funeral
 m. It must have been a striking sight to see a long line of
 , with all their insignia and consular or triumphal robes,
 it were recalled to life, and preceding their descendant to the
 Cf. POLYBIUS, vi. 50. Ταύτας τὰς εἰκόνας—ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν
 περιτιθέντες ὡς ὁμοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος
 ἄλλην περικοπήν. οὗτοι δὲ προσαναλαμβάνουσιν ἐσθῆτας—
 οὖν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οὗτοι πορεύονται . . ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβό-
 νοι, καθίζονται πάντες ἐξῆς ἐπὶ δίφρων ἐλεφαντίνων.

ginibus ¹exsequiis pompa, laudatione, ²infelicitissimis lignis semustilatum, ³nocturnis canibus, dilaniandum reliquisti. ⁴Quare etsi nefarie fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo inimici crudelitatem exprompsisti tuam, laudare non possum, irasci certe non debeo.

(34.) [*Demonstravi, iudices, quantum Clodii inter*] facias occidi Milonem. Convertite animos nunc vicissim ad Milonem. Quid Milonis intererat interfici Clodium? Quid erat, cur Milo, non dicam admitteret, sed optaret?—Obstabat in spe consulatus Miloni Clodius. — At ⁵eo repugnante fiebat; immo vero eo fiebat magis, nec me suffragatore meliore utebatur quam Clodio. Valebat apud vos, iudices, Milonis erga me remque publicam meritum memoria: valebant preces et lacrimae nostrae, quibus ego tum vos mirifice moveri sentiebam, sed plus multo valebat periculorum impendentium timor. Quis enim erat civium, qui sibi solutam P. Clodii praetura sine maxime rerum novarum metu proponeret? Solutam autem fore videbatis, nisi esset is consul, qui eam auderet possetque constringere. Eum Milonem unum esse quum sentiret uni versus populus Romanus, quis dubitaret suffragio suo e metu, periculo rem publicam liberare? At nunc, Clodius remoto, usitatis jam rebus enitendum est Miloni, ut tueretur dignitatem suam. Singularis illa et huic uni concessa gloria quae quotidie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis, post Clodii morte cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem constitueretis; hic exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem consulatus, fontem perennem gloriae suae perdidit. Itaque Milonis consulatus, qui, vivo Clodio, labefactari non poterat, mortuo denique tentari ceptus est. Non modo igitur nihil

¹ *Exsequiis*. Properly signifies the train of those who follow the corpse.—*Pompa* refers to the magnificence of the obsequies.—*MARE*.

² *Infelicitissimis*. Usually rendered, "unhallowed," "curled," or being of some barren tree. But it seems to refer to the hard lot of their benches, originally formed to serve as thrones for the best and wisest, while now they served the vile purpose of a pyre for Clodius.

³ *Nocturnis canibus*. "By the dogs at night." Thus, *Hoc Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*.

⁴ *Quare, &c.* Wherefore, though you acted *unnaturally* (with unnatural cruelty).—*Laudare non possum*, supply *quamquam*. "Although I cannot commend you, yet surely I should not be angry."

⁵ *Eo repugnante*. For Clodius did not attempt to disturb the election until he found "*Milonem populi cunctis suffragiis consulem declaratum*."

⁶ *Præter hoc civile odium*. "Leaving out that political odium."

rodest, sed obest etiam Clodii mors Miloni. (35.) At valuit diu, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fuit ultor injuriæ, punitor doloris sui. Quid? si hæc, non dico, majora fuerunt in odio quam in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc? Quid vultis amplius? Quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, regem ac materiem suæ gloriæ, ⁶præter hoc civile odium quo omnes improbos odimus? ⁷ Ille, erat, ut odisset, primum iuris meæ defensorem, deinde vexatorem furoris, dominum armorum suorum, postremo etiam accusatorem suum. Quis enim Milonis ⁸lege Plotia fuit Clodius, quoad vixit. Quomodo tandem animo hoc tyrannum illum tulisse creditis? Quantum odium illius et in homine injusto quam etiam iustum fuisse?

XIV. (36.) Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius constetudoque defendat, hunc autem hæc eadem coarguant. Nil per vim umquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid ergo, iudices quum, mærentibus vobis, urbe cessi, iudiciumne cui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quæ fuisset igitur ista causa restituendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi? Quem mihi, credo, dixerat, multam irrogarat, ¹⁰ actionem perduellionis intenderat, et mihi videlicet in causa aut mala mea, non et præclarissima et vestra, iudicium timendum erat. Servorum et egentium civium et facinorosorum armis eos cives, meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me objici mihi. (37.) Vidi enim, vidi, hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, mentem et ornamentum rei publicæ, pæne interfici servorum armis, ¹¹ quum mihi adesset; qua in turba C. Vibienus, senator, optimus, cum hoc quum esset una, ita est mulcatus, ut tam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea sica illa, quam Catilina acceperat, conquievit? Hæc intentata nobis est;

common writer would have said, "*præterquam hoc civile odio.*" Cf. *Isid. in Cæcil.* iv. 14. "*Omnium civitatum totius Siciliae legationes habent, præter duas civitates.*" Some render *civile odium* as "general hatred." Such hatred as all feel.

⁶ *Ille, erat, ut odisset.* "There was a motive why he should hate Milo."—MATH. Goerenz takes *ille erat* as *talis erat*. "He was of such character as should have hated," &c. But Mathiæ denies that *ille* is ever used for *is sum qui*. See ZUMPT, *Lat. Gr.* § 752.

⁸ *Lege Plotia.* See under this head in Legal Index.

⁹ *Diem dicere.* "To appoint a day" for trial, and thence=*accusare*, it is only used in the latter meaning, of the tribunes of the people.

¹⁰ *Actionem perduellionis.* For putting the Catilinarian conspirators to death without trial.

¹¹ *Quum mihi adesset.* "When he was my advocate." When by his

suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulcisci? potuitne, Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, quum de meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissima in foro cædere potuitne, L. Cæcili, justissimi fortissimique prætoris domo? potuitne illo die, quum est lata lex, quum totius Italiæ concursus, quem mea salus confecti illius gloriam lubens agnovisset, ut, etiamsi fecisset, cuncta civitas eam laudem pro sua vindicare?

XV. (39.) At quod erat tempus? Clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor 'sceleris illius, pugnator senatus, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus consensuum, restitutor salutis meæ; septem prætores, tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Crassus, auctor et dux mei reditus, illius hostis, cuius potentiam senatus omnis de salute mea gravissimam et periculosissimam secutus est, qui populum Romanum est co-

support and authority he endeavoured to prevent the banishment of Cicero.

¹ *Non sum passus.* By leaving the city, Cicero caused there to be no excuse for riot.

² *Nece Papirii.* After the Mithridatic conquest, Pompey had put in custody with Flavius, a man of high rank. Flavius was prætor in the year of the tribunate of Clodius, and was invited to an entertainment by the latter, and requested

quum decretum de me Capuæ fecit, ipse cunctæ Italiæ ienti et ejus fidem imploranti signum dedit, ut ad me ittuendum Romam concurrerent; omnia tum denique in odia civium ardebant desiderio mei; quem qui tum remisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de præmiis cogitar. Tamen se Milo continuit et P. Clodium ⁵in iudiciis, ad vim numquam vocavit. (40.) Quid? privato me et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, quum in Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est, quæ non modo occasio, sed etiam causa illius opprimendi? Nuper vero quum M. Antonius summam spem salutis s omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobis ⁶rei publicæ partem fortissime suscepisset, atque ⁷beluam, ⁸judicii laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam ret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, dii immortales, fuit? ⁹in se ille fugiens ¹⁰in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, num Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nulla sua injuria, Antonii vero maxima gloria. (41.) Quid? comitiis in eo quoties potestas fuit, quum ille in sæpta irrupisset, ius destringendos, lapides jaciendos curavisset, deinde, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad Tiberim, vos omnes boni vota faceretis, ut Miloni uti virtute sua esset?

VI. Quem igitur ¹¹cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc cum aliquorum querela? quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune non est ausus, hunc injuria, iniquo, alieno tempore, periculo capitis non dubitavit occidere?

Id regiam. This seems to refer to an affray which took place (a preceding the delivery of this oration), in the *sacra via*, for the temple (of Ancus Martius) was in the *sacra via*.

Sceleris illius. "Of that guilty act," i. e. the banishment of Cicero. *MATH.* Or we may take *sceleris illius*—"that guilty man." *Scilicet illius.* Thus Virg. "*Ast expendisse scelus*," &c.

In iudicium—ad vim. Prepositions are frequently thus varied. *Mat. 11, 6.* *Si L. Catilina—iter ad fugam atque in exsilium con-*

rei publicæ partem. "*Rei publicæ partem suscipit, quicumque id pro salute rei publicæ aggreditur.*"—*MATH.*

Judicii laqueos. Abramius compares *Demosth. Aristagor.* p. 778, 16. *ῥχοινομήνους κᾶσι τοῖς δικάιοις.* We find *legum laquei* in *Sext.*—*MATH.*

In scalarum tenebras. See *PHIL.* 11, § 9.

Cum omnium gratia, i. e. "where he would receive the grateful thanks of all."

(42.) Præsertim, iudices, quum honoris amplissimi et dies comitiorum subesset; quo quidem tempore enim, quam timida sit ambitio quantaque et quam sit cupiditas consulatus,) omnia non modo, quæ res palam, sed etiam ¹ obscure quæ cogitari possunt, tumorem, fabulam fictam, levem perhorrescimus, ora atque oculos intuemur. Nihil est enim tam motu tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile quam voluntas nos sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati incandidatorum, sed etiam ² in recte factis sæpe fa-

(43.) Hunc igitur diem campi speratum atque exhibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus, scelus et facinus se ferens et confitens, ad illa augusta centuriarum veniebat? Quam hoc non credibile in hoc! ³ quam Clodio non dubitandum, qui se interfecto Milone turum putaret! Quid? quod caput est [audaciæ], quis ignorat, maximam illecebram esse peccandi impetum? In utro igitur hæc fuit? in Milone, qui etiam reus est facti aut præclari aut certe necessarii, an in qui ita iudicia pœnamque contempserat, ut eum nihil taret, quod aut per naturam fas esset aut per legem ceret?

(44.) Sed quid ego argumentor? quid plura disputo. Q. Petili, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem Cato, testor; quos mihi divina quædam sors dedit Vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et vivo Clodio, periturum Milonem triduo. Post diem gesta res est, quam dixerat. ⁴ Quum ille non dubitaret aperire, quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare, quid fecisset?

XVII. (45.) Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non dubitaret? Dixi equidem modo. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata s-

¹ *Obscure quæ.* Frequently the relative is thus misplaced. 1, 25, 88. "*Nec vero audiendi, graviter qui inimicis irascuntur.*"

² *In recte factis.* "But frequently slight them even when uprightly." *Recte factis* is opposed to *improbitati*.

³ *Quam non dubitandum.* *Qui.* Mathiæ and others read *quidem* as pleonastic, (like *quod* above, chap. vi. § 15,) i. e. "How it is to be doubted with regard to Clodius, but that he hoped," &c.

⁴ *Quum ille non dubitaret.* *Dubitaret* refers to the present if we read *dubitaret* we would require *poteratis*. "*Nam actio, data ad aliam præsentem, perfecto declaratur, ad præteritum imperfecto.*"—MATH.

esse negotii nihil erat. Vidit necesse esse Miloni, proficisci
 anuvium illo ipso, quo est profectus, die. Itaque ante-
 tit. At quo die? Quo, ut ante dixi, ⁶ fuit insanissima
 ntio, ab ipsius mercenario tribuno plebis concitata; quem
 em ille, quam contionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum
 cinus approperearet, numquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne
 sua quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi; Miloni manendi
 illa facultas, exeundi non causa solum, sed etiam necessitas
 it. Quid? si, ut ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in via, sic
 lodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit? (46.) Primum
 iero, qui scire potuerit? quod vos idem in Clodio quærere
 on potestis. Ut enim neminem alium nisi T. Patinam,
 miliarissimum suum, rogasset, scire potuit, illo ipse die
 anuvii a dictatore Milone prodi flaminem necesse esse.
 ed erant permulti alii, ex quibus id facillime scire posset;
 omnes scilicet Lanuvini.] Milo de Clodii reditu unde
 cessivit? Quæsierit sane. Videte, quid vobis largiar.
 arvum etiam, ut Q. Arrius, ⁶ meus amicus, dixit, corruerit.
 legite testimonia testium vestrorum. Dixit C. Cassinius
 thola, Interamna, familiarissimus et idem comes Clodii,
 ius jam pridem testimonio Clodius eadem hora Interamnæ
 erat et Romæ, P. Clodium illo die in Albano mansurum
 isse, sed subito esse ei nuntiatum, Cyrum architectum
 se mortuum; itaque repente Romam constituisse proficisci.
 tit hoc, comes item P. Clodii, C. Clodius.

XVIII. (47.) Videte, iudices, quantæ res his testimoniis
 nt confectæ. Primum certe ⁷ liberatur Milo non eo con-
 lio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in via Clodio; quippe;
 ille obvius ei futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non
 um video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium) scitis,
 idices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent,
 ilonis manu cædem esse factam, consilio vero majoris

⁶ *Insanissima concio.* In the turbulent assembly held on the day of Clodius's death, C. Sallustius and Q. Pompeius harangued the people; we cannot determine to which of these the words *mercenario tribuno* refer. Asconius says to Pompeius, "*quia ejus seditiosior fuit concio.*"

⁶ *Meus amicus.* Ironical.

⁷ *Liberatur Milo non eo consilio.* "Milo is freed (from the charge), its being shown that he did not set out," &c. Supply *eo quod demonstratum est.* Very often words such as *dicere*, *demonstrare*, &c., are omitted, while the construction remains as if they were inserted. See *GRÆKIS, Sanct. Min.* p. 8, 8. The Greek construction is similar, ἀποκρίται μὴ ἀδίκειν. Cf. THUCYD. 1, 95.

alicujus. Me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abjecti homines et perditī describebant. ¹ Jacent suis testibus ii, qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset, fuisse rediturum. Respiravi; liberatus sum; non vereor, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse. (48.) Nunc persequar cetera. ² Nam occurrit illud. Igitur ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansurus. ³ Si quidem exiturus ad cædem e villa non fuisset. Video enim, illum, qui dicatur de Cyri morte nuntiasse, non id nuntiasse, sed Milonem appropinquare. Nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodius Roma proficiens reliquerat morientem? Una fui; testamentum simul obsignavi cum Clodio; testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem et me scripserat. Quem pridie hora tertia ⁴ animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie hora decima denique ei nuntiabatur?

XIX. (49.) Age, sit ita factum; quæ causa, cur Romam properaret? cur in noctem se conjiceret? Quid afferebat causam festinationis? Quod heres erat? Primum erat nihil, cur properato opus esset; deinde, si quid esset, ⁵ quid tandem erat, quod ea nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si postridie Romam mane venisset? Atque ut illi nocturnus ad urbem adventus vitandus potius, quam expectandus fuit, sic Miloni, quum insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque expectandum fuit. (50.) Noctu, insidioso et pleno latronum in loco ⁶ occidisset, nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvum etiam confitentem volunt. Sustinuisset

¹ *Jacent.* "They are prostrated by their own witnesses." Orelli reads, *jacent suis testibus hi*, but this would imply that the witnesses were now present.—MATH.

² *Nam occurrit illud.* "For this occurs to my mind." GARAT, *in mentem venit*. But still in this phrase there is always the notion of some contradiction to a previous assertion. This passage means then, "For this (which could be urged against me) occurs to my mind."—MATH.

³ *Si quidem, &c.* Yes, provided he did not intend, &c. *Si quidem* = *ei* or *ἐἴπερ*. Cf. *Tusc.* ii. 16, *abducat Patroclus, credo, ut collocet in cubili ut vulnus obliget.* *Si quidem homo esset.*

⁴ *Animam efflantem.* "Expiring," "breathing his last." i. e., "at the death-gasp." Cf. *ἀπέψυξεν βίον*, *Soph. Ag.* 1050.

⁵ *Quid erat, quod posset,—amitteret.* "What, pray, was there, which he could obtain on that night, but was likely to lose," &c., i. e. *amitteret*.

crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptor
s; ⁷ tum neque muta solitudo indicasset, neque cæca
ostendisset Milonem; deinde ibi multi ab illo violati,
lati, bonis expulsi, multi hæc etiam timentes in sus-
sem caderent; ⁸ tota denique rea citaretur Etruria.

) Atque illo die certe Aricia rediens devertit Clodius ad
Albanum. ⁹ Quod ut sciret Milo, illum Ariciæ fuisse,
icari tamen debuit, eum, etiamsi Romam illo die reverti
t, ad villam suam, quæ viam tangeret, deversurum. Cur
se ante occurrit, ne ille in villa resideret, nec eo in loco
edit, quo ille noctu venturus esset?

ideo constare adhuc, iudices, omnia: Miloni etiam utile
e Clodium vivere, illi ad ea, quæ concupierat, optatissi-
interitum Milonis; odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbis-
um, nullum hujus in illum; consuetudinem illius perpe-
a in vi inferenda, hujus tantum in repellenda. (52.)

tem ab illo denuntiata Miloni et prædicta palam,
umquam auditum ex Milone; profectionis hujus diem
notum, reditus illius huic ignotum fuisse; hujus iter ne-
arium, illius etiam potius alienum; hunc præ se tulisse,
se die Roma exiturum, illum eo die se dissimulasse redi-
um; hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium, illum causam
andi consilii finxisse; huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope
m expectandam, illi, etiamsi hunc non timeret, tamen
ssum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.

IX. (53.) Videamus nunc id, quod caput est, locus ad
dias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit
ior.. Id vero, iudices, etiam dubitandum et diutius cogi-

(eo tempore) si venisset. Moëbius erroneously says that *amitteret*
ut for *amisisset*.

Occidisset. "He would have slain him," i. e. *si subsidisset*.

Tum neque. "While neither the voiceless solitude," &c. Mathiæ,
staining that a reason is here required, such as *quando quidem*, "Since
voiceless solitude," &c., a sense he denies to *tum*, rejects the word,
thinks that *neque muta solitudo, neque cæca nox*, are additional
s of the first reason why the charge could not be laid to Milo.

Omnis Etruria, i. e. all the people of Etruria whom Clodius had
rely harassed.—*Ad se in Albanum*, thus *venit etiam ad me in*
anum, Attic. iv. 9. The Greeks thus use *πρός* regarding persons,
egarding places.

Quod ut sciret Milo. Scil. *illum Ariciæ fuisse*, and therefore on his
e; Mathiæ and others have *nisi*, which is = *ut*, "although," and
e *tamen* follows.

hæc non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis, tamen a
uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, quid
veheretur in rheda pænulatus, una sederet uxor
horum non impeditissimum? ⁴vestitus, an vehiculum
comes? quid minus promptum ad pugnam, quam
irretitus, rheda impeditus, uxore pæne constricta.
⁵Videte nunc illum, primum egredientem e villa, sub
vesperi; quid necesse est? tarde; qui convenit, per
id temporis? Devertit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium
videret? sciebat, in Alsiensi esse; villam ut per
millies in ea fuerat; quid ergo erat? mora et tergite-
rum dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.

XXI. (55.) ⁶Age, nunc iter expediti latronis cur

¹ *Quo in fundo.* See Rosc. §. 23; Cæs. B. G. 11, 18.

² *Insanas substructiones.* Below we have *substructionum* in

³ *Hominum mille.* "A body of a thousand men." Hence *tr*
versabatur, as in *Phil.* vi. 5, 16. *Qui L. Antonio mille num*
expensum. Edits. have *versabantur*, and so Steinmetz, by a typographical
error.

⁴ *Vestitus, an vehiculum.* "*Quasi præcessisset, Quid hoc
ditius?*"—MATH.

⁵ *Videte nunc illum.* Grævius, followed by some editors, has
the beauty of this passage, by supposing a dialogue to take place
between the friends of Clodius and Cicero. Thus, *Cic. v*
illum primum egredientem e villa? *CLODIANI, Subito.* *Cic.*

impedimentis comparate. Semper ille antea cum uxore ;
 tum sine ea ; nunquam nisi in rheda ; tum in equo ; comites
 hœculi, quocunque ibat, etiam quum ⁷ in castra Etrusca
 operabatur ; ⁸ tum in comitatu nugarum nihil. Milo, qui
 nunquam, tum casu pueros symphonicos uxoris ducebat et
 villarum greges. Ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper
 metos, semper lupas duceret, tum neminem, ⁹ nisi ut ¹⁰ virum
 viro lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est ? Quia non
 semper viator a latrone, nonnumquam etiam latro a viatore
 caditur ; quia, quamquam paratus in imparatos Clodius,
 tamen mulier inciderat in viros. (56.) Nec vero sic erat
 equum non paratus Milo contra illum, ut non satis fere
 ret paratus. ¹¹ Semper ille, et quantum interesset P. Clodii,
 perire, et quanto illi odio esset, et quantum ille auderet,
 agitabat. Quamobrem vitam suam, quam maximis præmiis
 oppositam et ¹² pæne addictam sciebat, numquam in pericu-
 lum sine præsidio et sine custodia projiciebat. Adde casus,
 de incertos exitus pugnarum ¹³ Martemque communem, qui
 se spoliante jam et exultante evertit et ¹⁴ perculit ab

⁷ *Age*. Some read *agite* on account of *comparate*, but *age* is frequently joined to a plural. See *Propert.* 1, 1, 21 ; *Liv.* 38, 47.

⁸ *In castra Etrusca*, i. e. the camp of Catiline, under Marius at Tulla.—ASCONIUS. Manutius, however, explains as Clodius' own camp. See above, *totaque rea citaretur Etruria*, and below.

⁹ *Tum nugarum*. "Then, there were no triflers in his train." He means players, mimics, &c. Thus *quisquiliæ* is used *Pro Sext.* 43, 94, i § 24. *Nihil ab istis nugis expectandum*, i. e. *ab illo homine pectorio*.

¹⁰ *Nisi ut*, i. e. *nisi tales ut*. For the omission of *tales* before *ut*, cf. *ut.* 47, 174. L. Gellius, *non tam vendibilis orator, quam (talem) accires, quid ei deesset*. MATH.

¹¹ *Virum a viro*. "Man selected by each man, to be his comrade." dangerous expeditions the soldiers were allowed to choose their comrades. See *Liv.* ix. 39. The phrase is differently used (e. g. to select an antagonist) by VIRGIL, *Æn.* xi. 632.

¹² *Semper ille*. Usually *ille* denotes Clodius, as in this very sentence ; but, if genuine, it denotes Milo, whence some editors reject the noun.

¹³ *Pæne addictam*. "Put in another's power." A metaphor from a debtor, who being unable to pay, was consigned by the prætor to his creditor, to be used as a slave until he cleared off the debt. MATH. *de Com.* 14, *addictus erat tibi*. *Flacc.* 20, *addictus Hermippo et abductus est*.

¹⁴ *Martem communem*. "Mars, who often changeth sides." ἀλλοβειλλον, *Il.* i, 831.

¹⁵ *Perculit ab abjecto*. "Strikes down by the instrumentality of a

abjecto adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis, qui quum a tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset, nihil de ejus extremis comitibus cogitavit, in quos incensos ira vitamque domini desperantes quum incidisset, hæsit in iis pœnis, quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vita expetiverunt. Cur igitur eos manumisit? (57.) Metuebat scilicet, ne indicarent, ne dolorem perferre non possent, ne tormentis cogerentur occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appia via P. Clodium confiteri. Quid opus est tortore? Quid quæris? Occideritne? Occidit. Jure an injuria? Nihil ad tortorem. Facti enim in eculeo quæstio est, juris in judicio.

XXII. Quod igitur in causa quærendum est, id agamus hic; quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Manu vero cur miserit, si id potuis quæris, quam cur parum amplis affecerit præmiis, nescis inimici factum reprehendere. (58.) Dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constanter et fortiter, M. Cato, et dixit in turbulenta contione, quæ tamen hujus auctoritate placata est, non libertate solum, sed etiam omnibus præmiis dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim præmium satis magnum est tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, ¹ propter quos vivit? Et id quidem non tanti est, quam quod propter eosdem non sanguine et vulneribus suis crudelissimi inimici mentem oculosque satiavit. Quos nisi manumisisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuerunt conservatores domini, ultores sceleris, ² defensores necis. Hic vero nihil habet in his malis, quod minus moleste ferat, quam, ³ etiamsi quid ipsi accidat, esse tamen illis meritum præmium persolutum. (59.) Sed quæ-

prostrate foe." As Eteocles was slain by Polynices. For the use of the preposition, cf. *Acad.* i. 7, 29: *nihil valentius esse a quo intereat*; thus the Greeks use ὑπὸ. See *MATH. Gr. Gr.* 592. Cf. *Il.* σ. 309 ξενὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα.

¹ *Propter quos vivit.* "By whose aid he now lives." Cf. *Rosc.* § 63.

² *Defensores necis* "Who protected him from death. Thus the Greeks use πύργος θανατῶν ἄλκη γειτόνων.

³ *Etiamsi quid ipsi accidat.* "Though some calamity should happen to himself." A euphemism, for, if he should be condemned to the *capitis deminutio*.

⁴ *In atrio Libertatis*, i. e. in a pillared court in front of the temple of liberty.

⁵ *Appius.* This is Appius Clodius, nephew of Publius Clodius, and son of Caius.

⁶ *Ab Appio.* "From the house of Appius."

⁷ *De servis—in dominum*, i. e. no examination by torture can be

hones urgent Milonem, quæ sunt habitæ nunc ⁴ in atrio libertatis. Quibusnam de servis? Rogas? De P. Clodii. Quis eos postulavit? ⁵ Appius. Quis produxit? Appius. Inde? ⁶ Ab Appio. Di boni! quid potest agi severius? De servis nulla lege quæstio est in dominum, nisi de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium. Proxime deos accessit Clodius, opius quam tum, quum ad ipsos penetrarat, cujus de morte inquam de cærimoniis violatis quæritur. Sed tamen maiores nostri in dominum [de servo] quæri noluerunt, non ut non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum dominis morte ipsa tristius. In reum de servo accusatoris inquit quæritur, verum inveniri potest? Age vero, quæ erat it qualis quæstio? (60.) Heus tu, Rufio, verbi causa, cave ⁷ mentiare. Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit. Certum. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas. Quid hac quæstione certius? ⁸ Subito abrepti in quæstionem tamen separantur ceteris et in arcas conjiciuntur, ne quis cum iis colloqui possit. Hi centum dies penes accusatorem quum fuissent, de eo ipso accusatore producti sunt. Quid hac quæstione certi potest integrius? quid incorruptius?

XXIII. (61.) Quod si nondum satis cernitis, quum res per tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat, pura mente etque integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu terterritum, nulla conscientia exanimatum Romam revertere, recordamini, per deos immortales! quæ fuerit celeritas editus ejus, qui ingressus in forum, ardente curia, quæ magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. ¹⁰ Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit, neque senatui

held on slaves against their masters, &c. Cf. *Partit.* c. 34: *dicendum de nostrorum etiam prudentissimorum hominum institutis, qui, quum de servis in dominos quæri noluisse, de incestu tamen et conjuratione, quæ facta me consule est, quærendum putaverunt.* See *Tacit. Annal.* ii. 30.

⁷ *Mentiere.* Cicero likes to use this form instead of *mentiaris*, where there can be no ambiguity.—MATH.

⁸ *Subito abrepti.* "Slaves unexpectedly seized, are yet separated from all others, and cast into cells, that none can hold conversation with them. These, when they have been retained in the accuser's power for 100 days, are brought into court by that accuser," &c.

¹⁰ *Neque se populo, &c.* This passage is cited by Aquila among the instances of climax. He also cites that famous passage of Demosthenes, *De Cor.* p. 288, (Reiske) οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα ἔ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρίσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρίσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ αὖσα δὲ Θηβαίους.

modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis, ⁱⁿ tanta tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam rem publicam, omnem Italise pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat, cui numquam se hic profecto tradidisset, nisi causæ suæ confideret, præsertim omnia audienti, magno metuenti, multa suspicanti, nonnulla credenti. Magna est conscientise, judices, et magna in utramque partem, neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccarint. (62.) Neque vero sine ratione certa, causa Milonis semper a senatu probata est. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines facti rationem, præsertim animi, ¹ defensionis constantiam. An vero obliuiscuntur judices, recenti illo nuntio necis Clodiane, non modo inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Romam esse rediturum. (63.) ² Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incensum odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortis P. Clodii putasse, ut æquo animo patria careret, quum sanguine inimici explessset odium suum, sive etiam illius mortem patriam liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortem virum quin, quum suo periculo salutem rei publicæ attulisset, ³ cederet æquo animo legibus, secum auferret gloriam sempiternam, nobis hæc fruenda relinqueret, quæ ipse servasset. Multi etiam Catilinam atque ⁴ illa portenta loquebantur: "Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum, bellum patriæ faciet. Miseros interdum cives optime de re publica meritos, in quibus homines non modo res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur!" (64.) Ergo illa falsa fuerunt, quæ certe vera exstitissent, si Milo admisisset aliquid, quod non posset honeste vereque defendere.

¹ *Defensionis constantiam*. "The firmness of his defence," i. e. his unchanging colour and undismayed aspect. See *Justin*, 1, 6.

² *Sive illud . . . ut*. "If he had, through angry and excited feelings effected that,—as any foe would slay his enemy."

³ *Cederet legibus*, i. e. would retire into exile, which was the punishment appointed for his crime by the laws.

⁴ *Illæ portenta*. "Those monstrous men," i. e. such as Catiline, Lentulus, &c. Thus Cicero calls Piso and Gabinius, *duo rei publicæ portenta*, *Or. de Prov. Cons.*, 1, 2. *MATH.* Schütz interprets *portenta* by *portenta verborum*, such as *erumpet*, &c.

⁵ *Conscientia*. "Through consciousness even of more moderate guilt." *Conscientia* is the ablative of the instrument.

⁶ *Tota commissa est res publica*, i. e. to whom is entrusted the whole

XIV. Quid? quæ postea sunt in eum congesta, quæ nvis etiam mediocrium delictorum ⁵ conscientia percutant, ut sustinuit! dii immortales! sustinuit? immo vero contempsit ac pro nihilo putavit! quæ neque maximo no nocens, neque innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, negligere uisset. Scutorum, gladiatorum, frenorum, pilorumque etiam titudo deprehendi posse indicabatur; nullum in urbem, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo non Miloni ducta esset domus; arma in villam Ocriculanam devecta eri; domus in clivo Capitolino scutis referta; plena omnia leolorum ad urbis incendia comparatorum. Hæc non ita solum, sed pæne credita, nec ante repudiata sunt, in quæsitâ. (65.) Laudabam equidem incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed dicam, ut sentio, iudices. Nimis ita coguntur audire, neque aliter facere possunt ii, quibus ita commissa est res publica; quin etiam fuerit ⁷audiendus a Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo; servos Milonis ad se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse, de interficiendo Pompeio conjurasse, dein postea se gladio percutsum esse ab eo de illis, ne indicaret, Pompeio in hortos nuntiavit. Arsor in primis. De amicorum sententia rem defert ad seipsum. Non poteram in illius mei patriæque custodis tantâ precatione non metu exanimari, sed mirabar tamen, credidisse, confessionem servorum audiri, vulnus in latere, quod in punctum videretur, pro ictu gladiatoris ⁸probari. (66.) Certe, ut intelligo, cavebat magis Pompeius, quam timebat, ne ea solum, quæ timenda erant, sed omnia ne vos aliquid crederetis. Oppugnata domus C. Cæsaris, clarissimi et fortissimi viri, per multas noctis horas nuntiabatur. Nemo dierat tam celebri loco, nemo senserat; tamen audiebatur.

ta, not merely a single department of its policy, as below we have *res partes*.

Audiendus, &c. "Nay even a sacrificing priest must be listened (who said) that the slaves of Milo," &c. The passage is equal to *audiendus est popa Licinius qui dicebat servos*. We have already added to the omission of such words as *dicere*, &c. (chap. 18, 47.) A notable instance occurs in Livy, iv. 20: *quum Augustum Cæsarem se in thorace linteo scriptum legisse audissem*, where *dicentem* is to be supplied.

Probari. "Should be believed to be a gladiator's home-thrust." *torinus* (V. L. xviii. 16) compares Lysias (p. 172, Reiske): *ὁ δ' εἰς το βαρυσταμονίας ἦκει, ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τραῦμά γε ὀνομάζων ἰκώπια*.

hoc Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompei enim jam appello, ⁴ et ea voce, ut me exaudire possis tuas, inquam, suspensiones perhorrescimus. Si Mithridates, si hunc de tua vita nefarie aut nunc cogit molitum aliquando aliquid putas, si Italiæ delectus, nulli conquisitores tui dictitarunt, si hæc arma, si Cohortes, si ⁵ excubiæ, si vigiliæ, si ⁶ delecta juventutis tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis intentata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, intenta sunt, magna certe in hoc vis et incredibilis et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, ⁷ si quis hunc unum et præstantissimus dux electus et tota re publica armata est. (68.) Sed quis non intelligit, omnia

¹ *Tota re publica suscepta.* The government of the whole undertaken. See above, note 2, p. 310. The old grammarians that *recipimus rogati, suscipimus ultro*. Mathiæ thinks *suscipere* genus, "to undertake in any way;" *recipere*, to undertake when requested.

² *Senator inventus est.* P. Cornificius.—*Ut, eo dicente.* The reading of Grævius and Garaton. Mathiæ retains the MS. *nisi, eo tacente*, "Since the whole life of such a man and such could not convince Cornificius, unless the absolute fact in this should give its testimony: "*Hoc itaque opus esse videbatur Cornificius ipsa loqueretur, alioqui propter vitam ante actam fidem habuisset.*"

publicæ partes ægras et labantes, ut eas his armis sanares confirmares, esse commissas? ⁸ Quod si locus Miloni datus esset, probasset profecto tibi ipsi, neminem umquam minem homini cariorem fuisse quam te sibi; nullum se quam periculum pro tua dignitate fugisse; cum illa ipsa terrima peste se sæpissime pro tua gloria contendisse; gubernatum suum ad salutem meam, quæ tibi carissima esset, consiliis tuis gubernatum; se a te postea defensum periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione præturæ; duos se habere semper amicissimos sperasse, te tuo beneficio, me tu. Quæ si non probaret, si tibi ita penitus inhæsisset ista fiducia, nullo ut evelli modo posset, si denique Italia a te, urbs ab armis sine Milonis clade numquam esset inquietura, næ ⁹ iste haud dubitans cessisset patria, is, qui natus est et ita consuevit; te, Magne, tamen ¹⁰ antestatur; quod nunc etiam facit.

LXVI. (69.) Vide, quam sit varia vitæ commutabilisque fortuna, quam vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantæ infidelitates amicitias, quam ad tempus aptæ simulationes, quantæ incertis fugæ proximorum, quantæ timiditates. Erit, erit ad profecto tempus et illucescet ille aliquando dies, quum tu, salutariis, ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo

Quod si locus Miloni datus esset. "Had an audience been granted Milo," which was not. Pompey did not admit Milo when he came to give him an explanation.

Iste. He points out Milo.—*Qui ita natus est.* "So disposed from birth," as below (chap 37), *ea mente natus est*; and the Greek ὁ γὰρ πρίν. *Ita consuevit.*—"And so guided habitually his life;" *ita rationem instituit.*—MATH.

⁸ *Antestaretur.* "Calls you to bear testimony;" namely, that he had wished for an audience in order to remove your suspicions.—*sed nunc etiam fecit*, inasmuch as he was denied admittance before.

⁹ *Salutaribus rebus tuis.* "While your resources are still protective" usually *salutaribus* is taken as if it were written *salvis*. But *salutare* means, "that which, safe itself, brings safety to others." Thus Math., *ita salvis, ut tua salus non imminuatur sed ut aliis etiam et rei publicæ salutem afferre possint*. Mathiæ and others refer the whole chapter to that prophetic power in which Cicero used to boast. (Cf. *Sext.* 21, 47, *Non hæc denique a me tum, tanquam fata, in ipsa re gerenda canentur.*" See also *Cat.* iv. 2, § 3; ii. § 23.) Long experience in state affairs is wont to produce great foresight; but such a passage as this would be quite out of place in addressing Pompey, then in the zenith of his power. It seems more natural, then, to suppose that this whole chapter was added by Cicero at some later period.

communium temporum (qui quam crebro accidere scire debemus), et amicissimi benevolentiam et viri magnitudinem animi desideres. (70.) Quam hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris maxime denique publicæ peritissimum, quum senatus ei com- videret, *ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*, versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, et armis datis, hunc exercitu, hunc delectu dato, judic- spectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui ipsa tolleret? Satis judicatum est a Pompeio, si ista conferri in Milonem, qui legem tulit, qua, ut e Milonem absolvi a vobis ² oporteret, ut omnes co- liceret. (71.) Quod ³ in illo loco atque illis p- præsidiorum copiis circumfusus sedet, satis declar- terrorem inferre vobis (quid enim minus illo dign- cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem anim- ipse et more majorum et suo jure posset?), sed esse, ut intelligatis, contra hesternam illam contion- vobis, quod sentiat, libere judicare.

XXVII. (72.) Nec vero me, judices, ⁴ Clodianu- movet, nec tam sum demens tamque vestri sensu- atque expers, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodii. De qua, si jam nollem ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, ¹ p- pune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose lice- cidi, occidi, non Sp. Mælium, qui annona levanda- que rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem vide- suspicionem incidit ⁶ regni appetendi: non Ti. Grac- ⁷ collegæ magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, q-

¹ Quo uno versiculo. "By which single sentence." *De J. Leges Titias, Apuleias, Livias uno versiculo sublatae.* — *Sat- thus* LIVY, iv. 53: *hoc decreto consul armatus.* Sallust *h- classicus* regarding the powers conferred by this decree. *per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxima permittitur parare, bellum gerere, coërcere m- qdis omnibus socios atque militiceque imperium atque judicium summum habere.* — *Cat.* 21.

² Oporteret, liceret. These imperfects refer to the period law was passed, and the intention of the proposer.

³ In illo loco, i. e. the *Ærarium*.

⁴ Clodianum crimen. "The charge arising from the Clodius." — *Mentiri gloriose.* "And boastfully to state a- gloriari, sed ita ut mentiretur se Clodium tanquam pernici- consulto occidisse. MATH.

⁶ Jacturis. See *Man. Law*, § 67.

res impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria,
 (auderet enim dicere, quum patriam periculo suo
 et), cujus ⁸ nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus
 imis nobilissimæ feminæ comprehenderunt; (73.)
 jus supplicio senatus sollemnes religiones expiandas
 insuit; eum, quem cum sorore germana nefarium
 fecisse, L. Lucullus juratus, se, quæstionibus habitis,
 nperisse; eum, qui civem, quem senatus, quem po-
 lomanus, quem omnes gentes urbis ac vitæ civium
 storem judicabant, servorum armis exterminavit;
 i regna dedit, ademit, orbem terrarum, quibuscum
 artitus est; eum, qui, plurimis cædibus in foro factis,
 ri virtute et gloria civem domum vi et armis compu-
 i, cui nihil umquam nefas fuit nec in facinore nec in
 ; eum, qui ædem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam
 n recensionis, tabulis publicis impressam, extin-
 (74.) eum denique, cui jam nulla lex erat, nullum
 is, nulli possessionum termini; qui non calumnia
 non injustis vindictis ac sacramentis alienos fundos,
 is, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat; qui non solum
 (eos enim penitus contempserat), sed hunc P.
 fortissimum atque optimum civem, judicem nos-
 ellere possessionibus armis castrisque conatus est;
 architectis et decempedis villas multorum hortosque
 vat; qui Janiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum
 vat suarum; qui, quum ab equite Romano splendido
 M. Paconio, non impetrasset, ut sibi insulam ¹⁰ in
 io venderet, repente lintribus in eam insulam mate-

appetendi. "Of aiming at sovereignty." Cf. PHIL. 11, 44,
 2. *Cassius et Mælius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni
 sunt necati.*

æ. M. Octavius, who opposed the passing of Gracchus's laws.
 eposed from his tribunate.—*Periculo suo.* "Attended with
 myself," the same as *cum suo periculo.*

adum. "Unnatural," "incestuous," from the violation of
 the term is stronger than *nefarium* below. Cf. *in Pison.* iv.
in homine in stupris inauditis (violation of the mysteries of
 dea) *nefariisque* (his intrigue with his sister) *versato.* GARATON.
imæ feminæ. "Not only the vestals, but the most noble

ari virtute, &c. Cneius Pompey.—*Memoriam publicam,* &c.
 lic record of the censure passed upon him, engraven on the
 ords."

su Prilio. Now *Lago di Castiglione.* ORELL.—*Atque arma.*

hominem mihi conjunctum fidissima gratia, absens possessione fundi dejecit; qui parietem sic per vest¹ sororis instituit ducere, sic agere fundamenta, ut non modo vestibulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limine.

XXVIII. (76.) ² QUAMQUAM hæc quidem jam tota videbantur, etsi æquabiliter in rem publicam, in privas longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos irruebant, nescio quomodo jam usu obduruerat et percalluerat incredibilis patientia. Quæ vero aderant jam et incedebant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis aut Imperium ille si nactus esset, omitto socios, exteras nationes, reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se immitteret quam in vestras possessiones, vestra tectas pecunias; pecunias dico? a liberis, mediusfidibus conjugibus vestris numquam ille effrenatas suas libidines hibuisset. Fingi hæc putatis, quæ patent, quæ non omnibus, ⁴ quæ tenentur? servorum exercitus illum conscripturum fuisse, per quos totam rem publicam privatas omnium possideret? (77.) Quamobrem, situm gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius: "Adeste, atque audite, cives; P. Clodium interfeci; ejus furor nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frenare poteramus, h

Usually rendered, "tools;" but this was a forcible occupation of the owner's will and therefore arms were required — *Mortuus*

hac dextera a cervicibus vestris reppuli, per me ut unum, æquitas, leges, libertas, ⁵ pudor, ⁶ pudicitia in civitate merent," esset vero timendum, quonam modo id ferretur! Nunc enim quis est, qui non probet? qui non let? qui non unum post hominum memoriam T. Annium rem publicam profuisse, maxima lætitia populum Romanum, cunctam Italiam, nationes omnes affecisse et tunc et sentiat? Non queo, vetera illa populi Romani beneficia quanta fuerint, judicare. Multas tamen jam summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias ætas nostra vidit, cum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit lætitiā nec am. (78.) Mandate hoc memoriæ, iudices. Spero multa liberosque vestros in re publica bona esse viros; in iis ulis ita semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio nihil eorum viros fuisse. In spem maximam et, quemadmodum modo, verissimam sumus adducti, hunc ipsum annum, hoc summo viro consule, compressa hominum licentia, cupidibus fractis, legibus et judiciis constitutis, salutare fore. Num quis est igitur tam demens, qui hoc, P. Clodio vivo, contingere potuisse arbitretur? Quid? ea, quæ vestris, privata atque vestra, dominante homine furioso, quod perpetuæ possessionis habere potuissent?

XIX. Non timeo, iudices, ne odio mearum inimiciarum inflammatus libentius hæc in illum evomere videar quam solus. Etenim etsi præcipuum esse debebat, tamen ita communis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio ⁷ pæne æqualiter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii sit. (79.) Quin sic attendite, iudices. Nempe hæc est ratio de interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis (liberæ sunt nostræ cogitationes et, quæ volunt, sic intuentur, ⁸ ut

is manifest, it is said *patere*; when proofs are brought forward, i." GARAT.

Pudor. "Respect," αἰδώς. The proper fear which prevents the commission of evil.

Pudicitia is personal "chastity."

Pæne æqualiter. "Was only on a par with that of others," i. e. hatred was only equal to that which others felt, was not more intense.—*Exitii*. "Powers of ill;" powers to do injury to others.

Ut ea cernimus, quæ videmus. "As we perceive, those things which we see."—*Videmus ea quæ forte oculis obijciuntur, cernimus, quum solum totum, sed partes etiam distincte percipimus.*" MATH. Cf. . i. 20, 46: nos ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus, quæ videmus.

ea cernimus, quæ videmus), ¹ fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus condicionis meæ, si possim efficere, ut Milonem absolvatis, sed ita, si P. Clodius revixerit. Quid vultu contumistis? Quonam modo ille vos vivus afficeret, quos mortuus inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? si ipse C. Pompeius, qui ea virtute ac fortuna est, ut ea potuerit semper, quæ nemo præter illum, si is, inquam, potuisset et quæstionem de morte P. Clodii ferre aut ipsum ab inferis excitare, utrum putatis potius facturum fuisse? Etiam propter amicitiam vellet illum ab inferis evocare, propter rem publicam non fecisset. Ejus igitur mortis sedetis ultores, cujus vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis, et de ejus nece lata quæstio est, qui si eadem lege reviviscere posset, lata lex numquam esset. Hujus ergo ² interfector ³ esset, in confitendo ab iisne poenam timeret, quos liberasset? (80.) Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt viris, qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis? quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ? ³ quas res divinas talibus institutas viris? quos cantus? quæ carmina? Prope ⁴ ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur. Vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapiatiemini? Confiteretur, confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et libente, fecisse se libertatis omnium causa, quod esset ei non confitendum modo, verum etiam prædicandum.

XXX. (81.) Etenim, si id non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam præmia laudis essent petenda? nisi vero gratius putat esse vobis, si

¹ *Fingite igitur.* "Imagine then." *Igitur* recalls us to what preceded the parenthesis.—*Utrum putatis.* "Which of the two would he execute." Hermann erroneously supposed *utrum*=*an*.

² *Interfector qui esset.* "Any one who slew him." A general expression. Garaton reads *si esset*, i. e. Milo; but Milo already acknowledged he had put Clodius to death.

³ *Quas res divinas, &c.* There is still extant a famous *στέλιον* in honour of Aristogeiton; ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω, &c. DEMOST., παραπρ. 431, 16; οὐς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ᾧ πασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνεῖς πεποιήσθαι, καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτε ἐξίσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

⁴ *Ad religionem.* "To religious worship," *ut religiose colantur.*—*Immortalitatis religio.* "Worship due to immortality," i. e. to being of immortal nature, scil. Diis. MATH.

quam vestri defensorem fuisse; ⁵ quum præsertim fessione, si grati esse velletis, honores assequeretur eos; si factum vobis non probaretur (quamquam at salus sua cuiquam non probari?) ⁶ sed tamen si rtissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset, magno nstantique cederet ex ingrata civitate. Nam quid ratius, quam lætari ceteros, lugere eum solum, propter ceteri lætarentur? (82.) Quamquam hoc animo omnes fuimus in patriæ proditoribus opprimendis, am nostra futura esset gloria, ⁷ periculum quoque et nostram putaremus. Nam ⁸ quæ mihi ipsi tribu- esset, quum tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac æstris ausus essem, si id, quum conabar, sine max- cationibus meis me esse ausurum arbitrarer? Quæ celeratum ac perniciosum civem occidere non aude- ericulum non timeret? Proposita invidia, morte, i nihilo segnius rem publicam defendit, is vir vere est. Populi grati est, præmiis afficere bene meritos blica cives, viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moveri, r fecisse pœniteat. (83.) Quamobrem uteretur eadem ne T. Annius, qua Ahala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, ius, qua nosmet ipsi, et, si grata res publica esset, , si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortuna conscientia sua

[. Sed hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, fortuna, omani et vestra felicitas et di immortales sibi de- ant. Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nullam ⁹ vim esse ducit numenve divinum, quem aperii nostri magnitudo neque sol ille nec cæli sig-

præsertim, &c. "Unless, forsooth, he thinks it more grateful at he has been the defender of his own life, than that he has defender of your order," (which is absurd), *and gladly would such an act*, especially, since by his so confessing it, &c. *um præsertim* a sentence is implied: *hæc inest sententia, gratissi- putat esse, se vestri capitis defensorem fuisse, idque libenter t, quum præsertim*, &c. MATH.

amen si. "Yet still if."

ilum quoque. Cf. *Herod. vii. 50. Μεγάλα πρήγματα μεγά- ύνοσι ἐθέλει καταϊρέσθαι*. GARATON.

mihi ipsi—esset. "What praise should have been given to and I thought!" &c.

—numenve divinum. "No heavenly power or government."

3. *have majestatem* for *vmi*.

norumque motus nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent neque, id quod maximum est, majorum sapientia, qui sacra, qui caerimonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissime coluerunt et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt. (84.) ¹ Est, est profecto illa vis; neque in his corporibus atque in hac imbecillitate nostra inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et non inest in hoc tanto naturæ tam præclaro motu. Nisi forte idcirco non putant, quia ² non apparet nec cernitur; proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua hæc ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre aut plane, qualis aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis igitur ipsa, quæ sæpe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, illam perniciem exstinxit ac sustulit, cui primum ³ mentem injecit, ut vi irritare ferroque lacerare fortissimum virum auderet vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. (85.) Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, iudices, decorum immortalium cura res illa perfecta. Religiones mehercule ipsæ, quæ illam beluam cadere viderunt, ⁴ commovisse se videntur et jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim jam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque testor, vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, sacrorum populi Romani sociæ et æquales, quas ille, præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat; vestræ tum, [aræ,] vestræ religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat, tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora finesque sæpe omni nefario stupro et scelere macularat, aliquando ad eum pœniendum oculos aperuisti; vobis

¹ *Est, est, &c.* "There exists, there does exist undoubtedly that power, and there cannot exist in these our mortal frames, and this our weakness a something which lives and feels, while it does not exist in," &c. The argument is, in our weak bodies a living principle exists, and therefore must exist in the wondrous movement of nature. Cf. *de Fato*, 1. *Non et sunt in sphæra maximi orbes, et hi non medii inter se dividuntur*, which is the same as in *sphæra sunt maximi orbes, et hi medii inter se dividuntur*. MATH.

² *Non apparet nec cernitur*. CIC. *Tusc.* i. 2, 51. Bishop Butler. Anal. p. 1, ch. 1.

³ *Mentem injecit ut—auderet vincereturque*. "To the student this seems a slip, but to an auditor, such an expression would escape notice in delivery." MATH. To the former it appears absurd to say, *mentem injecit ut vinceretur*. What Cicero means is, inspired the resolution of daring, whence it resulted, that he should be vanquished.

læ, vobis vestro in conspectu seræ, sed justæ tamen et æbitæ pœnæ solutæ sunt. (86.) Nisi forte hoc etiam casu actum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonæ Deæ, quod est in fundo T. Sestii Galli, in primis honesti et ornatissimi adolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, quum præteritum commisisset, primum illud vulnus ⁵acciperet, quo teterriam mortem obiret, ut non absolutus iudicio illo nefario videretur, sed ad hanc insignem pœnam reservatus.

XXXII. Nec vero non eadem ira deorum hanc ejus stellitibus injecit amentiam, ut sine imaginibus, sine cantu, sine ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore et luto, spoliatus illius supremi sui celebritate, cui cedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur relictus. Non fuisse credo fas, clarissimorum virorum pœnas illi teterriimo parricidæ aliquid decoris afferre, neque illo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quam in quo esset ita damnata.

(87.) Dura, medius fidius, mihi jam fortuna populi Romani tunc crudelis videbatur, quæ tot annos illum in hanc rem publicam insultare pateretur. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas religiones, senatus gravissima ⁶decreta perfregerat, pecunia a iudicibus palam redemerat, ⁷vexarat in tribunatu senatum, omnium ordinum consensu pro salute rei publicæ gesta exciderat, me patria expulerat, bona diripuerat, domum incenderat, liberos, conjugem meam vexarat, Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum indixerat, magistratum privatorumque sedes effecerat, domum mei fratris incenderat, vastarat Struriam, multos sedibus ac fortunis ejecerat; instabat,

⁴ *Commovisse se.* "To have roused themselves to action." In his case they have broken their usual tranquillity, and excited themselves to punish him.—*Retinuisse.* "And to have maintained their right in punishing him."—*In illo.* Scil. *puniendo.*

⁵ *Acceperit.* Some read *acciperet.* "But the Latin writers, after the perfect use *ut* with the perfect subjunctive when the second action coincides in time with the first. They use the imperfect, when the second action extends over a longer time than the first." MATH.

⁶ *Decreta perfregerat.* Above, chap. v. *Potestas decernendi erepta et natu.* (Att. 1, 3. Ep. vii. 8.) *Pecunia se redemerat.* Cf. Att. 1, 16.

⁷ *Senatum vexarat.* Sext. 7. *Bona vexarat.* Sext. xxiv. 54. *Vexatur uxor mea, liberi ad necem quærebantur . . . bona deripiebantur, que ad consules deferiebantur.* Pro Dom. xxiv. 62. *Columnæ marmoreæ sedibus meis, inspectante populo Romano, ad soccrum consulis portantur.*

uribat; ¹capere ejus amentiam civitas; Italia, regna non poterant; ²incidebantur jam domi leges servis nostris addicerent; nihil erat cujusquam, quod ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore puta-
Obstabat ejus cogitationibus nemo præter Milonem ipsum, qui poterat obstare, novo reditu in gratiam divinctum arbitrabatur; Cæsaris potentiam suam bat; bonorum animos in meo casu contempserat; uribat.

XXXIII. Hic dii immortales, ut supra dixi illi perditio ac furioso dederunt, ut huic faceret. Aliter perire pestis illa non potuit; numquam publica suo jure esset ulta. Senatus, credo, prætor circumscripsisset. Ne quum solebat quidem id in privato eodem hoc, aliquid profecerat. (89.) An in prætore coercendo fortes fuissent? Primum occiso, habuisset ⁶suos consules; deinde quis in eum consul fortis esset, per quem tribunum ⁷virtu-
sularem crudelissime vexatam esse meminisset? Possideret, teneret; lege nova, quæ eum apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servorum ⁸libertos suos fecisset. Postremo, nisi eum dii in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effeminatum virum conaretur occidere, hodie rem publica-

¹ *Capere ejus amentiam.* DEMOSTH. *Phil.* iii. p. 118. Οὐτ' οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τᾶνθρώπου. MATH.

² *Incidebantur leges domi.* Alluding to the proposal of give the Libertini the right of voting in the *country* tribes, and the four city tribes.

³ *Ipsam illum.* Scil. Pompey, whose favour he had now. See above, chap. viii. In fact, Cæsar and Pompey both feared him, they intended him to be a thorn in the sides of the aristocracy.

⁴ *Circumscripsisset.* "Limited his authority." See *Phil.* *Circumscriptus a senatu Antonius*, in which passage, because it precedes, Mathiæ supposes that *circumscribere tribunum* take from him the power of giving a veto." Cicero in his *le. vii. 9*, mentions different methods of curbing a tribune. "*plebis s.c.to. circumscriptus, aut sublatus*, (as Octavius by *aut expulsus sit*).

⁵ *Facere.* "To attempt that." Scil. To curb him. Mathiæ takes *ne quum solebat id facere*, in *privato eodem hoc aliquid* because he never heard of *circumscribere privatum*, but to remove the difficulty. We should take *circumscribere* in the sense of "curbing," "restraining," without reference to its use in a tribune's case.

beretis. (90.) An ille prætor, ille vero consul, si modo æ templa atque ipsa mœnia stare eo vivo tamdiu et consum ejus expectare potuissent, ille denique vivus nihil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus [Sex. odio] duce, curiam incenderit? Quo quid miserius, quid erbius, quid luctuosius vidimus? Templum sanctitatis, iplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, ⁹ caput urbis, aram ciorum, ¹⁰ portum omnium gentium, sedem ab universo pulo concessam uni ordini, inflammari, excindi, funes- ri? neque id fieri a multitudine imperita, quamquam esset serum id ipsum, sed ab uno? Qui quum tantum ausus ¹¹ ustor pro mortuo, quid signifer pro vivo non esset sus? In curiam potissimum abjecit, ut eam mortuus in- deret, quam vivus everterat. (91.) Et sunt, qui de via ppia querantur, taceant de curia? et qui ab eo spirante rum putent potuisse defendi, cujus non restiterit cadaveri ria? Excitate, excitate ipsum, si potestis, a mortuis. angetis impetum vivi, cujus vix sustinetis ¹² furias inse- lti? Nisi vero sustinuistis eos, qui cum facibus ad curiam ucurrerunt, ¹³ cum falcibus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto ro volitarunt. Cædi vidistis populum Romanum, con- nem gladiis disturbari, quum audiretur silentio M. Cælius, ibunus plebis, vir et in re publica fortissimus et in sus- pta causa firmissimus et bonorum voluntati et auctoritati

⁸ *Suos consules.* "Consuls of his own party." "*Sibi faventes et dictos.*"—MANUT.

⁹ *Virtutem consularem.* "The essence of consular merit." Cicero course speaks of himself.

¹⁰ *Libertos suos.* Scil. By conferring such privileges (see note 2, p. 322), he would have made them his own creatures.

¹¹ *Caput urbis.* "The head of the city," as the seat of intelligence and wisdom. Some for *urbis* have *orbis*, which is not true in the first place, and moreover, Cicero never uses *orbis* for the world without the addition of *terrarum* or *terræ*. The poets of the Augustan age first used *orbis*=*mundus*, and then the later prose writers followed their example.—MATH.

¹² *Portum.* "The haven." Cf. *de Off.* 11, 8, 26. *Regum, populorum, tionum portus erat et refugium senatus.*—*Funestari.* Scil. By the dead body being placed and burned there.

¹³ *Ustor.* "*Ustores* humile, sordidum, ac contemptum genus hominum est. *Argumentatur igitur a minori ad majus. Si ustor tantum fuit, quantum signifer ausus esset.*"—MATH.

¹⁴ *Furias.* "His demon spirit," ἀλάστορας, plural for singular.

¹⁵ *Cum falcibus.* The *falx* was a formidable weapon, with a large

senatus deditus et in hac Milonis sive invidia siv singulari divina et incredibili fide.

XXXIV. (92.) SED jam satis multa de cau causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid resta orem obtesterque vos, judices, ut eam misericor buatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat, eg repugnante hoc, et imploro et exposco? Nolite, si omnium fletu nullam lacrimam adspexistis Milor tum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabile mutata videtis, hoc minus ei parcere. Haud multo etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim si ² toriis pugnis et in infimi generis hominum condici fortuna timidos atque supplices et, ut vivere lic crantes etiam odisse solemus, fortes et animosos et ipsos morti offerentes servare cupimus, eorumque miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requiru qui illam efflagitant, quanto hoc magis in fortissim facere debemus? (93.) Me quidem, judices, exa interimunt hæ voces Milonis, quas audio assidue intersum quotidie. "Valeant, inquit, valeant c sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati; stet præclara ³ mihique patria carissima, quoquo m merita de me; tranquilla re publica mei cives mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per r perfruantur; ego cedam atque abibo; si mihi publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala, et quæ tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem, in ea cam. (94.) O frustra, inquit, mei suscepti lal

iron hook at top, used in sieges to tear down the battlement defenders. These followers of Clodius wished to break open of Castor to get the *arms* stored there, (ERNESTI,) or rather the money which was deposited there for safety. *Palces* among the weapons sent by Lentulus to Catiline. (SALL. v.

¹ *Etiā repugnante.* Matthiæ cites Plutarch, *Cic.* 3: εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως παρίστασθαι τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ κόμην μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν ἀπαξιῶσαι ὅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκε αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης.

² *In gladiatoriiis pugnis.* "In the case of gladiators' combat *ut in P. Cornelio causa ipsius probetur.* (Balb. 3.) *In ar quasi rete texunt.* De N. D. 11, 48, 123.

³ *Mihique patriam carissimam.* Although Milo was *bonivium*, he speaks as being a citizen and in office at Rome. Cf. 11, 2, 5. *Nos et eam patriam dicimus, ubi nati, et illam qua ac*

⁴ *Me senatui dedissem.* "When I devoted myself to t

pes fallaces! O cogitationes inanes meæ! Ego, quum tribunus plebis, re publica oppressa, ' me senatui dedissem, nem exstinctum acceperam, equitibus Romanis, quorum res erant debiles, bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis abjecerant, mihi umquam bonorum præsitum defuturum putarem? ego, quum te (mecum enim spissime loquitur) patriæ redidissem, mihi putarem in patria non futurum locum? Ubi nunc senatus est, quem cuti sumus? ubi equites Romani illi, illi, inquit, tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi Italiæ voces? ubi denique tua a, M. Tulli, quæ plurimis fuit auxilio, vox atque defensio? Ubi hinc ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest vitulari?"

XXXV. (95.) Næc vero hæc, iudices, ut ego nunc, flens, id hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. Negat enim se, negat, ingratis civibus fecisse, quæ fecerit; timidis et omnia pericula circumspicientibus non negat. Plebem et infimam multitudinem, quæ P. Clodio duce fortunis vestris imminet, eam, quo tutior esset vestra vita, se fecisse commemorat, et non modo virtute flecteret, sed etiam ⁶ tribus suis patrimoniis deleniret; nec timet, ne, quum plebem muneribus laçarit, vos non conciliarit, meritis in rem publicam singulis. Senatus erga se benevolentiam temporibus his ipsis spe esse perspectam, vestras vero et vestrorum ⁷ ordinum cursationes, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ⁸ ablaturum esse dicit. (96.) Meminit tiam, ⁹ vocem sibi præconis modo defuisse, quam minime considerarit, populi vero cunctis suffragiis, quod unum cupi-

bre se alicui, = alicui gratum esse laborare omni obsequii officique more.—ERNEST.

⁵ *Negat ingratis civibus*, i. e. he denies that his countrymen are ungrateful even though they condemn him, and assigns, as a reason for their hostility their timidity, and excessive caution

⁶ *Tribus patrimoniis*. Firstly, by his natural inheritance from the Apian gens, next by that which he inherited from Annius by whom he was adopted, and thirdly by his property derived from his mother. *Asconius*. Cicero complains of Milo's extravagant prodigality, in *orat. Frat.* iii. 9.

⁷ *Ordinum*. For, it will be remembered, the judges were selected from three distinct ranks.

⁸ *Ablaturum secum*. "Will bear with him," i. e. will ever remember.

⁹ *Vocem præconis*, &c. When the comitia was over, the herald proclaimed the successful candidate, but the elections in which Milo stood candidate were frequently interrupted and broken up, by the

erit, se consulem declaratum; nunc denique, si ¹ h contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicionem, i crimen obstare. Addit hæc, quæ certe vera sunt, sapientes viros non tam præmia sequi solere recte quam ipsa recte facta; se nihil in vita nisi præfecisse, si quidem nihil sit præstabilius viro, quam patriam liberare; beatos esse, quibus ea res ² honor suis civibus, (97.) nec tamen eos miseros, qui benef suos vicerint; sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis vi esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse | gloriam; esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ po memoria ³ consolaretur; quæ efficeret, ut absentes mus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse, ⁴ cujus etiam in cælum homines viderentur adscendere. (98.) me, inquit, semper populus Romanus, semper omne loquentur, nulla umquam obmutescet vetustas. (99.) tempore ipso, ⁵ quum omnes a meis inimicis faces meæ subjiciantur, tamen omni in hominum cœtu agendis et gratulationibus habendis et omni sermo bramur. Omitto Etruriæ festos et actos et institut centesima lux est hæc ab interitu P. Clodii et, opinor: qua fines imperii populi Romani sunt, ea non soli jam de illo, sed etiam lætitia peragravit. Quamob corpus hoc sit, non, inquit, laboro, quoniam omnibus et jam versatur et semper habitabit nominis mei gl
XXXVI. (99.) Hæc tu mecum sæpe, his abs

violence of the opposite party, when it seemed certain that he be elected, they were not allowed to proceed.

¹ *Hæc arma.* The armed force stationed round the Pompey's order.

² *Honori fuit a suis civibus.* Math. compares THUCYD. v. ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν.

³ *Consolaretur.* In strict grammar this should be console depends on *addit*; but Cicero, in long periods, is wont to vary his diction by introducing different tenses. Mathiæ aptly quotes xx. 79: *Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, quum tanta celeritas esset . . . non posse eam naturam, quæ eas res contineat, esse mori quum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet . . . nec ; dividi; quod si non possit, &c.*

⁴ *Cujus gradibus.* "By whose steps men mount to heaven." Cicero is fond of this phrase, *Paradox* 1, 2: *Quibus tandem gradibus ascendit in cælum?* *pro Dom.* 28; *De Rep.* iii. *Deiot.* § 27.

⁵ *Quum omnes, &c.* "Although," as is proved by the occurrence of *tamen*. When time alone is indicated by *quum*, it is follow

diisdem audientibus hæc ego tecum, Milo: Te quidem, quod isto animo es, satis laudare non possum; sed, quo est a magis divina virtus, eo majore a te dolore divellor. Nec ro, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa tamen ad consolandum erela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulnus accero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicis-
 ni, non male aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optime. illum mihi umquam, judices, tantum dolorem inuretis (etsi is potest esse tantus?), sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut diviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. ⁸ Quæ si vos cepit livio, aut si ⁹ in me aliquid offendistis, cur non id meo uite potius luitur quam Milonis? Præclare enim vixero, quid mihi acciderit prius, quam hoc tantum mali videro. 10.) Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quod tibi, T. mi, nullum a me amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis icium defuit. Ego inimicitias potentium pro te appetivi, o meum sæpe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum orum, ego me plurimis pro te supplicem abjeci, bona, for- nas meas ac liberorum meorum in communionem ¹⁰ tuorum mporum contuli: hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis est rata, si qua dimicatio capitis futura, deponco. Quid jam stat? quid habeo, quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis, nisi eam fortunam, quæcunque erit tua, ducam meam? Non quo, non recuso, vosque obsecro, judices, ut vestra bene- ia, quæ in me contulistis, aut in hujus salute augeatis aut ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

†
 licative, when it has a causal notion, or is equal to *quavis*, it takes subjunctive. MATH.

¹ *Gratiis*. Scil. returned to Milo. *Gratulationes* to the gods. CRU- IUS. Mathiæ however cites CIO. *Ep. Brut.* 3: *Nihil est in me inane, ne enim debet; sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum io gratulatio me commovet.*

² *Quod isto animo es*. Ernesti reads *quum*, but *quum* causal requires subjunctive. See note 5 above. Mathiæ thinks the reading arose from the MS. contraction *qum* for *quoniam*.

³ *Quæ si vos cepit oblivio*. Nothing is more usual than that the stive should agree with the following substantive, instead of being the genitive or ablative with a preposition. This sentence is the ne as *cujus si vos cepit oblivio*, or *de quo si vos cepit oblivio*.

⁴ *In me aliquid offendistis*. If you have met with anything offensive myself. *Offendere* is properly to strike against some unpleasant stacle = *σκανδαλίζω*.

⁵ *Tuorum temporum*. "Your exigencies," or "your perils." *Verr.* i. , 113; *Manil.* 1.

appeno, centuriones, vosque, milites; vobis non in
spectantibus, sed etiam armatis et huic iudicio præsidi-
hæc tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur, extermin-
projicietur? (102.) O me miserum, o me infelicem
care tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos, ego
patria per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid res
liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? quid
Quinte frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum te
illorum? mene non potuisse Milonis salutem tuam
eosdem, per quos nostram ille servasset? At in quibus
non potuisse? quæ est grata * * gentibus, a quibus
potuisse? iis, qui maxime P. Clodii morte acquierunt
deprecante? me. (103.) Quodnam ego concepimus
scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, iudice
illa indicia communis exitii indagavi, patefeci, protul-
stinxi? Omnes in me meosque redundant ex fo-
dolos. Quid me reducem esse voluistis? an ut
tante me, expellerentur ii, per quos essem res
Nolite, obsecro vos, acerbiores mihi pati reditum esse
fuerit ille ipse discessus. Nam qui possum putare
restitutum esse, si distrahar ab iis, per quos re-
sum?

XXXVIII. Utinam dii immortales fecissent (patriam)
patria, dixerim; metuo enim, ne scelerate dicam in

o Milone dicam pie), utinam P. Clodius non modo viveret, sed etiam prætor, consul, dictator esset potius, quam hoc spectaculum viderem ! (104.) O dii immortales ! fortem et vobis, iudices, conservandum virum ! “Minime, minime, iuravit. Immo vero pœnas ille debitas luerit ; nos subeamus, ita necesse est, non debitas.” Illicine vir patriæ natus quam nisi in patria morietur, aut, si forte, pro patria ? ius vos animi monumenta retinebitis, corporis in Italia illum sepulchrum esse patiemini ? hunc sua quisquam violentia ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes expulsum vobis ad se vocabunt ? (105.) O terram illam beatam, se hunc virum exceperit ; hanc ingratham, si ejecerit, miseram, si amiserit ! Sed finis sit. Neque enim præ lacrimis non loqui possum, et hic se lacrimis defendi vetat. Vos oro testorque, iudices, ut in sententiis ferendis, quod sentietis, audeatis. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem, mihi crederetis, is maxime probabit, qui in iudiciis legendis optimum, sapientissimum et fortissimum quemque delegit.

‘Aut, si forte. “Or if it should so happen,” *εἰ τύχοι.*

Immediately on the result of the trial being known, Milo withdrew to Marseilles : to this place Cicero sent the amended copy of his speech, verbally identical with the present. When Milo read it, he is said to have observed, “It is well that Cicero did not deliver this speech, else I should not now be eating those glorious mullets.” A few years after, he returned to Italy to join in the mad attempt of the tribune Clodius, and was slain at Compsa in Etruria.

M. TULLII CICERONIS
IN
M. ANTONIUM
ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA.

Quum Cicero superiorem orationem habuisset, Antonius in villa Tiburtina septemdecim dies, quid responderet, commensavit a. d. XIII Kal. Octobr. in senatum, qui in sede Concordiæ habebatur venit armatis stipatus, Ciceronemque, qui adesse ausus non vehementissima oratione insectatus est. Ei hac oratione Cicerovissime respondet, quæ tamen scripta potius ita, tanquam si præsentis Antonio respondisset, quam vere habita est.

I. (1.) QUONAM meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicitur ut nemo his ¹ annis viginti rei publicæ fuerit hostis, qui bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec necesse est quemquam a me nominari; vobiscum ipsi reamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus, quam ² optarem, dederunt.

¹ *Viginti annis.* Cicero reckons twenty years from his consulship to the supremacy of Mark Antony. *Romano more*, that is, counting from the year of his consulship. We would omit that, and thus make the period nineteen years. "*A se consule vigesimum consulem invenit M. Antonium,*"—AHRENS.

² *Optarem.* "Than I would *even now* desire." Madvig reads *optarem* but Cicero means that even now, if he could effect it, he would wish his enemies had been so severely punished.

³ *Ut audacior.* "So that you should be thought." "With the result of that." The particle *ut* anciently *cut*, connected with *qui*, *quod*, and *quod* for *illud*, (see Key Lat. Gr. § 1457,) frequently expresses a result, and in this case always has the subjunctive. *Sol efficit ut omnia floreat.*—CIC.

⁴ *Ultrò.* "Unprovoked," "unassailed," the ablative of *ulter*, adverbially like *utro*, *citro*, *neutro*, &c. From the notion of an *encroaching* the frontier, the word has got the idea of suddenly, "suddenly,"

iror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non orrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo um inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius; omnes a me rei publica laccessiti. Tu, ne verbo quidem violatus, ³ut cior quam L. Catilina, furiosior quam P. Clodius vide-
⁴ultro me maledictis laccessisti tuamque a me alienam commendationem tibi ad impios cives fore putavisti.

Quid putem? Contemptumne me? Non video nec ita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea iocritate ingenii, quid despiciere possit Antonius. An enatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo issimis civibus bene gestæ rei publicæ testimonium tis, mihi uni conservatæ dedit. An decertare mecum ut contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem beneficium est. d enim plenius, quid uberius, quam mihi et pro me et tra Antonium dicere? Illud profecto est: non existit, sui similibus probari posse, se esse hostem patriæ, mihi esset inimicus. (3.) Cui priusquam de ceteris rebus ondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus, quod ego gravissimum crimen judico, pauca dicam.

I. ⁵Contra rem suam me, nescio quando, ⁶venisse questus. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et essario? non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, ætatis flore collectam? non venirem contra injuriam, m iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non re prætorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto,

edly," and, as here, "unassailed" by the assaulted party. See n. *Quint. Virg.*

Contra rem suam. This matter is rather obscure from a passage .*st.* 16, 11, 1, it would appear that one *Sicca* was defended by re against some young freedman beloved by Antony (*flore Ætatis*). the more earnestly defended because some violent injury had perpetrated by Antony in the character of an *intercessor*. The us interference of Antony in behalf of a freedman necessarily nded men that he himself was the son-in-law of a freedman, adius. The first father-in-law of Antony was Q. Fadius, the id, C. Antonius, the third, M. Fulvius Bambalio.

Venisse. "Appeared" as an advocate. The verbs *adesse* and *stare* imilarly used in legal phraseology.

Jure prætorio. "Not by the prætor's jurisdiction." Thus *Verr.* 2, "*eiusdem modi totum jus prætorum fuit per triennium in Sicilia.* uently *jus prætorium* indicates the collection or body of law made f the *edicta* of the prætors.

ut te infimo ordini commendares, quum te omnes rearentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam tradideras (nam ita dixisti), domum meam ventitaras. tu, si id fecisses, melius famæ, melius pudicitie tue fuisses. Sed neque fecisti, nec, si cuperes, tibi id¹ Curionem facere licuisset. (4.) Auguratus petitionem te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! O dentiam prædicandam! Quo enim tempore, ² me augur toto collegio expetitur Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortator nominaverunt ³ (neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari) tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo, nisi eversa res publica, fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo te auguratum petere, quum ⁵ in Italia Curio non esset ⁶ tum, quum es factus, ⁷ unam tribum sine Curione potuisses? cujus etiam familiares de vi condemnati quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

III. (5.) At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? Quam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper præ me tuli. me tibi debere confiteri, quam cuiquam minus prudenter satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? Quod me disii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principem salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire jussisset, eum t

¹ *Per C. Curionem*, i. e. Curio the younger, an infamous colleague of Antony, who was prevented by his influence from attending Cicero's efforts for his reformation.

² *Me augurem*. Cicero was chosen augur in 701, in the year M. Licinius Crassus, slain by the Parthians.

³ *Neque licebat a pluribus nominari*. Since the tribes originally numbered three, and one augur represented each tribe, on the occurrence of a vacancy but two named the candidate, although at this time the college of augurs amounted to fifteen.

⁴ *Tu nec solvendo eras*. Literally, "you were not for solving," *Solvendo*, the dative of the active imperfect participle in *-endo* used in the neuter like a verbal substantive, like our participle *being*—KEY, 1283, &c.

⁵ *In Italia Curio*, &c. Curio, at the time alluded to, was quaestor in Asia. (*Ad Fam.* 2, 6.)

⁶ *Tum, cum es factus*. Antony was elected in place of Q. Curio, 704.

⁷ *Unam tribum ferre*. "Poll a single tribe." The augur was nominated by two of the college (see note 3 above), and then it was referred to the people to ratify their decision. The word used by the

is? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti
 ficiū latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se,
 esse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset bene-
 m, numquam, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant con-
 ati, quos tu ipse clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam
 at gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod
 ostinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam jucundum
 i videri debuit, non interfectum a te, quam miserum, te
 npune facere potuisse. (6.) Sed sit beneficium, quando-
 lem majus accipi a latrone nullum potuit; in quo potes
 dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicæ queri non
 mi, ne in te ingratus viderer? At ⁹in illa querela, misera
 dem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo mo-
 stus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est
 tum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid
 i amice? Quod quidem cujus temperantiæ fuit, de M.
 tonio querentem abstinere maledicto? præsertim quum
 reliquias rei publicæ dissipavisses, quum domi tuæ tur-
 timo mercatu omnia essent venalia, quum leges eas, quæ
 quam promulgatæ essent, et ¹⁰de te et a te latas con-
 tere, quum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustu-
 ta, quum esses fœdissime stipatus armatis, quum omnes
 puritates ¹¹pudica in domo quotidie susciperes, vino lus-
 que confectus. (7.) At ego, tamquam mihi cum M.

ominating was *co-opto*, that used regarding the popular election
 ia. (*Phil.* 13, 6, 12.)

Brundusii, i. e. when Cicero landed there after the battle of
 alia (706). (*Att.* 11, 6, 7.). However Cicero may disguise the

it was an act of forbearance on the part of Antony, for Cicero
 not then got his pardon from Cæsar.—*Interfectum*. Madvig thinks
 pronoun cannot be dispensed with; he places *me* after *interfectum*.

In illa querela, that is, in his first Philippic. The first Philippic
 delivered on the first of September. How changed were Cicero's
 sentiments regarding Antony from those he held of him in the April
 eding, when he wrote to him thus, "*te cariores habeo neminem*!"

De te=for your interest. This was opposed to the second Æbu-
 law, "*quæ non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione aut
 late, sed etiam collegas ejus, cognatos, affines exceptit, ne eis ea potestas
 tione mandetur.*" (*De Leg. Agr.* 8, 21.) It also opposed a Licinian
 tion, "*ne id quidem per legem Liciniam ut ipse tibi curationem
 t, facere potuisti.*" *Pro Dom.* 20, 51.

Pudica in domo. Scil. that of Pompey, which Antony, as *Sector*,
 seized upon. See below.

Quid est aliud contere e vita vitæ societatem, contere
rum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca sole
epistola, quæ, prolata si sint, inepta videantur? quæ
seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda? (8.) Si
humanitatis; stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quod
quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut ² Mustelæ T
Tironi Numisio videris (qui quum hoc ipso tempore
cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te
putabo, si ostenderis, quomodo sis eos ³ inter sicarios
surus), sed quid opponas tandem, si negem, me
istas literas ad te misisse? Quo me teste convin
chirographo, in quo habes ⁴ scientiam quæstuosam
possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Jam invideo
tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam jam profer
sapere ⁶ docuit. (9.) Quid est enim minus, non
toris, sed hominis, quam id objicere adversario, qui
verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit, qui
At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinco non
nitatis solum, sed etiam amentię. Quod enim v
istis literis est non plenum humanitatis, officii, b
tię? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in
non male existimem, quod scribam tamquam
tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad s

¹ *Inhumanitatis.* "Ignorance of the laws of society."
inserts *tuæ*.

latronem. At ego tuas literas, etsi jure poteram, a te accessitus, tamen non proferam, quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat ⁷ quendam de exsilio reducere, adjurasque, id te, invito ne, non esse facturum, idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciæ tuæ, quam neque auctoritas hujus ordinis neque existimatio populi Romani neque leges ullæ possent coercere? (10.) Verumtamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Cæsaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse; in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat, lege lata.

V. SED quum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis, ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam, ut, contra illum quum dicam, attente audiat. Simul illud oro, si meam quum in omni vita tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, quum isti, ⁸ ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo consulē; ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit, vel quod ita rem publicam gerit, vel quod ⁹ ita factus est; ego sine ulla controversia consularis. (11.) Ut igitur intelligeretis, qualem ipse consulē profiteretur, objecit mihi consulatum meum; si consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex hujus ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Hæc tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare. Quis autem, meum consulatum, præter P. Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? cujus quidem tibi fatum, sicuti C. Curioni, manet, ¹⁰ quoniam id domi tuæ est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. (12.) Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus! At

public violence, are extant. *Ad Att.* 14, 13. He must be distinguished from the Sex. Clodius mentioned § 8.

⁸ *Ut provocavit*, = *eo modo quo*. "In the same language as that with which he has assailed me."

⁹ *Ita factus est*. Scil. *consul*. He was "made" consul by Cæsar's nomination, not "elected" by the people.

¹⁰ *Quoniam id*, i. e. Fulvia. Cicero attributes to the intrigues of this lady the death of her former husbands. Clodius was slain by Milo: and Curio, Cæsar's lieutenant, was cut off in Africa by Juba. Her character is pithily drawn by Plutarch. *Οὐ θαλασίαν οὐδ' οἰκουρίαν προνοῦν γύναιον, οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἰρχειν καὶ στρατηγοῦντος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον.*

ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, complexus elans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. § singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias agere mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam acceptam.

VI. (13.) SED quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iis gestis, quas tendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, et ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque assensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem est togato ante me nemini. (14.) L. Cæsar, avunculus qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiarum in ⁴sororis suæ virum, ⁵vitricum tuum? Hunc tu auctorem et præceptorem omnium consiliorum te vitæ debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunculo

¹ *Servilio*, &c. Orelli remarks that this enumeration should be posed to include all those statesmen of the time whose politics Cicero approved of. Manutius wonders why there is no mention of Torquatus, (*Cos.* 689). Orelli quotes the ironical praise given in *pro Sull.* § 11. "*Patris tui, fortissimi viri atque optimi consiliorum non interfuisse*"

Hujus ego alienus consiliis consul usus sum, tu
 filius ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rett-
 At ad quos refert? Dii immortales! ad eos scilicet,
 nobis etiam dies ⁶ natales audiendi sunt. (15.)

⁷ non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat natalicium in
 Cui? Neminem nominabo; putate tum ⁸ Phormioni
 tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem
 is flagitiosam! o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem
 erendam! Tu quum principem senatorem, civem sin-
 m, tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica
 referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent,
 exhauriunt?

Tuus, videlicet, salutaris consulatus, perniciosus

Adeone ⁹ pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc
 templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui
 am florens orbi terrarum præsidebat, consulebam, tu
 es perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti? (16.) At
 ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?)
 in Capitolinum dicere, me consule, plenum servorum
 rum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatusconsulta
 vim afferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota
 unt (nihil enim boni nosti) sive sunt, qui apud tales
 am impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus,
 præter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se
 meminisset, quum senatus in hoc templo esset, in
 Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quam-
 nec scribæ sufficere ³ nec tabulæ nomina illorum capere

explains by a reference to the tumult and bustle attendant on
 celebration,

⁶ *descendit*. As the aristocracy usually dwelt upon the higher
 of Rome, and the forum, &c. was in the valley, the phrase
 ere was usual. Hence, even when the circumstances which gave
 the phrase no longer existed, the word *descendo* was still used;
 : for Antony now had possession of Pompey's house which was
 l in the *Carinæ*, one of the lowest places of Rome.

⁸ *Phormioni*. A parasite, a leading character in the *Phormio* of
 a, as *Ballio* is in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus.

⁹ *pudorem cum pudicitia*. — *Pudor*, "mental purity." *Pudicitia*,
 chastity." The terms are frequently joined by Cicero. See
 iap. 28.

Capitolinum. "The slope up to the Capitol from the forum."
 by this way the Gauls attempted to take the city; it is now re-
 ed by "the hundred steps."

potuerunt. (17.) ¹Etenim quum homines nefarii de parricidio confiterentur, conscriptorum indicibus, sua manum literarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives dare, vastare Italiam delere rem publicam consensisset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non cederetur? praesertim quum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem, quod ²accidit, contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem Clodius unquam, quem, quia jure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te onerari vitiis [eum] esse superatum. (18.) Qui autem tibi vehementer redigere in memoriam nostram, te ³domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare, ne non putaremus natum potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. TAM autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tecum ipse pugnares, ut non modo non coherentia indiceres, sed maxime dijuncta atque contraria, ut non mecum, quanta tecum tibi esset contentio. Vitricum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena affectum querere. Ita, quod proprie meum est, laudasti; quod totum me natus, reprehendisti. Nam comprehensio sententiarum mea adversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vitari. (19.) Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciae (enim se audacem), sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, quum subsellia nostra versentur armati? quum in hac cella cordiae, dii immortales! in qua, me consule, salutare

¹ *Etenim, &c.* The construction is plainly, *etenim quum homines de patriae parricidio* (in a case regarding the destruction of country) *confiterentur se consensisse urbem inflammare, &c.*

² *Accidit, contigisset.* Ernesti proposes to erase *accidit*. If be retained and used in a distinctive sense, *accidit* is "casually happened;" *contigisset*, "would have deservedly befallen you."

³ *Domus P. Lentuli.* See note 4, page 336. Julia, the mother of P. Lentulus, after the decease of M. Antonius Creticus, married P. Lentulus Sura.

⁴ *Tum copulatus.* This union of the senate and knights is frequently boasted of by Cicero as his work; it did not last long, however below.

⁵ *Ityræis.* Ἰτυραῖοι, a people of Syria about mount Libanus were admirable archers, hence Antony brought a troop of them.

XII. (28.) At quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. Cæsare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? Quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, quum ⁶rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est, se simul mearum laudum exstitisse. (29.) Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Cæsarem, crimen sit, etiam, lætatum esse morte Cæsaris, crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum noluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur, te excepto et iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa. Nam omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit. Voluntas nemini. (30.) Sed stuporem hominis, vel dicam peritis, attendite. Sic enim dixit: *M. ¹⁰ Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit, ex quo intelligi debet, eum conscium fuisse.* Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris, ille, qui stillantem præ se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto; sit in verbis tuis hic

turned in it, and did Cicero from policy favour this false pretension? Or was Domitius himself and his posterity anxious in after times to deny the fact, when he was receiving the favours of Augustus, or when one of them, Nero, ascended the imperial throne?"

⁶ *Patris interritus.* L. Domitius Ænobarbus, slain by Antony after the fight at Pharsalia.

⁷ *Avunculi mors.* M. Cato of Utica, whose sister was married to L. Domitius.

⁸ *Cascae.* "The two Cascæ." Shall I call them *Cascae* by their real name, or by *Ahalæ*, a name they merit? See note 2, page 342.

⁹ *Rem gessisset consimilem.* Cicero had executed Catiline's confederates, for aiming at tyranny. Brutus had slain Cæsar for attempting to take the title and name of king.

¹⁰ *Brutus.* With respect to the conduct of Brutus, Arnold remarks (vol. ii. 97), "About this time (708) Brutus divorced his first wife, Appia, the daughter of Appius Claudius, and married the famous Porcia, his cousin, the daughter of Cato. Soon after he received another mark of Cæsar's favour in being appointed *Prætor Urbanus* for the year 709: and he was holding that office, when he resolved to become the assassin of the man whose government he had twice acknowledged, by consenting himself to act in a public station under it. Sir Mathew Hale did

quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit, quam quiescere facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicæ sine suo non posset. At lætatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta lætitudinē civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat?

¹ Quamquam de morte Clodii fuit quæstio, non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta, (quid enim attinebat ² nova lege de eo, qui hominem occidisset, quum esset legibus quibus constituta?), quæsitum est tamen. Quod igitur, quum agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es invenire qui diceres.

(23.) Quod vero dicere ausus es, idque multis verbis opera mea Pompeium a Cæsaris amicitia esse disjuncturamque causam culpa mea civile bellum esse natum, non tu quidem tota re sed, quod maximum est, temporum errasti.

X. Ego, ³ M. Bibulo, præstantissimo cive, consule, prætermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem; in quo Cæsar felicior, ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate disjunxit. ⁴ Pompeius vero quam se totum Pompeius Cæsari tradidit, quid illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, sua impudentis. (24.) Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim; ea velim reprehendas, si potes; unum, ne ⁵ quinquennii imperium Cæsar prorogaret, ⁶ alterum ne pateretur ferri, ut ⁷ absentis

¹ *Quamquam* is frequently used as a *concessional* particle, when speaker limits and corrects what he had previously stated; it generally be translated "and yet" (why should I say this?)

² *Nova lege*, i. e. the unprecedented trial appointed by Pompeius in his third consulship, for the trial of Milo.

³ *M. Bibulo*. Colleague of Cæsar in his consulship, 695. When Cæsar attempted to pass his measure for distributing the whole Campanian district among 20,000 of the poorer citizens, Bibulus prevented him by proclaiming every day "holy" until the end of the year. Bibulus then withdrew from all participation in state affairs, whence the consuls of this year were humorously written JULIO ET CÆSARE. Cf. *Comitia cum Archilocho decreto distulit* (Att. ii. 20, 6.) *Bibulus a cælo est, nec quare scio. Sed ita laudatur quasi: unus homo nobis cunctando restituit res*, (19, 2). *M. Bibulus, Caio Cæsare leges ferentibus a cælo semper servabat*, (HARUSP. Resp. 23, 48).

⁴ *Postea vero*, i. e. on the formation of the first triumvirate, 60, 693.

⁵ *Quinquennii*, i. e., in accordance with the proposal of Trebonius, hence called the *Trebonia lex*.

haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has
ias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, quum jam
omnes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem
isset seroque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego multo ante
deram, inferrique patriæ bellum nefarium viderem,
concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti,
ut illa vox est nota multis: *Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum
Cæsare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam dire-*
! *Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiæ tuæ.* Hæc
M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica
lia fuerunt; quæ si valuissent, res publica staret, tu
lagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

(25.) SED hæc vetera; illud vero recens, Cæsarem
consilio interfectum. Jam vereor, patres conscripti, ne,
turpissimum est, prævaricatorem mihi apposuisse
; qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam
raret alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate glorio-
i facti nomen audivit? cujus autem, qui in eo numero
t, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico? cujus non
divulgatum? Citius dixerim¹¹ jactasse se aliquos, ut
in ea societate viderentur,¹² quum conscii non fuissent,
ut quisquam celari vellet, qui fuisset. (26.) Quam
imile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris partim
centibus neminem occultantibus meum nomen latere
se? Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desi-
ntur illis¹³ auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum

terum. This was the law proposed by M. Cælius Rufus, A.U.C.

sentis ratio. As Pompey had accepted the office of sole consul,
side at the trial of Milo, &c., he made this concession to Cæsar.
Utrum nefarium, which began 704. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 6, 6.
is sunt testes me et initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare monuisse
ium, et postea, ne sejungeret; conjunctione frangi senatus opes.
atione civile bellum excitari videbam.

ævaricatorem. From præ-varus, "a sham accuser." *Prævaricari*
accuse a person in such a way as that his acquittal would be
t, and then he could not be tried for the same offence again.

onaret, oneraret, a paronomasia, "would not only *laud* me with
won by myself, but *load* with those appertaining to others.

classe se aliquos. Among these were P. Lentulus Spinther, and
avius, who afterwards, under Octavianus, paid the penalty for
est.

um conscii non fuissent. "When they were not even privy to
ch less socii. Hence the reading *socii* is to be neglected.

his auctoribus. "If authorities were wanting to these autho-

uterque ¹ L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, ² alter Ahalæ? Hi igitur his majoribus ab alienis potius competere quam a suis? et foris potius quam domo? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quæ non modo domus sed ne ³ potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, tutorem, credo, desideravit; qui etiam sine his clarissimis hanc rem in Cilicia ⁴ ad ostium fluminis Cydni consili ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contravenas appulisset. (27.) ⁵ Cn. Domitium non ⁶ patris ritus, clarissimi viri, non ⁷ avunculi mors, non sed dignitatis, ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea au excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam majorem ei res gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius præposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem sequi quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam turum putavi; admiratus autem ob eam causam immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuisset. Quos Servilios? ⁸ Cascas dicam, an Ahalas? et hos auctores mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicæ Longum est persequi ceteros; idque rei publicæ præfuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

rities; he hints that their example will be an authority to perhaps against Antony himself. I have restored, then, the original. Orelli has *actoribus*.

¹ *L. Bruti imaginem.* *Phil. i. 13: Fuerit ille Brutus, qui dominatu regia rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit.*

² *Alter etiam Ahalæ.* "His mother Servilia traced her Ahala (Ἀλα) Servilius, who, when Spurius Mælius (A.U.C. 100) laying the basis of tyranny and agitating the people, seeing and hiding it under his arm, went forth to the Agora, and beside the man, as if intending to meet and speak with him, stood towards him, smote and slew him." *PLUT. Brut. 1.*

³ *Potentiam.* In allusion to the slaughter, by his father of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, (*Cos. 251*) who proposed the first law.

⁴ *Ad ostium,* i. e. at the mouth of the bay of Tarsus. No trace of this attempt is found elsewhere.

⁵ *Cn. Domitium.* (*Phil. ii. 11.*) "But Suetonius says (*Nero. 1*) Domitius was accused without foundation, of having had a hand in this deed. Was he among those Patrician youths who joined the conspirators immediately after the murder, wishing to app

XII. (28.) At quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. Cæsare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? Quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, quum ⁶rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est, se ⁷emulum mearum laudum exstitisse. (29.) Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Cæsarem, crimen sit, etiam, lætatum esse morte Cæsaris, crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur, te excepto et iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa. Etiam omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini. (30.) Sed stuporem hominis, vel dicam pedis, attendite. Sic enim dixit: *M. ¹⁰Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit, ex quo intelligi debet, eum conscium fuisse.* Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris, ille, qui stillantem præ se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto; sit in verbis tuis hic

turned in it, and did Cicero from policy favour this false pretension? Or was Domitius himself and his posterity anxious in after times to deny the fact, when he was receiving the favours of Augustus, or when one of them, Nero, ascended the imperial throne?"

⁶ *Patris interritus.* L. Domitius Ænobarbus, slain by Antony after the fight at Pharsalia.

⁷ *Avunculi mors.* M. Cato of Utica, whose sister was married to L. Domitius.

⁸ *Cascæ.* "The two Cascæ." Shall I call them *Cascæ* by their real name, or by *Ahalæ*, a name they merit? See note 2, page 342.

⁹ *Rem gessisset consimilem.* Cicero had executed Catiline's considerations, for aiming at tyranny. Brutus had slain Cæsar for attempting to take the title and name of king.

¹⁰ *Brutus.* With respect to the conduct of Brutus, Arnold remarks (vol. ii. 97), "About this time (708) Brutus divorced his first wife, Appia, the daughter of Appius Claudius, and married the famous Porcia, his cousin, the daughter of Cato. Soon after he received another mark of Cæsar's favour in being appointed *Prætor Urbanus* for the year 709: and he was holding that office, when he resolved to become the assassin of the man whose government he had twice acknowledged, by consenting himself to act in a public station under it. Sir Mathew Hale did

stupor; quanto in rebus sententiisque major? Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn. Domitii, C. Trebonii, reliquorum quam velis esse causam; edormi ¹crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces admovendæ sunt, quæ te excitent, tantæ causæ indormientem? Numquamne intelliges, statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidæne sint an vindices libertatis?

XIII. (31.) ATTENDE enim paullisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quidquam esse medium; confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicæ sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, siquidem est atrocius patriæ parentem quam suum occidere. Tu, homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? ²Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te ³legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies abfuisset? cur ⁴ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur ⁵provinciæ ⁶Bruto et Cassio datæ? cur quæstores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atque hæc acta per te. Non igitur homicidas. Se-

well to accept the place of the judge during the usurpation of Cromwell; but what should we think of him, if, whilst filling that office, he had associated himself with Colonel Titus, and other such wretches in their plans to remove the Protector by assassination? But the ingratitude of Brutus was shown more fully by Cæsar's will."

¹ *Crapulam.* The strong fumes of wine; the effect of a debauch upon the head, from *κραίπυλη, πάλλειν τὸ κᾶρα*.

² *Si parricidas.* Scil. *dicis*, as below, *non igitur homicidas*. The usual reading is *parricidæ—homicidæ*.

³ *Legibus est solutus.* Not "freed from all law;" but "freed from all the laws connected" with some office or leading law. Grævinus supposed that the plural was used for the singular, *legibus* for *lege*. Orelli shows the exact meaning to be that above given. "For suppose this law, *Prætor ab urbe plus quam x. dies ne abesto*; now he who was absolved from that law, was consequently absolved from the law regarding his personal superintendence of the Apollinarian games, and all others connected with the law requiring his presence."

⁴ *Ludi Apollinares.* Were first celebrated by P. Cornelius Sulla, A.U.C. 541, on occasion of a victory over the Carthaginians. These games were celebrated by the ensuing prætors, but the day for their celebration was not fixed, in other words, they were *indictis* not *stativæ*. In the year 545, a pestilence arose at Rome, causing long but not fatal illness; hence P. Licinius Varus, as prætor, prepared and

ut liberatores tuo iudicio sint, quandoquidem tertium
 test esse. (32.) Quid est? num conturbo te? Non
 ortasse satis, quæ ⁷ diiunctius dicuntur, intelligis. Sed
 hæc summa est conclusionis meæ, quoniam scelere a
 tati sunt, ab eodem te amplissimis præmiis dignissimos
 os. Itaque jam ⁸ retexo orationem meam. Scribam
 , ut, si qui forte, quod a te mihi objectum est, quærent,
 rum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor, ne aut, celatum
 s ipsis non honestum, aut, invitatum refugisse, mihi
 issimum. Quæ enim res umquam (pro sancte Jup-
 non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est
 ajor? quæ gloriosior? quæ commendatior hominum
 æ sempiternæ? In hujus me tu consilii societatem,
 m in equum Trojanum, cum principibus includis?
 lon recuso; ago etiam gratias, ⁹ quoquo animo facis:
 enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis
 re, cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius
 os tu expulsos a te prædicas et relegatos? qui locus
 tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, quum
 rint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines
 testes, qui se, quum eos adspexerint, non maximum
 vitæ fructum putent? quæ vero tam immemor pos-

a law that these games should be annually celebrated on a
 y, i. e. the third before the nones of Quintilis. (See LIV. 27,
 ace mentions the twofold origin of these games. (Carm. i. 21.)

*Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem
 Pestemque a populo, et principe Cæsare, in
 Persas, atque Britannos
 Vestra motus aget prece.*

inciae. Macedonia to Brutus, Syria to Cassius.
 mus Brutus was appointed to succeed to the consulship in 711,
 aim the command of Cisalpine Gaul. He was also mentioned
 : in his will, among those who were to receive a share in his
 ce in case of the failure of his direct heirs. See note 10, p. 343.
 inctius. "Too logically. *Disjunctè dicere*, is, "To prove by a
 ve syllogism," e. g. The slayers of Cæsar must either be
 or murderers; but by your favours they are proved not to be
 ra. They are patriots.
 a. "I unravel," "unweave;" as *texere orationem*, is used to
 he Greek *μῦθους ὑφαίνειν*, &c. Thus *Retegens*. Cf. HOR. Sat.
criptorum quæque retexens.
 pro animo facis. Cicero believed Antony's object was to
 e veterans against him." *Nullam aliam ob causam, me auc-*
issæ Cæsaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani
 : (Ad Fam. xii. 2.) MANUT.

teritas, quæ tam ingratae literæ reperientur, quæ eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu adscribe me talem in numerum.

XIV. (34.) Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. enim ¹ fuissem, non solum regem, sed regnum etiam publica sustulissem, et si ² meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dic mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam fecissem. Quamquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse erit est, vide, quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quæ ³ Narbonem hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem, quum interficeret Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimice), quod bene cogi aliquando, laudo, quod non indicasti, gratias ago, quod fecisti, ignosco. Virum res illa quærebat. (35.) Quæ te in judicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassia ⁴ cui bono fuerit, vide, quæso, ne hæreas. Quamquam quidam fuit, ⁵ ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui senes nolabant; tibi tamen præcipue, qui non modo non senes sed etiam regnas; qui maximo te ære alieno ad ædem ⁶ liberasti; qui ⁷ per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti; ad quem e domo Cæsaris tam multa decessunt; cujus domi quæstuosissima est falsorum commerciorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum immunitatum, vectigalium flagitiosissimæ nundinæ. (Etenim quæ res egestati et æri alieno tuo præter mortem Cæsaris subvenire potuisset? ⁸ Nescio quid conturbare esse videris. Numquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc cri-

¹ *Fuissem.* Scil. in tali numero.

² *Meus stilus.* "If that had been my piece, as is said, trust I would not have completed merely a single act, but a complete tragedy." Cicero means, he would have slain all tyrants, including Antony.

³ *Narbonem.* When Cæsar returned from Spain, after his conquest of Pompey's sons, he delayed awhile at Narbo. Antony went to him, and brought in his train Trebonius. As Antony considered he had not been sufficiently rewarded by Cæsar, Trebonius hinted to him that Cæsar could be removed. If Antony did not heartily favour the design, or feared to execute it as Cicero declares, certainly he kept the matter secret. The date for this incident is 709. Antony's return from Narbo was caused by the threatened sale of his property for insolvency. The services of Antony to Cæsar were by no means unimportant. He had furnished Cæsar with a pretence for his rebellion by his flight from Rome, in 704. He had held the government of Italy during Cæsar's absence in Spain. Throughout the campaign

pertinere videatur? Libero te metu; nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarrissimos viros res publica auctores; ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus; nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. (87.) Castra mihi Pompeii atque illud omne tempus objecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium ⁹ auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim, me, quum ea, quæ acciderunt, providerem futura, tanta in mœstitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitæ cupiditatem, quæ me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego præstantissimos viros, lumina rei publicæ, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot prætorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem præterea florem nobilitatis ac juventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus, qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua iudicione pacis (mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur), rem publicam hodie teneremus. 88.) Quæ sententia si valuisset, ac non ii maxime mihi, tuorum ego vitæ consulebam, spe victoriæ elati obstitissent, et alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine vel potius nunquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompeii

in Greece he had by his exertions mainly contributed to the success of Caesar's operations, and after the battle of Pharsalia had humoured the victorious legions on their return to Italy, and kept Italy in subjection until Caesar's return from Egypt. See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 67.

⁴ *Cui bono fuerit.* See *Milo*, chap. xii. note.

⁵ *Ut tu dicebas.* Madvig proposes, *ut tum dicebas.*

⁶ *Opis.* See below, § 93. Cicero means that Antony paid his debts by seizing the money deposited in the temple of Ops by Cæsar.

⁷ *Per easdem tabulas.* Used for *per ejusdem (templi) tabulas.* See 93.

⁸ *Nescio quid conturbatus.* "You appear to me to be somewhat disturbed." See ZUMPT, *L. Gr.* § 553 (note 1.)

⁹ *Auctoritas valuisset.* Cicero had proposed that Pompey should retire into his province Spain, and then, at the expiration of their respective terms of office, that both Cæsar and Pompey should disband their armies.

voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quam plus dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut con contulit sæpius? Quod quidem erat magnum, de sui re publica dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amici permanere. Sed et ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civi primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille præsentis digni potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque, consequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. (Quid vero ille singularis vir ac pæne divinus de me sensi sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga ¹ Paphum persecuti sunt? Numquam ab eo mentio de me, nisi honorifica, nisi per amicissimi desiderii, quum me vidisse plus fateretur, se ravisse meliora. Et ejus viri nomine me insectari aut cujus me amicum, te ² sectorem esse fateare?)

XVI. SED omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimis felix fuisti. Ne de jociis quidem respondebo, quibus in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra per curam, verumtamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxari (40.) Quod autem idem mæstitiam meam reprehendit, in jocum, magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse mactatum.

¹ *Paphum*. There were two cities of this name in the island Cyprus called old Paphos and New Paphos. Pompey, in his retreat, had first about sixty senators with him. He went first to Lesbos, then to Paphos and last to Egypt.

² *Sectorem*. There is a paranomasia in *insectari* and *sectorem*, which we cannot transfer to English. The property of condemned, proscribed or insolvent persons, was *divided* (*secta*) among his creditors, or those who informed upon him; hence, those who obtained a share of plunder were called *sectores*. Gaius's definition is, "those are called *sectores* who purchase property publicæ."

³ *Hereditates*. As bequests were supposed to prove friendship, Antony meant to infer that Cicero was destitute of friends.

⁴ *HS. ducenties* = 20,000,000 sesterces. *Sestertius* = *semis-tertius*. The third is a half, but the first two are whole. This is the same as the German *drittenhalb* or two and a half, and the Greek *τρίτον ῥάλαντρον*. To the symbol for two, in order to express the half, Romans added S, with a line through the whole symbol, as in our £ for pounds, thus $\frac{1}{2}$ £; but printers have found it convenient to substitute the letters HS. KEY, *L. G.* § 272. A million of sesterces is short of £10,000; hence the numbers required, when the sesterce was the unit, soon became inconveniently large, and the only mode which the Romans had of expressing numbers above 100,000, was by means

¹Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset; plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius ⁴HS. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorum esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor jungeretur; te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius ⁵Casinas [fecit heredem.] (41.) Et quidem vide, quam te amarit is, qui ⁶albus aterne fuerit, ignoras: Fratris filium prateriit, Q. Fufii, honestissimi ⁷equitis Romani, sui que amantissimi, quem palam heredem semper ⁸factitarat; te, quem nunquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. Nihil scio, inquires, nisi quæ prædia habuerit. Igitur fratrem inheredans te faciebat heredem. In multas præterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum, ejectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. (42.) Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, quum ipse hereditatem ⁹patris non adisses.

XVII. Hæc ut colligeres, homo amentissime, ¹⁰tot dies in aliena villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem (ut tui familiarissimi dictitant) vini exhalandi, non ingenii acuendi

the numeral adverbs, thus *accepi vices ducenta triginta quinque millia, quadrigentes septemdecim nummos*, "I received 2,235,417 sesterces." By way of brevity, *centena millia* was dropped with the adverbs, causing no ambiguity, because the adverbs could only be used with *sestertium* in this sense. Although *sestertium*, as used with *millia*, was in fact a genitive, it was found convenient to treat it as a neuter substantive, so that *sestertia* was used as a nominative or accusative plural. KEY, *L.G.* § 1071, 2, 3.

¹ *Casinas*, i. e. a native of *Casinum*, a town of Latium on the river Casinus.

⁶ *Albus aterne*. A proverbial expression. Orelli cites CATULL, 94. *Nū nimium studeo, Cæsar, tibi velle placere. Nec scire, utrum sis Albus ater homo.*

⁷ *Equitis Romani*. Added to distinguish him from Q. Fufius Calenus, senator, and father-in-law of Pansa. MANUT. L. Rubrius and Q. Fufius were either uterine brothers or cousins. ORELL.

⁸ *Factitarat, te*. I have admitted Heusinger's correction, which was adopted by Madvig and Orelli. The common text has, *facitarat, ne nominat*.

⁹ *Patris*. M. Antonius Creticus, who bequeathed nothing to his son.

¹⁰ *Tot dies*. Seventeen, as we learn from *Phil.* v. 75.—*In aliena villa*. At the residence of Q. Metellus Scipio, who perished in Africa.

causa declamas. At vero adhibes joci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti, ut in te, quæ vellet, diceret, salsum omnino hominem; sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos ¹ dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causæ prodesset, tu cursum dicis aliena. (43.) At quanta merces rhetori data est? Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicæ vulnera. Duo milia jugerum campi ² Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori ³ assignasti, et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissimus, ex Cæsaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Læstino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos rei publicæ turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Jam enim, quoniam criminibus ejus satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quædam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si sæpius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam, quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

XVIII. (44.) Visne igitur te ⁴ suspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor; a principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria, ⁵ prætextatum te ⁶ decoxisse? ⁷ Patris, inquires, ista culpa est, Concedo. Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciæ tuæ, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ⁸ ordinibus, quum

¹ *Dicta dicere.* To utter jests. See *de Oratore*, lib. iii.

² *Leontini.* Of the Leontines, a people of Sicily. This is not the name of a city.

³ *Assignasti.* Properly, to assign or divide conquered lands. *Assignatio fit per leges agrarias, coloniis deducendis.* DIO. xi. 20.

⁴ *Suspiciamus a puero.* This is modelled from the attack of Demosthenes, upon the childhood and youth of Æschines.

⁵ *Prætextatum.* The male and female children of the Romans wore white tunics bordered with purple fringe, until the age of sixteen or seventeen, when the males assumed the toga. Late writers represent the *prætexta* as being laid aside at fourteen years of age, but this seems to have been permitted only in the case of the Cæsars, or successors to the empire.

⁶ *Decoxisse.* "Became bankrupt;" properly "to boil away;" hence to "dissipate" property; to cause it, as it were, to evaporate. Cf. *Att.* ix. 9. *Sciebam, eum agrum decoquere quoto anno.*

⁷ *Patris.* M. Antonius Creticus. The name Creticus was given to him in derision, on account of his ill-managed and unsuccessful expedition to Crete. Cf. *PLUT. Anton.* 1. He held a command against the pirates, of equal extent to that conferred on Pompey.

esset lege ⁹ Roscia decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis fortunæ vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim ¹⁰ muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quæstu abduxit et, tamquam ¹¹ stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo locavit. (45.) Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domu sua ejecit? quoties custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? quum tu tamen, nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere. Quæ flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne, me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, quum pater Curio mærens jacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrimans, te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagies peteret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te ¹² intercessisse dicebat; ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exilium iturum. (46.) Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi vel potius sustuli? Patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adolescentem summa spe et animi et ingenii præditum rei familiaris facultatibus, eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio jure et potestate prohiberet.

⁹ *Ordinibus*, i. e. in the fourteen rows set apart by Otho in the theatre for the knights. The orchestra, or open place, in what we would call the pit, was set apart for senators. At the time here spoken of, Antony was but an *eques*.

⁹ *Roscia*. Roscius Otho set apart fourteen rows in the theatre, behind the senators, for the knights, whose property amounted to 400,000 sesterces. From the occurrence of the verb *restituit* Otho, in *Murena*, chap. 19, it would appear that the knights anciently sat apart from the people, and that Otho merely restored to them this privilege; in the consulship of Cicero, the plebs endeavoured to annul this law, thinking it insulting to themselves. See *Att.* 11, 1. Another law, the *lex Julia*, was afterwards framed, confirming the enactments of the Roscian.

¹⁰ *Muliebrem togam*. Scandalous women were obliged to wear the man's robe (*toga*). Matrons wore the *stola*, and this *stola* was first given to the young bride by the husband.

¹¹ *Stolam*. For the matrons used the *stola*. Harlots were obliged to wear the man's gown, *toga*. Cf. *HOR. Epist.* i. 18, 3. *Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque discolor*.

¹² *Intercessisse*. Had gone security for you to that amount. "*Sponsorem fieri pecuniæ, quam suo quis interventu alteri conciliavit*." ERNEST.

Hæc tu quum per me acta meminisses, nisi ¹ illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?

XIX. (47.) SED jam stupra et flagitia omittamus; sunt quædam, quæ honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quæ a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitæ cursum videte; quem quidem celeriter perstringam; ad hæc enim, quæ in civili bello, in maximis rei publicæ miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quæ quotidie facit, festinat animus. Quæ peto ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiat. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Tametsi incidamus oportet media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

(48.) Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; ejus omnium incendiorum fax; cujus etiam domi jam tum ² quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam, ipse optime intelligit. Inde iter ³ Alexandream contra ⁴ senatus consultum, contra rem publicam et religiones; sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam ⁵ Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum. Quæ autem erat domus? Suam enim quisque domum tum obtinebat, nec erat usquam tua. Domum dico? Quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem

¹ *Illis gladiis.* Strictly demonstrative, Cicero intending to direct attention to the barbarian guards of Antony.

² *Quiddam.* An allusion to his attempt at an intrigue with Fulvia.

³ *Alexandream.* A. 697. Antonius seized the command of the cavalry, which under Gabinus had restored Ptolemy Auletes, after his expulsion from Egypt.

⁴ *Senatus consultum.* For the Sibylline books had forbidden Ptolemy to be restored by an army, and so his attempt was *contra religiones*.

⁵ *Galliam.* To Cæsar, A.U.C. 700. [*In ultimam Galliam.* For Cæsar was just returned from his expedition to Britain, and was stationed among the *Morini*, "*extremi*" *hominum*. VIRG.]

⁶ *Misenum.* A little villa at Misenum, a town on the pleasant shore of Baia.

⁷ *Sisaponem.* A town of Spain, in the district of Cordoba, famous for its mines, which were worked by joint-stock companies. Cicero means that Antony's creditors were shareholders, in all his apparent property, it was so involved.

⁸ *Quæsturam.* A. 701. It was the first office which constituted a *magistratus*.

⁹ *Parentem tuum,* i. e. his mother Julia, sister of L. Cæsar, his father

es, præter unum ⁶ Misenum, quod cum sociis, tamquam ponem, tenabas ?

L. (49.) VENISTI e Gallia ad ⁸ quæsturam petendam. dicere, te prius ad ⁹ parentem tuam venisse quam ad Acceperam jam ante Cæsaris literas, ut mihi satisfaceret a te. Itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de te. Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quæsturæ. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium, appropinquans populo Romano, in foro es conatus occidere ; quumque tu sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita cabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, ummihi pro tuis in me injuriis satis esse facturum. Inle miror, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse quum te, ultro mihi idem illud deferentem, numquam dhortatus, ¹⁰ quanquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. tor es factus. (50.) Deinde continuo sine senatus-ulto, ¹¹ sine sorte, sine lege ad Cæsarem concurristi. Id unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiae, perditis rationibus, perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te quum et largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses (¹² si hoc est re, quod statim effundas), advolasti egens ad ¹³ tribunatum in eo magistratu, si posses, ¹⁴ viri tui similis esses.

II. ACCIPITE nunc, quæso, non ea, quæ ipse in se atque

ed shortly after his Cretan expedition. The Latin grammarians at *parens* is masculine, even though applied to a woman. Some have *tuam*.

numquam. "And yet," i. e. I never gave you such advice, because now you would not persevere, and yet had you persevered, &c. Orelli; Madvig has *quoniam*.

sine sorte. Usually the senate appointed the officers by lot, but he, immediately after his appointment, set out to Cæsar, and was nominated by him as his own quæstor. Antony's quæstorship in A.U.C. 702.

si hoc est explere. Orelli, Madvig, &c., look upon this passage as corrupted; and from the consent of MSS. in this reading, Orelli derives that all our present MSS. are derived from one original. But if the text be not mutilated at all? Suppose we take *hoc* as *re* neuter, and *est* for *licet*, ἔξεστι. We have then, Cicero's correction of the previous sentence, "If it be possible to gorge yourself with that you must at once disgorge." At all events my proposal is easier than to alter the text.

tribunatum. A.U.C. 704.

viri tui. Curio. See above, chap. xviii.

¹ in domesticum decus impure atque intemperanter, sed que in nos fortunasque nostras, id est, in universam rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit. Ab hujus enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. (51.) Nam quum, L. Lentulo, C. Marcello consulibus, Kalendis Januariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis, itaque C. Cæsari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque ² emancipatum tribunatum consilii vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit ³ securi, quibus multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id ⁴ decrevit senatus, et quidem incolumis, nondum tot laniationibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more majorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra te dicere ausus es, quum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicæ judicatus? Commemoratio illius sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit (quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum), tua illa ⁵ pestifera intercessio nominabitur. (52.) Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, quum tū, unus ⁶ adolescens, universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicæ prohibuisti, neque id semel, sed sæpius? Neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi putares. Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles? Quum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque majores natu monendo neque frequens senatus

¹ *In domesticum decus.* "Against his private character for honour." Most editors have *dedecus*, but this would be *contra dedecus*, i. e. to his honour, the direct reverse of what Cicero intended. The correction is due to Madvig, *Opusc. Acad.* 166.

² *Emancipatum.* "Sold," "enslaved" HOR. *Epod.* ix. 11.

*Romanus, cheu! posteri negabitis
Emancipatus fœminæ, &c.*

Cato, chap. 11. *Si senectus nemini emancipata est.* Where see Georg Long's note.

³ *Securi.* Cicero of course does not mean the axe, literally, but metaphorically, the penalty of the laws. To a Roman, exile was political death. Actual death, was at this time, impossible to be inflicted, *sine consensu populi*, which is tantamount to not at all.

⁴ *Decrevit.* The famous clause, *consules viderent ne res publica, &c.*

⁵ *Pestifera intercessio.* The senate passed a decree, that Cæsar in person having laid down his command, should sue for the consulship. To this decree Antonius gave his veto.

⁶ *Adolescens.* He was then thirty-four years of age, but the term *adolescens* is used often with a wide range.

ndo de ⁷ vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit, illud, multis rebus ante tentatis, necessario tibi vulnus actum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit io; (53.) tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus quisque imperiis et potestatibus; quæ non effugisses, nisi d arma Cæsaris ⁸ contulisses.

XII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Cæsari, ia perturbare cupienti, causam belli contra patriam in-ndi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam lementissimi consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quod ⁹ inter-o neglecta, jus tribunicium sublatum, ¹⁰ circumscriptus iatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quam hæc falsa, quam , præsertim quum omnino nulla causa justa cuiquam esse it contra patriam arma capiendi; sed nihil de Cæsare; certe confitendum est, causam perniciosissimi belli in na tua constitisse. (54.) O miserum te, si intelligis, riorem, si non intelligis, hoc literis mandari, hoc memoriæ i, hujus rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium seculorum iam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos, cum- nis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus men fuit, omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi m illam fugamque potuissent, ¹¹ prætores, prætorios, tri- s plebis, magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem itutis unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque ex- inatam suis sedibus! (55.) Ut igitur in seminibus est

Endita. Sold privately. *Addicta*, i. e., *auktioniata*." "Sold to the st bidder." *Verres*. 11, 32. *Pretio addictam habere fidem*. The is properly used of an insolvent debtor whose person was given he possession of his creditor.

Contulisses. Voluntarily betook yourself. It does not appear to rtain that any violence was used towards Antony, or that he was led. Most likely he took the senators' decree as a significant hint m to fly from Rome.

Intercessio. Even Sulla, when he abolished the executive power s tribunes, allowed them to retain their power of *intercessio*. : complained violently of Pompey's taking from them a power . even Sulla had left. (*Bell. Civil.* 4.)

Circumscriptus. Editors usually quote *Att.* 7, 9, where the four ds of coercing a refractory tribune are given. *Notatus* (to repri-). *S. consulto circumscriptus*, (coerced. See *Milo*, chap. 33.) us, as Octavius by Gracchus; or *expulsus*, as Antony pretended s.

Prætores. One at least remained behind. M. Æmilius Lepidus, , afterwards named Cæsar dictator, and was appointed by him r of the horse.

causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi b
semen tu fuisti. Doletis ¹tres exercitus populi Rom
interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissim
cives; eos quoque vobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hu
ordinis afflicta est; afflixit Antonius. Omnia denique, q
postea vidimus (quid autem mali non vidimus?), si re
ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Hel
Trojanis, sic iste huic rei publicæ causa belli, causa per
atque exitii fuit. Reliquæ partes tribunatus principiis simi
Omnia perfecit, quæ senatus, salva re publica ne fieri p
sent, perfecerat. Cujus tamen scelus in scelere cognosci

XXIII. (56.) RESTITUEBAT multos calamitosos; in
²patruī nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes?
misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros. Licini
³Lenticulam, de alea condemnatum, collusorem suum, i
tituit; quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret; ⁴
ut, quod in alea perdiderat, ⁵beneficio legis dissolver
Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano, cur eum resti
oporteret? Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indi
causa judicatam; ⁶nullum fuisse de alea lege judicium;
oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo di
batur, pecunia judicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum.
vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad re
ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, si
esset, ignoscerem; hominem omnium nequissimum, qui i
dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quæ est de alea, c

¹ *Tres exercitus.* In Thessaly, at Pharsalia, under Pompey. Afr
at Thapsus, under Scipio. Spain, at Munda, under Afranius.

² *Patruī.* C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in his consulship;
now in exile, having been accused both of extortion in his provi
and complicity with Catiline. He spent his exile at Cephalaria u
recalled to Rome by Cæsar.

³ *Lenticulam.* This person is not otherwise known. He was resto
by Antony shortly after Cæsar's death, in 710.

⁴ *Sed ut.* "But the motive was."

⁵ *Beneficio legis.* Antony owed money to Lenticula for losses
gambling; he paid this debt by the service rendered to Lenticula
the enactment of this law.

⁶ *Nullum fuisse de alea lege judicium.* "There was no trial
gambling, legally. Cicero merely says that this defence might be set
by a special pleader. Cf. HOR. *Seu malis vetita legibus alea.*

⁷ *In Hispaniam proficiscens.* This was in the interval between
evacuation of Brundisium by Pompey and the battle of Phars
i. e. about 704.

m, qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime suum ipse profitetur? (57.) In eodem vero tribunum Cæsar ⁷ in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculatiam tradidisset, quæ fuit ejus peragratio itinerum? municipiorum? Scio me in rebus celebratissimis sermone versari, eaque, quæ dico dicturusque sum, omnibus esse, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, fui. Notabo tamen singulas res; etsi nullo modo ratio mea satisfacere vestræ scientiæ. Etenim quod in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum est? turpitudinem? tantum dedecus?

7. (58.) VEHEBATUR in ⁸essedo tribunus plebis, laureati antecedeabant, inter quos aperta lectica portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et nomine, sed ¹⁰ Volumniam consalutabant; sequebatur cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi; rejecta mater impuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miseræ fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam denique impressit.

Reliquorum factorum ejus, patres conscripti, difficilis reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium; felix fuit, si illa in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam ¹² veteranis esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa illi secuti sunt, tu quæsisisti ducem, tamen, ne apud

8. A Gallic or British' chariot; the Tribunes, Flamens, and were forbidden the use of carriages.

9. *laureati*. Cæsar had allowed his *legati* to have lictors decked with bay leaves. Antony, as being one of Cæsar's friends, was allowed liberty to bring them with him on his progress.

10. *Volumniam*, i. e. Cytheris, as being not only the mistress of Antony, but also the daughter of the tribune Volumnius. Very likely, however, it was through a mistake that they styled her *Volumnia*, for that was the name of the emperor's mother.

11. *lenonibus*. A curious reading occurs in many MSS., *cum lenonibus*, and it appears that Antony had a fancy for keeping these lions yoked to his chariot (Ad. Att. x. 13). *Tu Antonii leones pertimescas, cave*. From this it appears likely that he had lions yoked to the chariot in which he fled from Cytheris. "*Ita primus leones Romæ ad currum junxit M. Antonius. Nam quod ita vectus est cum mimâ Cytheride, supra dictam calamitatum est.*" (PLIN. viii. 15.)

12. *an* *cautum esse*. "We wish to take precautions for the

illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Illi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium; potuisse enim fateor; quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tam tecum faceret, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. (60.) Tanta est enim caritas patriæ, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus esset, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac, id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta; licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, præsertim quam te hæc auditurum videres?

XXV. (61.) ¹VENISTI Brundisium, in sinum quidem eius in complexum tuæ mimulæ. ²Quid est? num mentiris? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisium illam non viderit? quis, qui nescierit, venisse eam? tot dierum viam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit, tam seipsum, quam nequam hominem secutus esset, cognoscere? (62.) Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mimæ; in oppidis militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe auri, argenti, maximeque vini fœda direptio. Accessit, ut, ⁴Cæsare ignaro, quum esset ille Alexandræ, beneficio amicorum ejus magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit, se suo jure cum ⁵Hippia vivere, et ⁶equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere.

veterans," i. e. to retain for them their advantages." See *Phil.* 1, 1. "*Veterani—quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat.*"

¹ Antony wrote to Cicero, requesting his consent to the restoration of Sex. Clodius from exile, telling him that though he was bound to restore him, as that was one of Cæsar's acts, yet he would not press the point if disagreeable to Cicero. The latter assented. To show how completely he was duped by Antony we cite a passage from Cicero's reply to Antony's request. (*Ad. Att.* xiv. xiii.) "*Nam quum te semper amavi, primum tuo studio, post etiam beneficio, provocatus, tum his temporibus res publica te mihi commendavit, ut cariorem habeam neminem.*"

² After the battle of Pharsalia Antony returned to Italy with the victorious legions, and although during the contests in Greece the people of Italy had waited calmly to abide the result of the campaign, and accept whichever should be victor, it was soon proved that they had to pay the same penalties as the most violent. Antony's troops were billeted throughout the towns, and indulged in every species of debauchery and violence; and the whole command in Italy was conferred on, or assumed by, Antony, with the title of Cæsar's lieutenant. (See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 15.).

Tum sibi non ⁷ hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat. Nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Cn. Pompeii locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

(63.) Sed hæc, quæ robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus; loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis similitudine, tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. Rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accideret, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu vero populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus,remium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed hoc ipse letetur esse in suis sordibus; veniamus ad splendidiora.

XXVI. (64.) CÆSAR ⁸ Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi videm videbatur; mea autem sententia qui rei publicæ infelix, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro æde Jovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompeii (miserum me! consumptissimum lacrimis, tamen infixus hæret animo dolor), bona, in-

³ *Tot dierum viam.* From Rome to Brundisium, 350 miles.

⁴ *Cæsare ignaro.* For immediately after the battle of Pharsalia Cæsar proceeded to Alexandria, and consequently was ignorant of affairs at Rome. It seems Cæsar was annoyed at the appointment of Antony, for immediately on his return he appointed Lepidus as master of the horse in place of Antony.

⁵ *Hippia.* Plutarch makes this person to be a *mimus*, like Servius, &c. Juvenal represents Hippia as an abandoned female; if a male, she was the wife of Sergius. (?)

⁶ *Equos vectigales.* Some of the tributary states supplied Rome with a certain number of horses yearly. Senators had the privilege of buying these for a small sum. Antony took his proper number, and then consigned them to Sergius to make what he could of them. All this appears from a passage of Asconius, (*in leg. Cass. 94.*) "*C. Antonius redemptas habebat ab ærario vectigales quadrigas, quam redemptionem senatori habere licet per legem, &c.*"

⁷ *Hanc, i. e. the house of Pompey.*

⁸ *Alexandrea, A.U.C. 707.*

quam, ¹ Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbissimæ subjecta præconis. Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis, quum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Expectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dñs hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo præter Antonium, præsertim quum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent. Unus inventus est, quid id auderet, quod omnia fugisset et reformidasset audacia. (65.) Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit, vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, quum ² sector sis isto loco natus, deinde quum Pompeii sector, non te execratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, omnes homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim heluo invasit in ejus viri fortunas, cujus virtute terribior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, justitia carior?

XXVII. (66.) In ejus igitur viri copias quum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio, persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives. Sed ut est ³ apud poetam nescio quem, *male parta male dilabuntur*. Incredibile ac simile portentum est, quonam modo illa tam multa, quam paucis, non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica ⁴ multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat. (67.) Quæ Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdis dico? quæ si fuit, animal unum fuit; Oceanus, ⁵ medius fidius, vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas, tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. ⁶ Apotheca

¹ C. Pompeii Magni. Notwithstanding the immense sums Cæsar had amassed by plunder and compulsory benevolences, the expenses of the African war compelled him to have recourse to further exactions. It was for this purpose, that he sold the property of his father-in-law, Pompey, and that of other nobles, which even the rapacity of Antony had left untouched. See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 22.

² Sector isto loco natus. "A buyer of confiscated property, born of so noble a family." Of course it was a degradation for a *nobilis* to become a *sector*.

³ Apud poetam. C. Nævius, A.U.C. 550.

⁴ Multis locis, i. e. in many different localities. Cf. below, *tam distantibus in locis positas*.

nissimis hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi ralia mimæ. Domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena. Totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus. antur etiam sæpe (non enim semper iste felix) eatoria. ⁷ Conchyliatis Cn. Pompeii ⁸ peristromatis in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quamobrem desiri, hæc tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modo rimonium, quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. (68.) ædes etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem! Tu redi illam domum ausus es? tu illud sanctissimum rare? tu illarum ædium diis penatibus os impuristendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere remq sine lacrimis præterire, hac te in domo tamdiu i non pudet? in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen potest esse jucundum.

II. AN tu, illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia] quum i, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, sis, ut es, vinolentus et furens, quum tibi objecta s singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, iam sæpe vigilantem. (69.) Me quidem miseret ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam a viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et na disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, is, quum foris clarus tum domi admirandus, neque ternis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinæ tsi jam negat. Nolite quærere. Frugi factus est.

fidius. See *Milo*, ch. 28.

ca. In the upper part of the house, where the old wines l in *amphoræ*, to refine, &c. The *cella* was in the lower part se, where the new wines were stored.

liatis, i. e. costly garments dyed with purple. The *murex*, or plied the dye.

omatis. Greek nouns ending in *-ma*, make their dative and ural in *-atis*.

ari. "To lodge." Cicero hints that Antony will not long be to retain it. Cf. *qui in caupona aut alio quo loco deversatur.* i. 17.

¹ Illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit; ex duodecim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus, cujus ex omni vita nihil est honestius, quam qui cum mima fecit divortium? (70.) At quam crebro corruptus et consul et Antonius? Hoc est dicere: *et consul et imperator dicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus.* Quid est aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium. Numquam dixit. Dixisset etiam collega noster patruus tuus. Nisi tu es solus Antonius. Sed omnia peccata, quæ non sunt ² earum partium propria, quibus rem publicam vexavisti; ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum a te est.

XXIX. (71.) ³ Cui bello quum propter timiditatem tantum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antequam nanus; L. Domitium, clarrissimum et nobilissimum virum occideras, multosque præterea, qui e prælio effugerant, præter Cæsarem, ut nonnullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime percussus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis, talibus gestis, quæ fuit causæ, cur ⁴ in Africam Cæsarem non sequerere, quæ præsertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Cæsarem post ejus ex Africa reditum obtinuisse, quo numero fuisti? cujus tu imperatoris quæstor fueras.

¹ *Illam suam*, i. e. Cytheris. There is deep irony in the use of *suas res sibi habere*; the legitimate formula of divorce, the act of divorcing was the taking away the keys, *claves adimere*. The passage is punctuated after Klenz and Orelli; others punctuate, *jussit ex duodecim tabulis*.

² *Earum partium*. "To that sphere of action," &c., i. e. the civil war, as Cicero explains two lines below.

³ *Cui bello*, i. e. the Spanish portion of it. When Cæsar had to oppose powerful and resolute enemies, e. g. Scipio, Cato, Juba king of Mauritania, &c.

⁴ *In Africam*, i. e. A.U.C. 708.

⁵ *Appellatus es*. "You were sued for the money." As debts were called *nomina*, hence arose the propriety of the word *appellare*, to demand the debts. See *Orat. pro Quint.* ix.

⁶ *Exclusis*. Thus the Barberini MSS. and Orelli. The usual reading *excussis*, which cannot be explained to suit the passage, "*quod tam nec examinatos nec abjectis explicare possumus.*" ORELLI. For *exclusis* Heusinger quotes PLIN. *Epist.* ix. 13, 15, *iniquissimum esse quod dolentium excludi.*

is magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis prædæ socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius. stus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro debebas. (72.) Primo respondisti plane ferociter, omnia videar contra te, propemodum æqua et justa

A me C. Cæsar pecuniam? cur potius, quam ego an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem; ego belli civilis causam attuli, ego leges perniciosas ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra rios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit ræda communis? Jus postulabas; sed quid ad us ille poterat. (73.) Itaque ⁶ exclusis tuis vocibus, et ad ⁷ prædes tuos milites misit, quum repente est clara illa ⁸ tabula prolata. Qui risus hominum? esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, s præter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is, qui etur, posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero misera-ectus: vestis Pompeii non multa, eaque maculosa; quædam argentea vasa collisa, sorditata mancipia, mus quidquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre. (74.) Hanc tamen ⁹ auctionem heredes L. decreto Cæsaris prohibuerunt. Hærebat nebulo; erteret, non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus

⁶ *tuos*. "Your sureties." *Præ*s is a surety who gives his security for a defendant's appearance. *Vas*, one who gives curity.

⁷ "A schedule," i. e. a list of all his goods, which Antony d to sell by auction, in order to pay off his debt to Cæsar.

rem. At Rome the sales of houses and lands were con-
g on, and as it was odious to become a purchaser, monied
r character and some of Cæsar's partisans, who cared not for
ion, were able to buy splendid possessions at a very low
is said that M. Antonius, having thus bought the house
belonged to Pompey, was very unwilling to pay the price
uming that his services to Cæsar entitled him to share in
gratuitously. But Cæsar, on his return from Africa, insisted
on payment being made; and when Antony still demurred,
l a military guard to take possession of his property."
ol. ii. p. 66.

. Antony had frequently passed himself off as the heir of
ad eventually got his property: this the legitimate heirs en-
to obtain from him.

domi Cæsaris percussor, ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica. De quo Cæsar in senatu, apertè in te invehens, questus est. Proficiscitur¹ in Hispaniam. Cui paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogantur diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis periculis, id est, in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertinaciter

XXX. (75.) PROFECTORUS est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quomodo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit hæc causa, Antoni, aut, quum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Cæsar cum civibus, in Thracia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella; Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio queris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. Tu vero² quid es? Cn. Pompeii liberi³ tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto; fuerit hæc pars causa communis. Repetebant præterea⁴ deos penates patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quæ tu invadisti. Hæc quum repeterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus,—in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse æqui?—tamen quod erat æquissimum contra Cn. Pompeii liberos pugnare, quem? Te, sectorem. (76.) An tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

Qui vero Narbone reditus? ⁵ Etiam quærebat, cur ego in ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Januarias prodesse rei publicæ. Nam quod quæ-

¹ *In Hispaniam.* A.U.C. 709.

² *In Hispaniensi*, i. e. at *Munda*.

³ *Quid es.* Sarcastically in the neuter. Cf. *Juv. viii.*, *quid est Ventidius, quid Tullius?*

⁴ *Tum primum*, i. e. "then sought their country as the first thing" before all other things. Not, "then for the first time."

⁵ *Deos penates patrios.* Their country's household gods, the *penates* of Rome. Orelli rejects his former and the usual punctuation, *Dei pænates, patrios*.

⁶ *Etiam quærebat.* When his own return was so disgraceful, he has actually (*etiam*) dared to ask regarding my return. *Etiam indignum est.* KLOTZ.

⁷ *Gallicis.* "Notat autem turpem in Antonio decoris senatorii negligentiam." ORELLI. I do not think his carelessness of proper conduct is meant, but that allusion is made to Antony's degradation of his

quomodo redissem, primum luce, non tenebris, deinde
 laceis et toga, nullis nec ⁷ Gallicis nec lacerna. At
 despicias me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Næ tu jam
 in gratiam redeas, si scias, quam me pudeat nequitiae
 ut te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis
 turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum
 ut viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres,
 ut rogares, ut per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a
 tum, quum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur,
 consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cu-

At videte levitatem hominis.

∴ (77.) QUUM hora diei fere decima ad ⁸ Saxa rubra
 delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans
 ut ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem ad-
 mum venit capite obvoluto. Janitor: "Quis tu?"
 pro tabellarius." Confestim ⁹ ad eam, cujus causa
 eique epistolam tradidit. Quam quum illa legeret
 ut enim scripta amatorie, caput autem literarum,
 illa mimica posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem
¹⁰ illinc atque in hanc transfudisse), quum mulier
 erius, homo misericors ferre non potuit; caput
 in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim
 am? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut
 nitum, nec opinato quum ostendisses, præter spem
 despiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam
 a dierum metu perturbasti? (78.) Et domi quidem
 moris habuit, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus
 suos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a
 plebis, quum respondisses, te ¹³ rei tuæ causa venisse,

assuming the dress of a vanquished people in order to gain
 wages.

rubra. Between Rome and Veii on the *Cremera*. The
Cremera refers to the slaughter of the Fabii, A.U.C. 277.

n. Scil. Fulvia.

"From her." Scil. Cytheris. Orelli prefers the colloquial
 Italian form, *illim*: "*quia familiarem sermonem imitatur*

catinitum. *Catinitum* pro *Ganymede* dixerunt, FESTUS, i. e. by a
c into *t*, and the use of the old Latin C which is G hard, as
Incus.

res. "Sureties," i. e. by giving their property (*bona*) as

res. A word of double meaning, or rather triple, for *res*=

peritum aere alieno egenlemque, si eundem nequam audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem recipiebat. (79.) His igitur rebus præclare conjussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum iqueror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, induci¹ Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidellam, quis ignorat? Ille induxit, ut peteret, et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu ej voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendæ cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius mult et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego. (80.) Iratus quæ dixit, dii boni? Primum quum Cæsar esse, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consules aurum (quem negant regem, qui et faceret sempe aliquid et diceret), sed quum Cæsar ita dixisset bonus augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit,

I. property at stake; or II. object of concern; or III. int his passion for Fulvia.

¹ *Qua in re, &c.* *Quanta perfidia* is the ablative of q which transaction, with what strange faithfulness each o towards Dolabella, who is ignorant!"

² *Id facturum*, i. e. "spoil the election," § 83, by pron die, &c.

³ *Specionem*. Forcellinus thus explains "we augurs ha right of announcing to the political magistrate what om

auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset, ² idque se facturum se asseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem omnis cognoscite. (81.) Quid enim? Istud, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui agistratus etiam ³ spectionem. Esto; hoc imperite; nec nimis est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia; sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit, se Dolabellæ comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne ⁴ divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de cælo servare instituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui prævaricavit, non comitiis habitis, sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est; nec scit, quod augurem, nec facit, quod pudentem decet. (82.) Atque ex illo die recordamini ejus usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus? Nihil ipse poterat, omnia rogabat; caput in vestram lecticam inserens beneficia, quæ venderet, a collega petebat.

XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellæ comitiorum dies; sortitio ⁵ præ-

but although he had not declared that he would watch the heavens or a certain period, he openly stated that he would prevent or vitiate the election of Dolabella."—ORELLI. I do not think this explanation is correct; I think Antony's ignorance rested in this, that he attributed to the augurship that privilege which *augurs had not, but consuls had*. Compare "*Hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, et comitia auspiciis impedire vel vitare posset*, with *Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses, et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius.*"

¹ *Prærogativa*. This is a much disputed passage. I give here the explanation of Orelli, reserving a fuller discussion for an Excursus. The whole number of centuries was 193: 97 therefore constituted an absolute majority. Now, when the votes of the prerogative century were examined, it was found they were all in favour of Dolabella, and the herald announced him as consul, (*renuntiatur Dolabella*), for the prerogative century was generally considered as a test how the election would go. Antony is silent as yet. Then the first class gives its suffrages for him, i. e. Dolabella now has 83 votes, i. e. the vote of the *prærogativa*, with the 69 votes of the first class (which counted 70 centuries, deducting the prerogative): +12 centuries of equites, and one century of carpenters, which gave its votes with the first class. Then, as is usual, the *Sex suffragia* are called into the Ovilia; they vote for Dolabella. He has now 89 votes; but to constitute an absolute

rogativæ; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur; renuntiatur; deinde, ut assolet, suffragia; tunc secunda classis; quæ omnia sunt citius facta, quam dñi (83.) Confecto negotio bonus augur (¹ C. Lælium diceres) ² *alio die* inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras? quid senseras? quid audieras? neque enim te de celo servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu jam Kalendis Januariis futurum esse provideras et tunc ante prædixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicæ calamitate e mentibus es auspiciis; obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum; augur auguri, consuli consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellæ videat convellere, quæ necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium ³ deferantur. (84.) Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, quum voles, salvus auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, quum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confite te, quum *alio die* dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliquid vis in istis verbis, ea quæ sit, augur a collega requiro.

Sed, ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad ⁴ Lupercalia veniamus.

XXXIV. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti; apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseat, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quæ potest esse turpitudinis tantæ defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. (85.) Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in

majority 8 votes are still required; and so the *secunda classis* is called in 8 centuries of this class vote, and then Dolabella has the absolute majority, and there is no occasion to summon the other three classes according to the arrangement of Servius Tullius. The whole is plain thus:—

Prerogative century, considered as a test—		1
PRIMA CLASSIS.	{ Centuries 70, but deduct prerogative	69
	{ 12 centuries of equites	12
	{ 1 of carpenters	1
SEX SUFFRAGIA.—The centuries of city knights		6
SECUNDA CLASSIS.	{ Of this class only 8 centuries were re-	
	{ quired to vote	8

But see EXCURSUS.

97

¹ C. Lælium. Surnamed Sapiens. "*Mitis Sapiencia Læli*."—Hor.

² *Alio die*. The usual formula by which an augur announced that the election was vitiated.

irea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam, (⁵ ita upercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes,) ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? in abjectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore ille cum plausu rejiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate! es, qui, quum auctor regni esses, eum, quem colhabebas, dominum habere velles, et idem tentares pulus Romanus ferre et pati posset. (86.) At etiam ordiam captabas; supplex te ad pedes abjiciebas; tens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires; a nobis populo Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O præclaram eloquentiam tuam, quum es nudus contionatus! hoc turpius? quid foedius? quid suppliciiis omnibus? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiam? Hæc illam partem habes sensus, lacerat, hæc cruentat Vereor, ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam. tamen, dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam eum, qui imposuerit diadema, quum omnes fateantur perfectum esse, qui abjecerit? (87.) At etiam adscribi in fastis ad Lupercalia, *C. Cæsari, dictatori perpetuo, triumphum, consulem, populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsanoluisse*. Jamjam minime miror, te otium per; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum simis latronibus non solum ⁶ de die, sed etiam inere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi

antur. "Must be laid before." Scil. that we may determine the proceedings should be annulled or allowed to stand.

calia. See 11, 34. Arnold thinks that this scene at the Lupercalia purposely got up by Cæsar himself, in order, by his open offer of the crown, to remove from the people the impression that he desired sovereignty. (See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 87.)

as Lupercus. "You were a Lupercal under such circumstances."

ie, in diem. "Not only extravagantly but improvidently." At that time for the great meal of the day was the ninth hour, or three o'clock in the afternoon, the preceding portion being devoted to the active pursuits of life. Hence arose the phrase *de die vivere*, to take a part from the day of business and devote it to pleasure. Thus HOR. "*ab octava hora vivere, and frangere partem diei*." And in Persius, we have "*petulans nonaria*." Now, *vere*, is to live without thought or care for the morrow; to provide provision for its wants.

pucari esse dictum. Sustulit nam diem totum
Romani; num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium
Cæsar sustulit? Sed ¹incidi in id tempus, quod
in quas ingressa erat oratio, prævertendum est.
fuga, quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ prop
entiam scelerum desperatio vitæ? quum ex illa fug
²eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, saluum esse volue
te domum recepisti. (89.) O mea frustra semper
auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis ³in
liberatoribus nostris, (quum me ad te ire vellent
fendendam rem publicam te adhortarer), quoad
omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desisses,
futurum tui. Itaque quum ceteri consulares irem
in sententia mansi; neque te illo die neque p

¹ *Incidi.* But I have casually fallen into mention of
which must be treated of previously to treating of those
my discourse has entered on; i. e. I had begun to speak of
cation of the auspices; I accidentally mentioned your case
the death of Cæsar, and this topic I must now treat of before
of the former.

² *Eorum,* i. e. of M. Brutus and Trebonius.

³ *In Capitolio,* i. e. on the morning of the 16th of July
Capitol was held by Brutus and his gladiators, when
many leading members of the aristocratical party joined.
Curiously enough the first person who attempted to seize

ue ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo te foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. ⁵Post diem ium veni in ædem Telluris, et quidem invitus, quum res aditus armati obsiderent. (90.) Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus subito existi, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invidcris.

XXVI. QUI tu vir, dii immortales, et quantus fuisses, illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, erat facta per obsidem, puerum nobilem! ⁶M. Bambonis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non turnus magister officii, improbum fecit ea, quæ, dum or abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, quum opum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, illud funus fuit, sceleratissime præfuisti. (91.) Tua illa chra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio. Tu, tu, uam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus ⁷semustilatus est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagavit. illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte vorum, quos nos vi manumque repulimus, ⁸in nostras domos nisisti. Idem tamen, quasi fuligine abstersa, reliquis bus in Capitolio præclara ⁹senatusconsulta fecisti: ne qua st Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii eretur. Meministi ipse, de exsulibus, scis, de immunitate

l who feared they would be deprived of them if his acts (*acta*) re declared illegal.

⁵ *Post, &c.* Although the conspirators amounted to about sixty, yet the great majority of the senate the murder of Cæsar caused sudden ric and dismay. They fled at once in terror from the senate house their homes. The conspirators assembled in the forum to state at their only object was to restore the liberties of Rome; but not ding the popular favour with them, they withdrew to the Capitol ich Brutus had already secured, as a refuge, by means of a body of diators which he kept in pay, as Milo had previously on the same tence. See note 3, page 370. *Post diem tertium*, i. e. on the third y after the death of Cæsar, 17th of March.

⁶ *M. Fulvius Bambalio*, (*ψελλιστήης*,) the father of Fulvia.

⁷ *Semustilatus*. "Burned with nained rites," i. e. in the strange, kindled with the wreck of public buildings, not regularly on a ical pile.

The assault upon these houses took place immediately after the d frenzy of the populace was excited by the burning of Cæsar.

At the meeting of the senate on the 17th March it was decreed: 1. at solemn funeral rites should be paid to Cæsar. 2. That all his *acta* uld be confirmed. 3. That all offices conferred by him, and all grants land, should be deemed inviolable. 4. That the whole transaction

quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturæ nomen petuum de re publica sustulisti; quo quidem facto cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut ejus omne proximum dictatorem metum tolleres. (92.) Con publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui gubernante, naufragia metuebam. Num me igitur aut num diutius sui potuit esse dissimilis? Insp vobis, toto Capitolio tabulæ figebantur; neque singulis veniebant ¹immunitates, sed etiam populis civitas non jam singillatim, sed provinciis totis. Itaque si hæc manent, quæ stante re publica man possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, pæ neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi hujus domesticis nundinis deminutum est.

XXXVII. (93.) Ubi est septies millies, quod id quæ sunt ad Opis, ²patebat? ³funestæ illius quidniæ, sed tamen quæ nos, si iis, quorum erat, non re a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringer quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumera ⁴a tuis emebantur, non insciente te, sed unum egregie Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum Capitolio fixum. Quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipsum posset continere. (94.) Quis enim cuiquam quam Deiotaro Cæsar? æque atque huic ordini, ut ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publica Romani caram esse sentiebat. ⁵Igitur, a quo vivo sens nec absens quidquam æqui boni impetravit, a tuum factus est gratosus. ⁶Compellarat hospitem

of the ides of March, should be buried in oblivion. This is the proposal of Cicero. See *Phil.* i. 1, 13.

¹ *Immunitates*. Scil. to the Cretans mentioned below, § 94.

² *Patebat*. "Was plain on the books," i. e. when the creditor account was balanced, there was written out a fair statement of the surplus. Cf. *Rosc. Com.* 2, *hoc nomen in adversariis patere*.

³ *Funestæ*, &c. The construction is *ubi est septies millies pecuniæ, sed tamen, pecuniæ, quæ posset*, &c.—*Illius*; scil. temple money seized from this temple Antony paid off Dolabellus and thus bound him to his interest: he also paid his own amount of £300,000.

⁴ *A tuis*. Purchased from your followers, especially Fulvius

⁵ *Igitur*. Not usually placed in the commencement of a sentence, Cicero, yet cf. above, § 41. It is so placed when it indicates a sophistical deduction.

computarat, pecuniam imperarat, in ejus tetrarchia unum ex Græcis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. Hæc vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus. (95.) At quibus verbis? Modo, æquum sibi videri, modo, non iniquum. Mira ⁷ verborum complexio. At ille numquam semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro) quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularem, æquum dixit videri. Syngrapha IS. centies per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et im-eritos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitem regis sententia, facta in gynæceo, quo in loco plurimæ res veniunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha ⁸ quid sis acturus, cedere censeo. Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsaris, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. (96.) Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ tyranni eripuissent, ea, tyrannis interfectis, ii, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur inconsultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est ⁹ jureconsultus, per quem hæc agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro iis rebus, quæ erant ante syngrapham recuperatæ. Non enim ¹⁰ a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. (97.) Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam imitatores sunt, qui ea, tamquam ¹¹ gladiatorum libellos, palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut jam ¹² expendantur, non numerentur pecuniæ. At quam cæca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua

⁷ *Compellaret.* "Sued." A stronger expression than *appellaret*. See above, § 92.

⁸ *Verborum complexio*, ἐμπλόκη. "Confusion of terms."

⁹ *Quid sis acturus.* "What form of action you will bring." What peculiar process of law you will adopt to recover it.

¹⁰ *Jureconsultus.* Perhaps Sex. Clodius the scribe, whom Antony had recalled from exile.

¹¹ Antony had every facility for forging these *acta* of Cæsar; as he had all these documents in his possession, Calpurnia having given into his hands all the money and papers of her husband.

¹² *Gladiatorum libellos.* "List of gladiators." Generally, lists of the gladiators about to combat were sold at the schools. Some advertisements of this kind still remain on the walls of Pompeii.

¹³ *Expendantur.* "Weighed out," to be placed in Antony's chest. *advig* has *appendantur*, i. e. money estimated only by weight

queror, primum eorum reditus ³æquatos, quorum
Cæsar dissimilem judicavit; deinde nescio, cur non
idem tribuas. Neque enim plus quam tres aut quatuor
liqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tu
cordia simili non fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco
de quo ferre, quum de reliquis ferres, noluisti; quum
ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem
parasti, quæ et risus hominum et querelas moveret.
Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus
sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Quum tua quid inter
auspicia sunt, quum tuorum, tum fis religiosus.
⁵eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti; ⁶Iulium
enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non
Omnibus cum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris locum
in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam ejus,
tuam, ejecisti, alia ⁸condicione quæsitâ et ante patris
Non est satis. Probri insimulasti pudicissimam
Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fui
quentissimo senatu Kalendis Januariis sedente patre
tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus

¹ *Creta nihil.* For Cæsar had given Macedonia to Brutus.

² *Et de exulibus.* Orelli proposes to change *et* to *at*, with
"I acknowledge that Cæsar actually did propose the law
exiles, &c., but even in that case you acted wickedly."

³ We should read *æquatos* "all put on the same level."

ab eo sorori et uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patre audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris? Sed ad chirographa redeamus.

XXXIX. (100.) Quæ tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Cæsaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quæ quidem Cæsar egisset, non ea, quæ egisse Cæsarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur? si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut ex Kalendis Juniis de Cæsaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem umquam convocasti? quas Kalendas Junias expectasti? an eas, ad quas te, peragratis veteranorum coloniis, stipatum armis rettulisti?

O præclaram illam percursionem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum, quum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es! Quemadmodum illinc abieris, vel potius pæne non abieris, scimus. (101.) Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam ponere, ut aliquando illud *pæne* tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio? Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt; illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui quum de vectigalibus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicæ vulnus putabamus, hunc tu comprætoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas: mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos! Quid jam querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hæ quondam arationes, Campana et Leontina, in populi Romani patrimonio ⁹ grandi

¹ *venit enim.* *Metuisti*, &c., i. e. For I assure you, senators, he secretly opposed him, (*intervenit*.) Why did you secretly oppose him? What had you to fear? Forsooth, you would not openly refuse your aid to him (*negare*) with safety to yourself. But see next note.

² *Intervenit enim, cui metuisti.* "For some one (supposed to be *Viculus* or *Lento*) interfered to whom you feared to give any denial." His power was so great, forsooth, that he wrung this concession from you. *Cui*, dative after *negare*. This is the reading of Orelli.

³ *Sororem*, i. e. his cousin, whom he divorced in order to unite himself with Fulvia.

⁴ *Conditio.* "A marriage;" so called from the deeds of settlement, &c., which were mutually agreed on.

⁵ *Grandi fenore.* There is a strange reading, *glandiferæ*, which is noticed by Marcianus Capella. "*Licet Tullius glandiferas possessiones licet.*"

novam jure deduci; colonos novos ascribi posse r
Tu autem insolentia elatus, omni auspiciorum jure
Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis ann
deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumd
cujus quidem vomere portam Capuæ pæne perstrin
florientis coloniæ territorium minueretur. (103.)
religionum perturbatione advolas in M. Varronis, san
atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo jur
ore? Eodem, inquires, quo in heredum L. Rubrii, quo
dum L. Turselii prædia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles
siones. Et si ² ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulæ, m
saris, non tuæ; quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te lib
Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse
quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem p
audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream, qui emeret a
Ipsam enim exspectare magnum fuit! (104.) Qu
audivit umquam (nullius autem salus curæ pluribus
fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? C
etiam scripsit ad te Cæsar, ut redderes? quid sati
dici de tanta impudentia? Remove gladios parump
quos videmus; jam intelliges, aliam causam esse
Cæsaris, aliam confidentiæ et temeritatis tuæ. Non
dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus,
procurator arcebit.

XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est rhabacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vometur. O tecta ipsa misera, ³ *quam dispari domino!* Quamam quomodo iste dominus? sed tamen quam a dispari iebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit esse id, non libidinum deversorium. (105.) Quæ in illa villa tea dicebantur? quæ cogitabantur? quæ literis mandatur? Jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis nientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero, te inquilino (non im domino), personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum; natat pavimenta vino; madebant parietes; ingenui pueri cum ritoriis, scorta inter matresfamilias versabantur. Casino utatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est mo. Jure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolebant dignitatis insignia. (106.) Quum inde Romam proiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit (ut est quens municipium) magna sane multitudo. At iste erta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte pinates; sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid ⁴ Anagnini? i, quum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si et consul, salutarerent. Incredibile dictu, sed tum nimis ter omnes constabat, neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim um duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, orum alter gladiatorum est princeps, alter poculorum. (107.) Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque comemorem, quibus invecus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteonios, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? agno quidem iudicio, studio, benevolentia, caritate, non ut, ut ⁵ Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos entes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.

XLII. INTEREA dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegæ tui t, quum illud, quod tu venerari solebas, bustum in foro rtit? Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui a fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio. etum credo valuisse et arma. Collegam quidem ⁶ de cælo

Basilus. L. Munatius Basilus served under Cæsar in Gaul. From *Fam.* 6, 15, he appears to have joined in the conspiracy against Cæsar. Probably at this time he regained the favour of Antony. *Mütz* supposes this Basilus to have been a gladiator; but, as *Orelli* marks, who ever could choose a gladiator as patron?

De cælo detraxisti, i. e. "degraded, disgraced." The phrase appears reversed in one of the letters of *Apticus* (xiv. 21). "*Sæpius me agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellæ nimis in cælum efferre videar.*"

detraxisti effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe, ut dissimilis esset sui.

(108.) Cui vero inde reditus Romam? quæ perturbatio totius urbis? Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem; Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem Cæsarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi, nec ita multi. Ista vero quæ et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis ¹ sequuntur; scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem jam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus. Kalendis Juniis quum in senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. (109.) ² At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam et potius discessu nostro lætatus est statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Cæsaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Cæsaris easque præclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit; numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit; idemque, quum actorum Cæsaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Cæsaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Cæsar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompeii deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. (110.) Et tu in Cæsaris memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem majorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, ³ fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Julio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inaugurare? sume diem; vide, qui te inauguret; collegæ sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod tyranni sacerdos es, sive quod mortui! Quæro deinceps,

¹ *Sequuntur*. Antony had brought up all the veterans to Rome, by assuring them that their interests were at stake in the discussion then to ensue. On the day of meeting, their aspect was so menacing that but few senators met, and from this paucity Antony derived a pretext for wholly neglecting the senate afterwards.

² *At iste, &c.* The construction is, "*At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam, ET (both) potius lætatus est nostro discessu, statim QUE (and) illa, &c.*" Some suppose the first *neque* to couple *desideravit* and *lætatus est*, but in that case we should have *statim*, not *statim QUE*.

m, hodiernus dies qui sit, ignores? Nescis, ⁴heri quartum circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum populum tulisse, ut quintus præterea dies Cæsari tribueretur? Cur non sumus prætextati? cur honorem Cæsari lege datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes addendo in contaminari passus es, pulvinaria noluisti? Aut unde religionem tolle aut usquequaque conserva. (111.) ⁵æres, placeatne mihi, pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. ⁶hi vero nihil istorum placet. Sed tu, qui acta Cæsaris defendis, quid potes dicere, cur alia defendas, alia non cures? si forte vis fateri, te omnia quæstu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad hæc tandem? (Exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam; disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te tam apertiore in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est conatus, tuum hominis simplicis ⁷pectus vidimus.) Responsisne ad hæc? aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid peries ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas? Sed præterita omittamus.

XLIV. (112.) Hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si vis. Cur armatorum corona senatus sæptus est? cur me ⁸i satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvæ Concordiæ non ⁹stent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, ¹⁰yræos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Præsidii sui causa ¹¹facere dicit. Nonne igitur millies perire est melius, quam ¹²sua civitate sine armatorum præsidio non posse vivere? ad nullum est istuc, mihi crede, præsidium. Caritate et ¹³mevolentia civium sæptum oportet esse, non armis. (113.) ¹⁴tipiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam ¹⁵his nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis ¹⁶miliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ¹⁷ta tua minime avara conjux, quam ego sine contumelia ¹⁸ribo, nimium debet diu populo Romano ¹⁹tertiam pen-

¹ *Fastigium*. Not a "dome," or "temple," but the "architrave of a temple." Suet. Cæs. 81. Salmas, *ad Spartian. Pescenn.* 12. *Cæsaris fastigium docet non de templo capiendum sed de ornamento tecto, quale quo etiam in templis fuerit. Plutarchus ἀκρωτήριον vocat.*—ERNESTI. ² *Greeks call this ἀέτωμα.*—ORELL.

³ *Heri quartum*, xiv. kal. Octob.—18th of September. A fifth day afterwards added.

⁴ *Pectus*, i. e. when he appeared naked at the Lupercalia.—*Simplicis*. ⁵ *breast of thee, thou man without disguise!*

⁶ *Tertiam pensionem*. When a husband divorced his wife, he was

sionem. Habet populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula rei publicæ deferat; qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi est omne rei publicæ præsidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quæ adhuc tantummodo ulta est, nondum ¹ recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adolescentes nobilissimos paratos defensores. Quam volent, illi cedant, otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. (114.) Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinius Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, quum esse Romæ regem licebat. Sp. Cassius, Sp. Mælius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati. Hi primi cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt. Quod quum ipsum factum per se præclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum; præsertim quum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quæ vix cælo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

XLV. (115.) RECORDARE igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos lætitiā senatus populique Romani; confer cum hac nundinatione tua tuorumque; tum intelliges, quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi veræ laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a fœdissimis factis potest avocare? ² Judicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo; sin propter vim, non intelligis, qui isto modo judicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit?

obliged to pay back to her relatives, her dowry within the year, in three instalments, each instalment was called a "*pensio*," payment." Cicero means that Fulvia had already made two payments to the Roman people of her debt to them, namely, the deaths of Clodius and Curio; her third payment, yet due, is the death of Antony. Cicero moreover, hints that the deaths of her two husbands were owing to Fulvia's violence and intrigue.

¹ *Recuperavit*. "Legally recovered." The *recuperatores* were judges

(116.) Quod si non metuis viros fortes egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede, tutius non ferent. ³ Quæ est autem vita, dies et noctes timere a suis? Nisi vero aut majoribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat, quamvis rei publicæ calamitosas, tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, multis periculis, quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, ⁴ congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam lenierat; suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie detinuerat. Quid multa? Attulerat jam liberæ civitati partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.

XLVI. (117.) Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conparare possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis, quæ ab illo rei publicæ sunt, ista, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit jam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Hæc non cogitas? nec intelligis, satis esse tuis fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio præstatum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, quum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? (118.) Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur, neque occasionis tarditas expectabitur.

Respice, quæso, aliquando rem publicam, M. Antoni; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera: ⁵ mecum, ut voles; redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris; ego de me ipso profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adolescens, non deseram senex; contempsi Catilinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si ⁶ repræsentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod jamdiu paraturit. (119.) Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso

who decided regarding the recovery of money or property, or who estimated the proper amount of a fine.

² *Judicia non metuis.* Because surrounded by armed soldiers.

³ *Quæ est autem vita.* *Quæ=qualis.*

⁴ *Congiariis.* "*Populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit.*"—*Suet. Ner. 7.*

⁵ *Mecum.* Scil. "*Redi in gratiam.*"

⁶ *Repræsentari.* At once obtained by.—*Repræsentare*, is properly used regarding money paid down at the appointed time.

in templo ¹negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni? Mihi vero, patres conscripti, jam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus in, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo hæc opto: unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi majus ab diis immortalibus dari nihil potest; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

¹ *Negari posse.* "Neque enim turpis mors forti viro potest accideri, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti." (Cat. iv. 2.)

M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

L. MURENA

ORATIO.

M. TULLII CICERONIS, &c. "Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero, in defence of Licinius Murena." At the comitia held during the consulship of Cicero, Decimus Junius Silanus and Licinius Murena were elected consuls for the ensuing year. The latter individual had for his competitor the celebrated lawyer Sulpicius Rufus; who, being assisted by Cato and Cn. Postumius, charged Murena with having prevailed by bribery and corruption. This impeachment was founded on the Calpurnian law, which had lately been rendered more strict, on the suggestion of Sulpicius, by a *senatusconsultum*. Along with this accusation, the profligacy of Murena's character was objected to, and also the unworthiness of his rank, as he was but a knight and a soldier, whereas Sulpicius was a patrician and lawyer. Cicero therefore shows, in the first place, that he amply merited the consulship, from his services in the war with Mithridates, which introduces a comparison between a military and forensic life. While he pays his usual tribute of applause to cultivated eloquence, he derides the forms and phraseology of the Roman jurisconsults, by whom the civil law was studied and practised. As to the proper subject of the accusation, bribery in his opinion, it seems probable that Murena had been guilty of some practices, which, strictly speaking, were illegal, yet warranted by custom. They seem to have consisted in encouraging a crowd to attend him in the streets, and in providing shows for the entertainment of the multitude; which, though expected by the people, and usually overlooked by the magistrates, appeared heinous offences in the eye of the rigid stoical Cato. Aware of the weight added to the accusation by the authority of Cicero, in order to obviate this influence, he treats his legal principles in the same tone which he had already used concerning the profession of Sulpicius. In concluding, he avails himself of the difficulties of the times, and the yet unsuppressed conspiracy of Catiline, which rendered it unwise to deprive the city of a consul well qualified to defend it in so dangerous a crisis. [This charge of Cato's against Murena was exceedingly unwise, as tending to sever the friends of the constitution at a time when their support was most needed.—*OLD, vol. i 337.*]

I. (1.) ¹Quæ deprecatus a diis immortalibus sum, more institutoque majorum, illo die, quo, ²auspicat tiis centuriatis L. Murenam consulem renuntiavi; mihi ³magistratuique meo, ⁴populo plebique Roma atque feliciter eveniret; eadem precor ab eisdem dii talibus, ⁵ob ejusdem hominis consulatum una cu obtinendum, et ut vestræ mentes atque senten populi Romani voluntatibus suffragiisque consentiar res vobis, populoque Romano, pacem, tranquillitates concordiamque afferat. ⁶Quod si illa solemnis co

This case was one of great expectation, from the dign accusers and the eloquence of the defender's advocates. Be spoke, it had been pleaded by Hortensius, and Crassus th who had both appeared in favour of Murena, and Cicero ne utmost exertions to surpass these rivals of his eloquence. In he shows much delicacy and art in the manner in which h the attack on the philosophy of Cato and the profession of both of whom were on very intimate terms with him, and also in the estimation of the judges whom he addressed. *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 302, *seqq.* *Lond. ed.*)

This speech was delivered A.U.C. 690, during the interval t between the second and third orations against Catiline. The favourable for Murena, who was acquitted, and held the con following year.

¹ *Quæ deprecatus.* The student will note the elegant use eadem in this passage, requiring to be rendered in our ic adverbial form of expression. Compare BAUER, *ad Sanct.* p. 250, *seqq.*

² *Judices.* Cases of bribery, like the present, were tried of the prætors and a select council of *assessores* or *judices*. note 11, page 141.

³ *Auspicato.* The auspices were always taken on the mor day when the comitia were to be held, by the magistrate t preside.

⁴ *Comitiis centuriatis.* Consult note 4, page 210.—*Renun* candidate who received most votes, was called forward b siding magistrate, and, after a solemn prayer, and taking ar declared to be elected, through a herald. It is to this p Cicero here refers, and not, as some suppose, to that with business of the comitia was opened. One of the consuls sided at the comitia for the election of new consuls. Cicer on this occasion, in preference to his colleague Antonius, l was *consul prior*, i. e. had been elected to the consulship by t number of votes.

⁵ *Magistratuique meo.* Referring to his consular author would continue until the end of the year, when the new con succeed. The latter, in the meantime, would be called co nati, "consuls elect."

ecatio, consularibus auspiciis consecrata, tantam habet in vim et religionem, quantam rei publicæ dignitas postulat: æm ego sum precatus, ut eis quoque hominibus, quibus cōsulat¹⁰us, me rogante, datus esset, ea res fauste, feliciter, prospereque eveniret. (2.) Quæ cum ita sint, iudices, cum omnis deorum immortalium potestas aut translata t ad vos, aut certe communicata vobiscum; idem consul m¹¹ vestræ fidei commendat, qui antea diis immortalibus commendavit; ut ejusdem hominis voce et declaratus consul, defens¹²us, beneficium populi Romani cum vestra atque

⁶ *Populo plebique Romanæ.* The allusion here is to all orders of the Roman people, including even the lowest of the commons. *Populus* then opposed to *plebs*, in the time of Cicero, was regarded as the generic term, and denoted the whole body of Roman citizens, including the senators and patricians; while by *plebs*, in such a construction, were meant the lower orders of the commons. On the other hand, in the expression *senatus populusque Romanus*, the term *populus* meant all the Roman people but the senate. [The ancient distinction between *populus*, "burghers," and *plebs*, "commons," had long fallen into disuse.]

⁷ *Ob ejusdem, &c.* Literally, "For the retention of the consulship by the same individual, together with all his personal privileges." *Obtinere* gets here the meaning of "retaining," from its primitive import, "to hold against another," i. e. in the present case, to hold successfully against the accusation which had been preferred, and consequently to enter upon and enjoy.—*Salute.* By *salus*, Cicero means Murena's privileges as a Roman citizen, since, if convicted, he would be deprived of his civil rights and sent into exile.

⁸ *Eaque res.* "And that this agreement." The agreement of opinion here spoken of will show itself, of course, in the acquittal of Murena, since the Roman people have already, by their suffrages, declared him worthy of the consulship. It will also bring with it peace and tranquillity to the state, since an energetic consul will be required the ensuing year, to crush what remains of the conspiracy of Catiline; and Murena will be found to be such a one.

⁹ *Quod si illa solemnis, &c.* This sentence is explanatory of what precedes. If the prayer offered up at the comitia, when the result of the election was made known to the assembled people, possessed a full and thorough efficacy, it must be supposed to have embraced the individual welfare of the candidates, as well as the interests of the state at large, and, therefore, it is perfectly proper for Cicero now to treat the gods in behalf of one of them.

¹⁰ *Me rogante.* The literal import of these words is, "I, as presiding officer, asking the people their pleasure in the premises." Compare note 3, page 36.

¹¹ *Vestræ fidei.* "To your protection."—*Antea.* "On a previous occasion," i. e. at the comitia.

¹² *Beneficium populi Romani.* "The favour conferred upon him by the Roman people." Alluding to the consulship.

normam dirigenti, et diligentissime perpendenti

¹ *In hoc officio.* "In the discharge of this duty."—*Sts defensionis, &c.* "The zeal that marks my defence of him the very undertaking of his cause by me."

² *Non quo mihi, &c.* "Not because a vindication of the I am here discharging appears of more importance in my particular period, than a defence of the rights and privilege individual, but that, when once my conduct shall have been of by you, I may with the greater weight," &c. As regard of the Latin writers in the case of *non quo*, consult ZUMPT, 1 KENRICK's transl.

³ *Honore, fama, fortunisque.* It has been already stated p. 385), in general terms, that Murena, if convicted, would be of his civil rights and banished. For if an individual is guilty upon a trial for bribery, he was deprived of the case he had been elected to that office, and the competitor whom he was nominated in his place. He was also heavily fined incapable of bearing any office for the time to come, or of in the senate: and by the Tullian law, which Cicero brought and had passed, an additional penalty of ten years' exile was

⁴ *M. Catoni.* The same who ended his days by his own Utica. He was at this time one of the tribunes elected. On great corruption that had crept into the consular elections, appointed to the tribuneship, concluded a severe charge to by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one who offend in this way. Hence his coming forward, on the occasion, among the accusers of Murena. (Compare PLUT. V&)

⁵ *Vitam ad certam rationis, &c.* "Who regulates his mind according to reason, and thus, by regulating the

officiorum omnium,⁸ de officio meo respondebo. Negat fuisse rectum Cato, me et consulem,⁹ et legis ambitus latorem,¹⁰ et tam severe gesto consulatu,¹¹ causam L. Murenæ attingere.¹² Cujus reprehensio me vehementer movet, non solum ut vobis, iudices, quibus maxime debeo, verum etiam ut ipsi Catoni, gravissimo atque integerrimo viro, rationem facti mei probem. A quo tandem, M. Cato, est æquius consulem defendi, quam a consule? Quis¹³ mihi in re publica potest aut debet esse conjunctior, quam is, cui res publica a me uno traditur sustinenda, magnis meis laboribus et periculis sustentata? ¹⁴ Quod si in iis rebus repetendis, quæ mancip

⁸ *Et tam severe gesto consulatu.* "And one, whose own consulship has been exercised with so much wholesome rigour." Cato alludes to the proceedings of Cicero against Catiline, in driving him from the city. It is worthy of remark, however, that the severity, for which Cato here commends Cicero, was only but just begun; since the present oration was delivered in the month of November, and the accomplices of Catiline, who were tampering with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, were only arrested and punished in the early part of the ensuing month.

⁹ *Causam L. Murenæ attingere.* "To have aught to do with the case of Licinius Murena."—*Attingere*, literally, "to touch even in a slight degree," "to meddle with in the least."

¹⁰ *Cujus reprehensio.* "The censure of this individual." *Cujus* for *quæ*, as it begins a clause. —*Ut rationem facti mei probem.* "To explain the reasons of my conduct," i. e. to prove the grounds of my conduct to have been perfectly correct.

¹¹ *Mihi conjunctior.* "More intimately connected with me." —*Conjunctior re publica, &c.* "Into whose hands that republic is delivered by me individually, to be supported by him, after having been upheld by great toils and dangers of my own." The common text has *una*, for which we have substituted *uno*, a conjecture of Lambinus; which Grævius received into the text. Cicero says *a me uno*, as he had provided alone.

¹² *Quod si in iis rebus repetendis, &c.* "For if, when a demand is made for the recovery of those things which are proper objects of sale, that individual is bound to guarantee the risk of a decision giving this property to another, who, by the very terms of the agreement covenanted so to do," i. e. if A conveys property to B, and gives him at the same time a warranty that the title is sound, and if C then comes in and claims the same property as his, A is bound, by the very terms of the sale, to guard B against the chances of dispossession by a verdict of a court of law in favour of C. Among the Romans, *res mancipi* (contracted for *mancipii*), were those things which might be sold and alienated, or the property of them transferred from one person to another, by a certain rite or form of proceeding used among Roman citizens only, and such sale was always accompanied with a warranty of title. By *judicium* is meant a decision of a court of law.

sunt. is periculum judicii præstare debet, qui se nexu obligavit; ¹ profecto etiam rectius in judicio consulis designati, is potissimum consul. qui consulem declaravit, ² auctor beneficii populi Romani defensorque periculi esse debebit. (4) ³ Ac, si, ut nonnullis in civitatibus fieri solet, ⁴ patronus huic causæ publice constitueretur, is potissime honore affecto defensor daretur, qui, eodem honore præditus, non minus afferet ad dicendum auctoritatis, quam facultatis. ⁵ Quod si e portu solventibus ii, qui jam in portum ex alto invehuntur, ⁶ præcipere summo studio solent et tempestatum rationem, et prædonum, et locorum; ⁷ quod natura fert, ut eis fave-

in favour of the title of some third person; and by *nexus*, the obligation of warranty always connected with *res Mancipi*, by the provisions of the Roman law. (Compare HEINZEC. *Antiq. Rom.* p. 336, ed. Haubold.) The *res Mancipi* were such things as farms, slaves, quadrupeds, pearls, and the rights of country farms, called servitudes, (*servitutes*.) The distinction between *res Mancipi*, and *res nec Mancipi* is not recognised by the Justinian code, it having been abolished by that emperor. Meerman maintains, that *res Mancipi* were things connected with agriculture, and hence deemed of greater value than others.

¹ *Profecto etiam rectius.* &c. "With still more justice, surely, on the trial of a consul elect, will that consul in particular, who declared him elected to office, be bound to become unto him the guarantee of the favour conferred by the Roman people. and his defender from danger." Cicero here makes an application of the rule of law which he has just been citing. The consulship is now regarded, in a figurative sense, as one of the class of *res Mancipi*, and Cicero as the holder. Having presided at the consular comitia, and announced the election of Murena to the assembled people, he may be said, by virtue of his office, to have transferred the consulship, in due form, to Murena, as a thing to be possessed by him in his turn, and to have bound himself to aid the latter against all who should seek to dispossess him.

² *Auctor.* This term is here employed to denote one who sells or conveys a thing to another, and pledges himself for the soundness of the title. Compare the explanation of Ernesti, (*Clar. Cic. s. v. Auctor*, § 11): "*Est venditor, qui suum esse spondet, quod vendit, et ejus vendendi potestatem habere: adeoque actione tenetur de evictione, aut periculum judicii præstat, ut in Mancipio.*" It is from this use of the term, that the reference to selling, in the Latin term, "*auctio*," and the English word "auction," is derived.

³ *Ac, si, ut nonnullis.* &c. "And if, as is wont to happen in some states, a patron should be appointed, by public authority, for the management of this cause, that individual, of all others, would be assigned as a defender to a man who invested with an elevated office, and who, being himself clothed with the same dignity, would bring no less authority than ability to his defence."

⁴ *Patronus.* It is better to retain the Roman law-term "patron," in preference to the more usual term "advocate." For the strict dis-

nus, ⁸ qui eadem pericula, quibus nos perfuncti sumus, grediantur: quo tandem me animo esse oportet, ⁹ prope jam: magna jactatione terram videntem, in hunc, cui video maximas rei publicæ tempestates esse subeundas? Quare est, boni consulis, non solum ¹¹ videre, quid agatur, verum iam providere, quid futurum sit, ostendam alio loco, quantum salutis communis intersit, ¹² duos consules in re publica Kalendis Januariis esse. (5.) Quod si ita est, non in me ¹⁴ officium debuit ad hominis amici fortunas, quam res publica consulem ad communem salutem defendendam curare.

action between the two compare the language of Asconius, *Ad Or. Cæcil.* c. 4: "*Qui defendit alterum in iudicio, aut Patronus dicitur, orator est; aut Advocatus, si aut jus suggerit, aut præsentiam suam commodat amico,*" &c.

⁸ *Quod si e portu,* &c. We have inserted the preposition *e* from *Saturnian* 5, 11, 23. It is given also by Victorius, Lambinus, Gruter, and others.

⁹ *Præcipere summo studio,* &c. "Are accustomed to give, with earnestness, an account of the storms, and pirates, and dangerous places we have encountered." *Præcipere* carries with it the idea of mentioning beforehand, as a warning or caution. By *locorum* are meant seas, quicksands, &c.

¹⁰ *Quod natura fert,* &c. "Because a natural impulse leads us to feel interest for those," &c.

¹¹ *Qui eadem pericula,* &c. It must be borne in mind that this oration is delivered before the arrest and execution of Lentulus and the other accomplices of Catiline. Cicero, therefore, imagines that the conspiracy will still give trouble during the ensuing year, under the government of the new consuls.

¹² *Prope jam terram,* &c. It was now the month of November, and at the end of the ensuing month his consular authority would cease. Hence he says figuratively, that he is almost within sight of land. The land which he is soon to behold, is the haven of repose after a busy consulship.

¹³ *Maximas tempestates.* Compare note 8.

¹⁴ *Videre, quid agatur.* "To attend to what is at present passing."—*Idem loco.* In the 37th chapter of this speech.

¹⁵ *Quantum salutis communis,* &c. Cicero says this, because he expects that the conspiracy will still give trouble during the ensuing year. Compare note 8.

¹⁶ *Duos consules.* Silanus and Murena; and not merely one, Silanus. It might have been the case if Murena were condemned. Both consuls will be wanted, he thinks, to make head against the conspiracy, and the time of their entering on office will be the Calends, or first, of January.

¹⁷ *Officium.* "A sense of duty."—*Res publica.* "The interests of the republic," i. e. the danger which threatens from the conspiracy of Catiline.

III. ¹ NAM quod legem de ambitu tuli, certe ita tuli, ut eam, quam mihi met ipsi jam pridem tulerim de civium periculis defendendis, non abrogarem. Etenim si ² largitionem factam esse confiterer, idque recte factum esse defenderem; facerem improbe, ³ etiam si alius legem tulisset: ⁴ cum vero nihil commissum contra legem esse defendam, quid est, quod meam defensionem latio legis impediatur? (6.) ⁵ Negat esse ejusdem severitatis, Catilinam, exitium rei publicæ intra mœnia molientem, ⁶ verbis et pæne imperio urbe expulisse, ⁷ et nunc pro L. Murena dicere. ⁸ Ego autem has partes lenitatis et misericordiæ, quas me natura ipsa ⁹ docuit, sem-

¹ *Nam quod legem, &c.* "For as to my having proposed a law concerning bribery, I certainly did it with this view, that I might not abrogate the one which I had long since proposed to my own bosom, as regarded the warding off of those dangers which might threaten my fellow citizens." The allusion is again to the Tullian law. Consult note 3, page 386.

² *Largitionem factam esse.* "That bribery had actually been committed by Murena."—*Defenderem.* This verb has here the meaning of "to allege in defence."

³ *Etiam si alius legem tulisset.* "Even though another should have been the author of the law in question."

⁴ *Cum vero, &c.* "But now, when I maintain that nothing has been done by Murena in violation of that law, why is the mere proposing of it on my part to operate as a hindrance to my defence of him?"

⁵ *Negat esse ejusdem severitatis,* i. e. that it is a deviation from my former severity. Hotomannus inserts *Cato* in the text.

⁶ *Verbis et pæne imperio.* A forcible allusion to the strenuous efforts made by Cicero in driving out Catiline, but not by any means intended as a censure of his conduct in so doing. It is merely adduced, by way of contrast, to Cicero's now appearing for one whom Cato regards as a public offender.

⁷ *Et nunc pro L. Murena dicere.* "And to be now pleading in behalf of Licinius Murena."

⁸ *Ego autem, &c.* "I, however, have always acted with pleasure this part of gentleness and compassion, which nature herself has taught me."—*Agere partes* is borrowed from the language of the stage, and denotes, not to undertake merely, as some erroneously render the phrase, but to go through with a part or character. As regards the peculiar meaning of *partes* here, compare the language of Ernesti (*Clav. Cic. s. v. Pars*): "*Pars in scena est persona, quam quis susceptū agendam*"

⁹ *Docuit.* This is another term borrowed from the language and movements of the stage.—*Docere fabulam* is analogous to the Greek *διδάσκειν δράμα*. The parts were studied by means of reiterated recitation from the poet: and the chorus, too, was practised in the same way. This was called *teaching a play*.

¹⁰ *Illam vero, &c.* Cicero means, that his natural inclinations always

per egi libenter : ¹⁰ illam vero gravitatis severitatisque ¹¹ personam non appetivi ; sed ab re publica mihi impositam susinui, sicut hujus imperii dignitas in summo periculo civium postulabat. ¹² Quod si tum, cum res publica vim et severitatem desiderabat, vici naturam, et tam vehemens fui, quam ogebar, non quam volebam : nunc, ¹³ cum omnes me causæ ad misericordiam atque ad humanitatem vocent, quanto tandem studio debeo ¹⁴ naturæ meæ consuetudinique servire ? At de ¹⁶ officio defensionis meæ, ac de ratione accusationis usæ, fortasse etiam alia in parte orationis dicendum nobis erit.

ed him to the side of gentleness and mercy, and that the severe and rigid character, which he had been compelled to assume towards Catilina and his accomplices, was a duty he owed to the state, in the discharge of which, private feelings could, of course, exercise no influence.

¹¹ *Personam*. By *persona* is literally meant the "mask" worn by the ancient actor, in representing a character, and then the term comes, to denote the character itself. The ancient masks were entire head-pieces, and of various kinds, to express every age, sex, country, condition, and complexion, to which they were assimilated with the the greatest skill and nicety. The Greek term for one of these appendages is πρόσωπον, (or, as it was afterward called προσωπεῖον,) denoting something applied to the face. The Latin term "persona" is derived from the verb "persono," and refers to the peculiar construction of the mouth of the mask, which was made on the plan of a speaking-trumpet, (their large theatres requiring a great volume of sound,) and was as it were "sounded through," that is, made the avenue of transmission for a loud sound. (Compare *Theatre of Greeks*, 2d ed. pp. 266, seqq.—TYRWHITT, in *Aristot. Poet.* p. 139.—*Mus. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 211, &c.)

¹² *Quod si tum*, &c. "And if, on that occasion, when the state of public affairs required a vigorous and rigid exercise of authority, I triumphed over the dictates of my nature," &c. i. e. I suppressed at once every feeling of lenity.—*Desiderare*. "To desire earnestly," "to feel the want of," "to need," "to require," &c.

¹³ *Cum omnes*, &c. "When every motive prompts me," &c. The cause of Murena is one which warmly enlists all the better feelings of Cicero.

¹⁴ *Naturæ meæ*, &c. "To yield obedience to the dictates of my nature, and the force of early habit." *Naturæ*, because all his kindly feelings are now called into action : *consuetudini*, because he is more accustomed to defend than to accuse.

¹⁵ *At*. The common text has *Ac*, which we have changed to *At* which is adopted by Cœrenz. (*Ad Cl. Acad.* 2, 2.) Lallemand, in order to avoid doubling the *ac*, reads in the second clause of the sentence, *et de ratione*, &c.

¹⁶ *Officio defensionis meæ*. "The duty that has prompted my present defence."—*Ratione accusationis tuæ*. "The reasons that have led to

(7.) Sed me, judices, non minus ¹ hominis sapientissimi atque ornatissimi, Ser. Sulpicii, conquestio, quam Catonis accusatio ² commovebat: qui ³ gravissime et acerbissime ferre dixit, me ⁴ familiaritatis necessitudinisque oblitum, causam L. Murenæ contra se defendere. Huic ego, judices, satisfacere cupio, vosque adhibere ⁵ arbitros. Nam cum grave est, vere accusari in amicitia, tum, etiam si falso accuseris, ⁶ non est negligendum. ⁷ Ego, Ser. Sulpici, me in petitione tua tibi omnia studia atque officia, pro nostra necessitudine, et debuisse confiteor, et præstitisse arbitror. Nihil tibi, consulatum petenti, ⁸ a me defuit, quod esset aut ab amico, aut a gratioso, aut a consule postulandum. Abiit illud tempus: ⁹ mutata ratio est. ¹⁰ Sic existimo, sic mihi per-

your accusation of him," i. e. the motives that have induced you to become his accuser.

¹ *Hominis sapientissimi atque ornatissimi, &c.* "Of that very wise and accomplished man, Servius Sulpicius." The individual here named was regarded as the most eminent lawyer of his day. Consult Historical Index.

² *Commovebat.* The imperfect tense is here employed, to carry us back to the time when the complaint of Sulpicius was first uttered, namely, at the period of his speech against Murena.

³ *Gravissime et acerbissime ferre.* Literally, "that he bore it very heavily and bitterly," i. e. that it was to him a source of the bitterest regret.

⁴ *Familiaritatis necessitudinisque.* "Of the claims of long acquaintance and intimate friendship." *Familiaritas* implies that we have long been acquainted with another. *Necessitudo* is of stronger import, and denotes the existence of some tie or bond of friendship between the two parties. It is in fact a term of very general import among the Latin writers, and always implies the existence of some strong connecting tie, which involves, as it were, a necessity for mutual esteem and regard. Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: "*Necessitudo est omnis conjunctio, sanguinis, affinitatis, conjugii, collegii, amicitiae, &c., quæ a causa aliqua oritur, quæ nobis necessitatem amoris benevolentiaque affert.*" Cicero and Sulpicius had been friends from early youth, and had studied together, when young, both at Rome and in the island of Rhodes, under the celebrated Molo.

⁵ *Arbitros.* "As umpires." *Arbiter* is here used in a general sense, and is analogous to the civil law term *compromissarius*. In its special acceptation, it denotes one who judged in those cases that were called *bonæ fidei*, or arbitrary, and who was not restricted by any law or form, but determined what seemed equitable. (HEINECC. *Antiq. Rom.* 4, 6, 39, p. 694, ed. Haubold.)

⁶ *Non est negligendum.* Because friendship is too sacred a thing to be even exposed to suspicion.

⁷ *Ego, Ser. Sulpici, &c.* "I both acknowledge, Servius Sulpicius,

adeo, me tibi contra honorem L. Murenæ, quantum tu a
 3 postulare ausus sis, tantum debuisse: contra salutem,
 nil debere. (8.) Neque enim, si tibi tum, cum peteres,
 consulatum, adfui, idcirco nunc, ¹¹ cum Murenam ipsum
 attas, adjutor ¹² eodem pacto esse debeo. Atque hoc non
 modo non laudari, sed ne concedi quidem potest, ut, amicis
 nostris accusantibus, non etiam alienissimos defendamus.

IV. MIHI autem cum Murena, judices, et vetus, et magna
 inimicitia est, quæ ¹³ in capitis dimicatione a Ser. Sulpicio ¹⁴ non
 modo circum obruetur, quod ab eodem in honoris contentione su-
 rrata est. ¹⁵ Quæ si causa non esset, tamen vel dignitas
 hominis, vel honoris ejus, quem adeptus est, amplitudo,
 immo mihi superbiam crudelitatisque famam inussisset, si

at I owed, and think candidly that I afforded unto you, in your
 application for the consulship, all that zealous co-operation, and all
 the kind offices, which our intimate friendship demanded."

³ *A me defuit.* "Was wanting on my part."—*Gratioso.* "A man of
 influence in the state." An influential person.

⁴ *Mutata ratio est.* "The aspect of affairs is changed." The change
 commenced with the defeat of Sulpicius, and the elevation of Murena
 to the consulship.

⁵ *Sic existimo, &c.* "This is now my opinion, of this I am now
 persuaded."—*Contra honorem.* "Against the advancement," i. e. elec-
 tion to the consulship.—*Contra salutem.* "Against his personal rights."
 Consult note 7, page 385.

¹¹ *Cum Murenâ, &c.* "When you are attacking Murena himself."
 The *cum* is now employed in a gladiatorial sense, "to aim a blow at an-
 other," "to make a thrust," "to attack." *Petere consulatum* is merely
 to sue for the consulship."

¹² *Eodem pacto.* "By the same rule."—*Etiam alienissimos.* "Even
 the most alien strangers."

¹³ *In capitis dimicatione.* "In a case where all his civil rights are at
 stake." Compare note 7, page 385.—*Capitis.* The term *caput* is here
 used in its legal sense, and refers to the civil condition, liberty, personal
 privileges, &c., of an individual. Thus ERNESTI (*Clar. Cic. s. v.*),
Caput dicitur pro hominis statu, libertatis et civitatis jure, &c. So, in
 the language of the Roman law, any loss of liberty or of the rights of
 citizenship was called "*diminutio capitis.*"

¹⁴ *Non idcirco obruetur.* "Shall not for this reason be overcome."
 Literally, "be crushed," or "overwhelmed."—*Quod ab eodem, &c.* In
 the contest for the consulship Cicero gave his interest to Sulpicius
 against Murena.

¹⁵ *Quæ si causa non esset, &c.* "And even if this motive did not
 exist, still, either the high rank of the man himself, or the elevated
 nature of the office which he has obtained, would have branded me
 with the deepest stigma of pride and of cruelty, if I had refused to
 undertake the cause of one, most distinguished both for his own

noenter desino. Sin autem iuga laboris desideriam, re
supplicum superbiam, amicorum neglectio ⁵impr
coarguit: nimirum hæc causa est ejusmodi, quam n

merits, and for the honours conferred upon him by the Romans when it was fraught with so much danger to his welfare." The allusion to at the beginning of this sentence is his friend Murena.

¹ *Neque est mihi integrum.* "Nor is it wholly within my power."

² *Premia tanta.* The various offices which had been bestowed upon him, and especially the last and highest of them, the consulship, *hac industria.* "For my active exertions in this behalf," in defending others.

³ *Labores per quos, &c.* "To discontinue the efforts by which I have obtained these rewards, when once you have made them your own, would be the part of both a cunning and an ungrateful man." *Astuti.* Because his motive, in defending and aiding others, has not been the mere wish of ultimately benefiting himself by becoming popular; a motive craftily concealed, however, until his object is accomplished.—*Ingrati.* Because he ought to show his gratitude by fresh efforts for the good of those who have raised him to office.

⁴ *Quod si.* "If however."—*Te auctore.* "By your own authority." *Nulla turpitudine.* "No disgraceful imputation."

⁵ *Improbis.* "Worthless."—*Coarguit.* "Clearly shows."

⁶ *De tuo ipsius studio.* "From your own pursuits," i. e. from your own professional conduct; from your own way of acting at the bar.

⁷ *Etiam adversariis, &c.* "To give advice even to the adversaries" of your friends, when consulting you on a point of law." *Idcirco* is the technical term applied to the giving of advice on the part of a Roman jurisconsult. Thus Cicero declares *Orat. c. 30.* "*Rutulus*

rius, nec misericors, nec officiosus deserere possit. Atque hujusce rei conjecturam ⁶ de tuo ipsius studio, Servi, facillime speris. Nam si tibi necesse putas, ⁷ etiam adversariis amicorum tuorum de jure consulentibus respondere; ⁸ et, si turpe existimas, ⁹ te advocato, illum ipsum, quem contra veneris, ¹⁰ causa cadere: noli tam esse injustus, ut, cum ¹¹ tui fontes vel inimicis tuis pateant, nostros rivulos etiam amicis fontes clausos esse oportere. (10.) Etenim, si me ¹² tua familiaritas ¹³ ab hac causa removisset, et, si hoc idem Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso, clarissimis viris, si item ceteris, a quibus intelligo tuam gratiam magni aestimari, accidisset: in ea civitate consul designatus defensorem non haberet, in

Friends of Sulpicius, and thereupon comes to the latter, states the nature of the controversy, and obtains his professional advice. The friend then waits upon Sulpicius, and requests him to appear as his advocate on the trial of this very point. Will not Sulpicius, on that trial, feel his self-love seriously wounded, if the opposite party, to whom he had given advice in this very same case, and who, acting on that advice, has defended the case, be defeated and lose his cause? We have given the explanation of Ferratius, which seems much more in unison with the context than that of Ernesti. The latter understands *alio tempore* after *veneris*, and makes the meaning to be this; "If you deem it discreditable, when you appear for one, against whom you have pleaded on a previous occasion, that this individual should lose his cause," i. e. that you should not exert yourself now in his behalf, merely because you appeared against him before this.

⁹ *Te advocato*. By *advocatus* appears to be meant here, not one who takes part in the actual pleading of a cause, but who stands by and aids another by his advice and presence. Compare the explanation of Leconius, as given under note 4, page 338.

¹⁰ *Causa cadere*. A legal expression for losing a cause, used here in general sense; although in its special acceptation, it applies rather to the loss of a cause through some failure in the form of proceeding; that we call in English a non-suit. Compare Cic. *de Invent.* 2, 19: *Ita jus civile habemus constitutum, ut causa cadat is, qui non quemadmodum oportet, egerit.*

¹¹ *Tui fontes*. "The rich springs of your legal wisdom." Compare note 1, page 392.—*Nostros rivulos*. "That our scanty rills."

¹² *Tua familiaritas*. "My long acquaintance with you," i. e. the friendship I entertain for you. The possessive pronoun is here used in that the grammarians call its passive sense. The active meaning of *ta familiaritas* would be, "your long acquaintance with me," or "your friendship towards me." Consult *Sanct. Minerv.* 2, 13, p. 331, ed. i. ed. Bauer.

¹³ *Ab hac causa removisset*. "Had induced me to decline this cause." —Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso. These two individuals were associated with Cicero in the management of the defence.—A quibus, &c. "By whom we well know, your esteem is highly prized," i. e. who I well know set a

qua nemini umquam ¹ infimo majores nostri patronum deesse voluerunt. Ego vero, judices, ipse me existimarem ² nefarium, si amico; crudelem, si misero; superbum, si consuli defuissem. Quare ³ quod dandum est amicitiae, large dabitur a me, ut tecum agam, Servi, non secus, ac si meus esset frater, qui mihi est carissimus, ⁴ isto in loco. ⁵ Quod tribuendum est officio, fidei, ⁶ religioni, id ita moderabor, ut meminerim, me contra amici studium pro amici periculo dicere.

V. (11.) ⁷ INTELLIGO, judices, tres totius accusationis partes fuisse, et earum unam in reprehensione vitae, alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitus esse versatam. Atque harum trium partium prima illa, ⁸ quae

high value upon your friendship, and would make great sacrifices to preserve it,

¹ *Infimo*. "Even among the lowest of the people."

² *Nefarium*. "A wicked man." A violator of the holy law of friendship.

³ *Quod dandum est amicitiae*, &c. Cicero means, that, in the management of the present case, he will make the same allowance for the claims of friendship, on the part of Sulpicius, as if the latter were his own brother Quintus, to whom he was most tenderly attached.

⁴ *Isto in loco*. Literally, "in the situation in which you now are," i. e. an accuser of Murena. The student will note the force of *iste* here. A want of attention to the peculiar meaning of this pronoun has led Manutius into the error of supposing that the phrase *isto in loco* is here equivalent to *in hac dignitati consulari*.

⁵ *Quod tribuendum est*, &c. "Whatever, on the other hand, is to be yielded by me to the claims of duty, of honour, of religion, this I will regulate in such a way, as to bear in mind that I am pleading for the safety of one friend against the hot attack of another." Literally, "in behalf of the danger of one friend."

⁶ *Religioni*. [Because Cicero had implored the favour of heaven towards Murena, and his colleague Silanus, on the day of the comitia. Compare note 1, page 388.]

⁷ *Intelligo, judices*, &c. "I perceive, judges, that there have been three heads to the entire accusation, and that one of these has been taken up with the censure of his private life, the second with contesting his claim as a fit candidate for the consulship, the third with the charge of bribery." By *dignitas* is here meant personal merit or worth, and by *contentio dignitatis*, a disputing of the claim of Murena to the consulship, on the ground of his not possessing sufficient personal merit for that elevated station. Under this head of personal merit the question of family is also brought in.

⁸ *Quae gravissima*, &c. "Which ought to have been the weightiest," i. e. ought to have been managed in such a way as naturally to form the heaviest and gravest charge against him.

gravissima esse debebat,⁹ ita fuit infirma et levis, ut illos
 magis quædam accusatoria, quam vera maledicendi
 scilicet de vita L. Murenæ dicere aliquid coëgerit.¹⁰ Ob-
 jecta est enim Asia: quæ ab hoc¹¹ non ad voluptatem et
 luxuriam expetita est, sed in militari labore peragrata.¹² Qui
 si adolescens, patre suo imperatore, non meruisset; aut
 hostem, aut patris imperium timuisse, aut a parente repudi-
 tus videretur.¹³ An, cum sedere in equis triumphantium
 prætextati potissimum filii soleant,¹⁴ huic donis militaribus
 patris triumphum decorare fugiendum fuit, ut, rebus com-
 munitè gestis, pæne simul cum patre triumpharet? (12.)
 Sic vero, judices, et fuit in Asia, et viro fortissimo, parenti
 suo, magno adjumento in periculis, solatio in laboribus,

⁹ *Ita fuit infirma et levis, &c.* "Has proved so weak and frivolous
 one, that some established practice on the part of accusers, rather
 than any real grounds for imputing criminality, has compelled them
 to say something about the life of Licinius Murena." By *lex accu-*
satoria is meant an established practice, on the part of accusers, to
 impute to the accused an ill-spent and dissolute life.—*Maledicendi*
scilicet. Any grounds for establishing real criminality.

¹⁰ *Objecta est enim Asia.* "Asia namely has been made a source of
 reproach to him." The particle *enim* is here employed in the sense of
 scope, like the inchoative γάρ in Greek.—*Asia.* The Romans regarded
 Asia as the source whence all their luxury originated. Compare LIVY,
 6: "*Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in*
urbem est: ii primum lectos æratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas,
et alia textilia, et, quæ tum magnificæ suppellectilis habebantur, monopodia
et abacos Romam advexerunt," &c.

¹¹ *Non ad voluptatem et luxuriam.* "Not for purposes of pleasure
 and debauchery."—*In militari labore.* He was serving under his
 father L. Murena, who had been left by Sylla in command of the
 Asiatic forces.

¹² *Qui si adolescens, &c.* "Now, had he, when a young man, not
 performed military service, his father being at the time commander
 there."

¹³ *An, cum sedere, &c.* The triumphant general's children sat with
 him in the car. His sons who wore the *prætexta* rode on the horses
 drawing it, or followed on other horses. The *prætexta* was worn by
 the Roman youth till the age of seventeen, when the *toga virilis*, or
 manly gown, was assumed.

¹⁴ *Huic donis militaribus, &c.* The meaning of this is, was not Murena
 to perform military service under his father in Asia, in order that,
 by distinguishing himself there, he might, on his return home, grace
 the triumph of his parent by displaying the military rewards he him-
 self had received? This, of course, is meant as an answer to the
 charge of his having been in Asia. It was the very country where he
 ought to have been at the time.

gratulationi in victoria fuit. ¹ Et, si habet Asia suspensionem luxuriæ quandam, non Asiam nunquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse, laudandum est. Quamobrem non Asia nomen objiciendum Murenæ fuit, ex qua laus familiæ, memoria generi, honos et gloria nomini constituta est: ² sed aliquod aut in Asia susceptum, aut ex Asia deportatum flagitium ac dedecus. ³ Meruisse vero stipendia in eo bello, quod tum populus Romanus non modo maximum, sed etiam solum gerebat, virtutis: patre imperatore libentissime meruisse, pietatis: finem stipendiorum, patris victoriam et triumphum fuisse, felicitatis fuit. ⁵ Maledicto quidem idcirco nihil in hisce rebus loci est, quod omnia laus occupavit.

¹ *Et, si habet Asia, &c.*, i. e. and since Asia carries with it a certain suspicion of dissolute living, not his having never seen Asia, but his having lived temperately in Asia must be made a source of praise to him.

² *Sed aliquod aut in Asia, &c.* "But some flagrant and disgraceful vice, either contracted by him in Asia, or introduced by others from that country," i. e. either some vice which he himself had contracted while living in Asia, or one of Asiatic origin, brought to Rome by some other individual, and contracted by Murena at the latter place.

³ *Meruisse stipendia.* "To have performed military service." The literal meaning of *merere stipendia* is "to earn pay."—*In eo bello.* The Mithridatic war.—*Virtutis.* "Was a proof of his courage."

⁴ *Pietatis.* "Of his filial piety." Shown as well by his cheerfulness in serving under his parent as by his wish to contribute to that parent's glory.—*Finem stipendiorum.* "The termination of his service."

⁵ *Maledicto.* "For censure."—*Occupavit.* "Has pre-occupied."

⁶ *Saltatorem.* Dancing was regarded as disgraceful by the Romans. It was the dancing, however, which had found its way from the stage into convivial circles that was justly condemned, and not every species. For the Romans had their sacred or religious dances, with which of course no fault was found. Compare the explanation of GRÆVIUS: "*Saltator hic est histrio. Non enim quævis saltatio Romæ turpis erat et probosa, sed histrionica et mollior.*" With the Greeks a different usage prevailed. Consult the remarks of Cornelius Nepos, in his preface, and also the first chapter of his life of Epaminondas.

⁷ *Maledictum est, si vere objicitur, &c.* "This, if it be truly objected against him, is the charge of an angry accuser; but, if falsely, of a slanderous calumniator." In either case, therefore, Cato ought not utter this reproach against Murena, since an angry feeling is as inconsistent with the character of a sage, as a disregard for the truth.

⁸ *Quare cum ista, &c.*, i. e. wherefore, since you are a person of such weight of character, you ought not, Marcus Cato, to snatch a calumny from the lips of the rabble, or from some carousal of buffoons, and rashly to call a consul of the Roman people a dancer.

VI. (18.) ⁶SALTATOREM appellat L. Murenam Cato. Maledictum est, si vere objicitur, vehementis accusatoris: n falso, maledici conviciatoris. ⁸Quare cum ista sis auctoritate, non debes, M. Cato, arripere maledictum ⁹ex trivio, it ex ¹⁰scurrarum aliquo ¹¹convivio, neque temere consulem populi Romani saltatorem vocare: sed conspiciere, quibus ræterea vitiis affectum esse necesse sit eum, cui vere istud objici possit. Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit: neque in solitudine, ¹²neque in convivio moderatoque honesto. Tempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum eliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. ¹³Tu mihi arripis id, quod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum: ¹⁴relinquis illa, quibus remotis, hoc vitium omnino esse non potest.

⁸ *Ex trivio.* By *trivium* is literally meant a place where three ways meet, and where all manner of idlers and low persons are accustomed to congregate. It is then taken, as in the present instance, to denote this class of persons themselves, or, in other words, the rabble, the worst vulgar.

¹⁰ *Scurrarum.* By *scurra* is meant a buffoon, a scoffer, a jester, one who, for the sake of exciting merriment, cares not what he either says or does, and who is particularly fond of raising a laugh at the expense of others, by some coarse slander. Verrius Flaccus derives the term *a sequendo*," (*scurra*, *quasi securra*), and makes its primitive meaning to be "a parasite," or one who "follows" in the train of a rich person, to amuse him by his buffoonery. Festus ridicules this etymology very properly. (*Fest. de Verb. Sign.* p. 240, ed. Lind.) The word appears rather to be of the same family with the German "*scherzen*," "to rail," "to jeer," &c.

¹¹ *Convivio.* The common text has *convicio*, which Lambinus first altered, on conjecture, to *convivio*. This latter reading is adopted by Ernesti and Scheller.

¹² *Neque in convivio moderato atque honesto.* "Not at a well-regulated and becoming repast."—*Tempestivi convivii*, &c. Dancing is the last companion of the revels of the table, of a place devoted to pleasure, of such enjoyment," i. e. is the last act in a debauch, in a place where every thing breathes of pleasure, &c. By *tempestivum convivium*, (literally, "an unseasonable banquet,") is meant an entertainment which commenced earlier than the ordinary hour, and was protracted until a much later one than usual. Compare note 4, page 154.

¹³ *Tu mihi arripis id*, &c. "You eagerly catch at that, which," &c. *Mihi* is here elegantly redundant, unless we render it by a species of paraphrase: "in order to thwart my intended defence," or else something analogous.

¹⁴ *Relinquis illa*, &c. "You leave those things unnoticed," &c. i. e. you are silent about other moral blemishes. Cicero means, that no other moral failings are spoken of by his opponents, as existing in the character of Murena; whereas dancing would imply, of course, an

¹ Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non commissatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur. Et, cum ea non reperiantur, ² quæ voluptatis nomen habent, quæque vitiosa sunt: in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te ³ umbram luxuriæ reperturum putas? (14.) Nihil igitur in vitam L. Murenæ dici potest? Nihil, inquam, omnino, iudices. Si a me consul designatus defenditur, ut ejus nulla fraus, nulla avaritia, nulla perfidia, nulla crudelitas, ⁴ nullum petulans dictum proferatur. Bene habet: jacta sunt fundamenta defensionis. Nondum enim nostris laudibus, quibus utar postea, sed prope inimicorum confessione, virum bonum, atque integrum hominem defendimus.

VII. ⁵ Quo constituto, facilior est mihi aditus ad contumeliam dignitatis, quæ pars altera fuit accusationis.

(15.) ⁶ Summam video esse in te, Ser. Sulpici, dignitatem generis, integritatis, industriæ, ceterorumque ornamentorum

indulgence in many other excesses, and could not, in fact, exist without them.

¹ *Nullum turpe convivium, &c.* "No disgraceful banqueting, no amours, no revelling, no lewdness, no extravagant expenditure is pointed out." As regards *commissatio* consult note 5, page 52.

² *Quæ voluptatis nomen habent, &c.* "Which bear the very name of pleasure, and are actual vices," i. e. which stand forth to the world with the name and character of reprehensible pleasures.

³ *Umbram luxuriæ.* "The unbidden companion of debauchery." Among the Romans, an uninvited guest, who accompanied another generally some distinguished personage, to a feast, was called his "*umbra*." (Compare HORAT. *Sat.* 2, 8, 21.) The term is here forcibly applied to dancing, which is always, according to the Roman way of thinking, sure to follow, as an uninvited guest, in the train of debauchery. Compare ERNESTI (*Clar. Cic. s. v.*): "*Umbra, comes: Muren. 6: Saltatio est umbra luxuriæ.*"

⁴ *Nullum petulans dictum.* "No lascivious expression." In the common text, the words *in vita* follow; but they are out of place here, and seem to have originated from *in vitam*. Ernesti retains them in his text, but condemns them in his note. Beck encloses them within brackets. We have rejected them with Schütz.

⁵ *Quo constituto.* "This point being established," i. e. the charge against the private life of Murena having been thus disproved.

⁶ *Summam dignitatem generis, &c.,* i. e. The highest degree of personal merit, founded on birth, integrity, the active exercise of talent, and all those other accomplishments, relying on which it is right for you to aspire to an application for the consulship.

⁷ *Contempsisti.* "You have treated with contempt." Referring to the manner in which Sulpicius, in the course of his remarks, had sought to depreciate the origin of Murena.

nium, quibus fretum ad consulatus petitionem aggredi est. Paria cognosco esse ista in L. Murena, atque ita, ut neque ipse dignitate vinci potuerit, neque te dignis superarit. ⁷ Contempsisti L. Murenæ genus: extulisti enim. ⁸ Quo loco si tibi hoc sumis, nisi qui patricius sit, minem bono esse genere natum: facis, ut rursus plebes Aventinum sevocanda esse videatur. ⁹ Sin autem sunt plæ et honestæ familiæ plebeiæ; et ¹⁰ proavus L. Murenæ, avus, prætores fuerunt, et pater, cum amplissime atque iustissime ¹¹ ex prætura triumphasset, hoc faciliorem huic dum consulatus adipiscendi reliquit, quod is jam ¹² patri debitus, a filio petebatur. (16.) Tua vero nobilitas, Serpici, tametsi summa est, tamen ¹³ hominibus literatis et historicis est notior, populo vero et suffragatoribus obscurior. Ser enim ¹⁴ fuit equestri loco: avus nulla illustri laude decoratus. Itaque non ex sermone hominum recenti, sed

Quo loco, &c. "If in handling this topic you take it upon yourself to insert."—*Aventinum.* Cicero refers here to the first secession of the plebs, which, according to Piso, an earlier historian than Livy, and is cited by the latter, (2, 32,) was made to the Aventine Hill, and to Mons Sacer.

Sin autem, &c. "But if, on the contrary, there are distinguished honourable families of plebeian origin, then both the great-grandfather," &c. This is the same as saying in our own idiom: "But there on the contrary, distinguished and honourable plebeian families, both the great-grandfather," &c.

Proavus. P. Licinius Murena, who was prætor A.U.C. 596.—*Avus.* The same name with the preceding, and prætor A.U.C. 640.

Ex prætura. "In his prætorship." He triumphed for successes against Mithridates.

Patri debitus. He had gone through all the subordinate offices, only stopped short at the consulship, for which he had the fairest claim for services rendered his country.—*Filio.* The Murena who was used on the present occasion.

Hominibus literatis et historicis. "To literary men and historians." Licinius traced back his origin to Servius Sulpicius, who was consul the tenth year after the expulsion of the kings, A.U.C. 253. Compare

Brut. 16; and SIGONIUS, *Fast. Cons.* p. 23, ed. Oxon.—*Populo et suffragatoribus obscurior.* "Is less familiar to the people and voters at elections." Cicero means, that the intermediate Sulpicii, from the elder of the line downward, especially those of more recent times, not signalized themselves in such a way as to be brought in a very marked manner before the notice of the people.

Fuit equestri loco. From this we see that a patrician might remain equester.—*Nulla illustri laude.* "For no illustrious action." *Laus* is put for an action deserving of praise. Compare ERNESTI (*Clav.* s. v.): "*Laus, pro rebus laude dignis.*"

¹ ex annalium vetustate eruenda est memoria nobilitatis tua. Quare ego te semper in nostrum numerum aggregare soleo, quod virtute industriaque perfecisti, ut, cum equitis Romani esses filius, summa tamen amplitudine dignus putarere: nec mihi umquam minus in ² Q. Pompeio, novo homine, et fortissimo viro, virtutis esse visum est, quam in homine nobilissimo, ³ M. Æmilio. Etenim ⁴ ejusdem animi atque ingenii est, posteris suis, quod Pompeius fecit, amplitudinem nominis, ⁵ quam non acceperit, tradere; et, ut Scaurus, memoriam prope intermortuam generis sui virtute renovare.

VIII. (17.) QUAMQUAM ego jam putabam, judices, multis viris fortibus ne ignobilitas objiceretur generis, ⁶ meo labore esse perfectum: ⁷ qui non modo ⁸ Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, antiquis illis, fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed

¹ *Ex annalium vetustate.* Referring to the early date of that ancestor of his who was regarded as the founder of the line. Comp. note 13, p. 401.

² *Q. Pompeio.* Q. Pompeius Nepos, who, though of plebeian origin, attained nevertheless to the highest honours in the state. Consult Historical Index.

³ *M. Æmilio.* M. Æmilius Scaurus, who was consul A.U.C. 638, and a second time A.U.C. 646. Consult Historical Index.

⁴ *Ejusdem animi atque ingenii est.* "It requires the same degree of spirit and of talent."

⁵ *Quam non acceperit.* Plutarch says, that he was thought to have been the son of a flute-player. (*Apophthegm.* p. 200, vol. vi. p. 755, ed. Reiske.)—*Memoriam prope intermortuam, &c.* "To revive by his own merit the almost extinct remembrance of his line." Compare ASCONIUS, in *Or. pro Scaur.*

⁶ *Meo labore esse perfectum.* "That it had been brought about by my exertions," i. e. that I, a man of humble origin, had proved of so much service to my country, as to cause low birth to be no longer regarded as a barrier to the consulship.

⁷ *Qui non modo Curiis, &c.,* i. e. who were nevertheless excluded from the consulship, on account of their humble origin, or else discouraged from applying for it, although they could point to many bright instances in the past and present history of their country, where men of humble birth had, by reason of signal merit, been advanced to the highest office in the state.

⁸ *Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis.* The plural is here used to give emphasis to the sentence. Curius Dentatus, Cato the censor, and Quintus Pompeius, are meant; and, in the succeeding part of the sentence, Caius Marius, T. Didius, C. Cælius Caldus.—Manutius makes a difficulty here by imagining that Cicero means the Quintus Pompeius, surnamed Rufus, who was consul A.U.C. 665, during the youth of the orator, and who could not well, therefore, be ranked among the "*antiqui*," when Marius Didius, and Cælius are styled "*recentes*;" and he thinks that for *Pompeis* we should read *Appiis*. Cicero, however,

antibus, Mariis, et Didiis, et Cæliis commemorandis
 it. Cum ego vero ¹⁰ tanto intervallo ¹¹ claustra ista
 tis refregissem, ut aditus ad consulatum posthac,
 ud majores nostros fuit, non magis nobilitati, quam
 pateret: non arbitrabar, cum ¹² ex familia vetere et
 consul designatus ab equitis Romani filio, consule,
 retur, de generis novitate accusatores esse dicturos.
 mihi ipsi accidit, ut cum ¹³ duobus patriciis, altero
 ssimo atque audacissimo, altero modestissimo atque
 viro, peterem: superavi tamen ¹⁴ dignitate Catilinam,
 Galbam. ¹⁵ Quod si id crimen homini novo esse
 profecto mihi neque inimici, neque invidi defuissent.
 mittamus igitur de genere dicere, ¹⁶ cujus est magna
 ue dignitas: videamus cetera.

to Pompeius Rufus, but to Pompeius Nepos. Thus Ernesti
 tz, *ad loc.*

int. As regards the peculiar force of this verb in the present
 compare the remark of ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*): “*Jacere
 qui minus gratiosi sunt. Imprimis autem, qui nullam spem
 us consequendi habent, cum candidati sint, aut, eam ipsam ob
 uia nihil sperant, ne petunt quidem.*”

o intervallo. “After so long an interval.” Compare SALLUST,
 “*Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, et quasi
 ulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus*

stra ista nobilitatis, i. e. those barriers so carefully guarded by
 pride.—*Ista* here denotes contempt, with a covert reference
 e prejudices of his opponent; those barriers of nobility which
 d again seek to make an obstacle in the path of Murena.

amilia vetere et illustri. The family of Murena, although
 n origin, was nevertheless an old and distinguished one.—*Ab
 mani filio.* Compare note 3, page 124.

us patriciis. L. Sergius Catilina and P. Sulpicius Galba.—
imo atque optimo viro. “A man of the utmost modesty and
 Asconius (*Arg. Orat. contra Compet.*) calls him, “*vir sobrius
 e.*”

itate. “In personal merit.”—*Gratia.* “In influence,” i. e. in
 ith the people. The allusion is to that influence which anti-
 family had hitherto claimed as its peculiar right.

! si id crimen, &c. “Now, if this ought to have been alleged
 e against a man of humble birth, undoubtedly on that occa-
 her enemies nor envious persons would have been wanting to
 gainst me.” The pronoun *id* refers here to success in gaining
 ulship; and the strong meaning to be attached to *crimen*
 elucidation from the language of Sallust, referred to in a
 note: “*et quasi pollui consulatum credebant.*”

s est magna in utroque dignitas. “Of which there is a large

¹ "Quæsturam una petiit, et sum ego factus :
² Non est respondendum ad omnia. Neque enim qui
vestrûm fugit, ³ cum multi pares dignitate fiant, un
primum solus possit obtinere, non eundem esse
dignitatis et renuntiationis; propterea quod re
gradus habeat, dignitas autem sit pæssèpe eadem.
⁴ Sed quæstura utriusque propemodum pari momen
fuit. Habuit hic ⁵ lege Titia provinciam tacitam et
⁶ tu illam, cui, cum quæstores sortiuntur, etiam :

and distinguished share in each." The Licinian family, of plebeian origin, is here placed on a full equality with the Sulpicii.

¹ *Quæsturam una petiit, &c.* These words are supposed to be by Sulpicius. Cicero adverts here to another allegation on the latter, namely, that he was declared quæstor before Murena, preceded him in the order of election. "He sought the ship along with me, and I was declared before him." The precedence among the successful candidates was regulated by the number of votes which each received; and Sulpicius seeks this a proof of his superiority, in point of personal merit, because, when they both were elected quæstores, the majority in favour of Sulpicius was greater than that of the other.

² *Non est respondendum ad omnia.* "There is no need of answering every objection," i. e. there is no need of going into a long and tedious answer respecting every objection which an opponent may see fit to make. Some objections answer themselves; and this is one of them.

³ *Cum multi, &c.* "That when there are many candidates, the point of merit, and only one of them can obtain the first order of merit and of announcement is not the same," &c. In announcing the names of the successful competitors, some must of course be named first, and the rest must follow in order, but this is no proof of relative merit. There is no valid argument of Sulpicius than Cicero is willing to admit. A greater number of votes given for one candidate than for another, even if both succeed to office, must be regarded as some proof of the superiority of superior merit in the eyes of those who give those votes. It is true, supposes the candidates to be all equal in point of merit, "*pares dignitate*," but this is begging the question, for it is the thing to be proved. Besides, he himself, when speaking of the case, attaches, as may well be imagined, a great deal more importance to the fact of his having been declared quæstor one of the first ædile, and first prætor. Compare *Or. in Pis. c. 1*: "*quæstorem in primis, ædilem priorem, prætorem primum cunctis populus Romanus faciebat; homini ille honorem, non generi, dabat.*" The student will observe, that it is *ædilem priorem* in the just quoted, because there were only two ædiles, but in our text *quæstor prior* merely with reference to Sulpicius and Murena, the number of quæstores at the time was quite large, and it

let, ⁷ *Ostiensem*, non tam gratiosam et illustrem, quam
 gotiosam et molestam. ⁸ *Consedit* utriusque nomen in
 aestura. Nullum enim vobis sors campum dedit, ⁹ in quo
 currere virtus cognoscique possit. (19.) ¹⁰ *Reliqui tem-*
poris spatium in contentionem vocatur. Ab utroque dissi-
 illima ratione tractatum est.

IX. *SERVIVS* hic nobiscum ¹¹ hanc urbanam militiam re-
 spondendi, scribendi, cavendi, plenam sollicitudinis ac
 omachi, secutus est; jus civile didicit: multum vigilavit:

and stood at the head of all, he would have been called *quæstor*
primus.

⁴ *Sed quæstura, &c.* Literally, "the quæstorship of each was almost
 equal importance (i. e. unimportant) in point of lot." The provinces,
 duties of the quæstors, were assigned to them by lot, and Murena
 and Sulpicius drew two of the most insignificant.

⁵ *Lege Titia.* "Under the Titian law," i. e. by the operation of this
 law. The *lex Titia* (proposed by the tribune Titius, A.U.C. 448) ordained
 that the existing number of quæstors should be doubled, and that
 they should determine their provinces by lot. By the operation of
 this law, Murena obtained an unimportant province, in which he had
 no chance of distinguishing himself. By the operation of the same
 law (i. e. by being compelled to run his chance in drawing lots,) Servius
 obtained a province equally insignificant.

⁶ *Tu illam, &c.* "You that one, at which, when the quæstors are
 allotted to the different provinces, a shout of ridicule is even accus-
 ed to be raised." The unlucky quæstor who drew this province,
 his sphere of operations, was exposed to the laughter of those who
 stood around.

⁷ *Ostiensem, &c.* The burdensome nature of this province appears
 to have arisen from the circumstance of Ostia's being a much fre-
 quented sea-port, and also from the salt-works in its vicinity. (Com-
 pare GRÆVIUS, *ad loc.*)

⁸ *Consedit.* "Settled down from public view," i. e. passed not the
 hands of the quæstorship.

⁹ *In quo excurrere, &c.* "In which your merit might speed forth
 and become known." A metaphor borrowed from chariot races.

¹⁰ *Reliqui temporis spatium, &c.* "The period of time remaining
 after this is next made a subject of comparison," i. e. the mode in
 which you have each passed your time since the expiration of your
 respective quæstorships.

¹¹ *Hanc urbanam militiam, &c.* "This city warfare of answering
 legal questions, of drawing up writings, of protecting the interests of
 clients, full of perplexity and vexation." We have here, arranged
 under three heads, all the duties of a Roman lawyer, and the whole is
 quaintly called *urbana militia*, in contradistinction to the real warfare
 in which Murena is engaged.—*Respondendi.* Consult note 7, page
 44.—*Scribendi.* This refers to the drawing up of contracts, articles
 of agreement, &c.—*Cavendi.* The reference here is to advice generally:

laboravit: præsto multis fuit: multorum stultitiam perperam est: arrogantiam pertulit: ¹ difficultatem exsorbuīt: vixit ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad suum. Magna laus, et gratia hominibus, unum hominem elaborare ² in ea scientia, quæ multis profutura. (20.) Quid Murena interea? Fortissimè et sapientissimo viro, summo imperatori, ³ legatus L. Lucullus fuit: qua in legatione duxit exercitum: ⁴ signa contulit: manum conseruit: magnas copias hostium fudit: urbem partim vi, partim obsidione cepit: ⁵ Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit: maximo in bello ⁶ sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit nullam sine hoc imperator. Atque hæc, quamquam præsentem L. Lucullo loquar, tamen, ne ab ipso, propter periculum nostrum ⁷ concessam videamur habere licentiam fingendi publicis literis testata sunt omnia; quibus L. Lucullus tantum laudis impertit, quantum neque ambitiosus imperator

how a case is to be arranged, an agreement to be made, &c. Compare ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic.*): "*Caveo de jureconsultis dicitur, cum litigantibus aut aliquid contrahentibus, sive verbo, sive scripto, ostendunt, quomodo instruenda, resque contrahenda sit, ne causa cadant, aut decipiantur.*" It must be borne in mind, that Cicero refers in the text to the Roman lawyer or jurisconsult, in the strict sense of the term, as distinct from the *orator*, or pleader in the courts, Sulpicius being ranked under the former class.

¹ *Difficultatem exsorbuīt.* "He patiently encountered every difficulty." The literal meaning of this phrase is coarse, but expressive: "He gulped down every difficulty," and made the best of it.

² *In ea scientia.* "In that branch of knowledge." Alluding to the civil or Roman law.

³ *Legatus L. Lucullo fuit.* In the Mithridatic war. His father had been a lieutenant of Sylla's in the same war.—*Qua in legatione.* "During which lieutenancy."

⁴ *Signa contulit; manum conseruit.* "He engaged; he fought hand to hand with the foe."—*Manum conserere* refers here to the personal prowess of Murena.—*Signa conferre* is merely "to engage," "to join battle," but *manum conserere*, "to come to close quarters," "to fight hand to hand," &c. Compare the Greek form of expression, *μὴν ἄνδρα χεῖρας*.

⁵ *Asiam istam refertam, &c.* "That Asia of yours, crowded with riches, and the abode of voluptuousness." The pronoun *ista* has here its usual force: that Asia which you make a source of reproach to him, and about his conduct in which you are continually declaiming.

⁶ *Sic est versatus.* "He so conducted himself." Literally, "he was so employed."

⁷ *Concessam licentiam fingendi.* "The privilege allowed us of uttering

ie invidus, tribuere alteri in communicanda gloria debuit. /
) ⁸ *Summa in utroque* est honestas, summa dignitas: n ego, si mihi per Servium liceat, pari atque eadem in e ponam. Sed non licet. Agitat rem militarem: insec- r totam hanc legationem: assiduitatis et operarum harum tidianarum putat ⁹ esse consulatum. "Apud exercitum ihi fueris," inquit, "tot annos? ¹¹ forum non attigeris? ieris tamdiu? et, cum longo intervallo veneris, cum iis, in foro habitaverunt, de dignitate contendas?" Primum nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis, quantum interdum afferat inibus fastidii, quantum satietatis. Mihi quidem vehem- ter expedit, ¹² positam in oculis esse gratiam. Sed tamen ¹³ mei satietatem magno meo labore superavi, et tu idem asse: verumtamen utrique nostrum ¹⁴ desiderium nihil uisset. (22.) Sed, ut, hoc omissis, ¹⁵ ad studiorum atque um contentionem revertamur: ¹⁶ quâ potest dubitari,

fictionis," i. e. of exaggerating the services of Murena.—*Publicis* is. "By the despatches of that commander."

Summa in utroque, i. e. there is then, in each, the highest reputation; the greatest personal merit; which, if Servius shall allow me so o, I will consider entitled to equal and similar praise. But no thing is allowed me. He makes a brisk attack on the military he inveighs against, &c.

Esse. "Belongs as a matter of course."

Mihi. The pronoun is here the *dativus ethicus*. It may be con- sidered as somewhat analogous perhaps to our ordinary expression, "My friend, my friend."

Forum non attigeris? "Did you all that while not set foot in the forum?"—*Cum iis, qui in foro*, &c. "Are you going to contend in the forum of personal merit, with those who have made their very dwell- ing in the forum?"

Positam in oculis esse gratiam. "That the favour, which my country had won, was constantly before the eyes of my countrymen." I, therefore, they endured the more patiently my appearing so often before them."

Mei satietatem. "The satiety arising from my daily appearance." I, of course, is what commentators call *oratorie dictum*, and by no means a copy of Cicero's secret thoughts.—*Magno meo labore*. "By great exertions on my part."

Desiderium. "Occasional absence." Literally, "the want of us," times.

Ad studiorum atque artium contentionem. "To the comparison between your respective habits and professions." *Studia* is here equi- valent to *mores*. Compare CORN. NEP. Vit. Alcib. 11, 3: "*Postquam ab expulsus Thebas venerit, adeo studiis eorum inservisse*," &c., and HER. Ind. in Nep. s. v.

Qui. "How." Old ablative form for *quo*. More correctly speak-

hostium copiae; tu, ut aquae pluviae arceantur
tatur² in propagandis finibus; tu³ in regendis

ing, *qui* is the regular ablative from *quis*, like *mihi* fr
from *talis*. Consult the remarks of PERIZONIUS, *ad Sat*

¹ *Multo plus dignitatis*. "A much stronger claim
here a claim founded upon personal worth or merit.
nocte, &c. An amusing comparison now follows betw
and the soldier, purposely to the disadvantage of the f
lawyer is here again meant the jurisconsult, in the str
term.

² *Gallorum*. The Roman professional men rose at a
be ready for their clients and dependants, who were
attendance. (Compare HORAT. *Sat.* 1, 1, 9.) So the
magistrates were held at an early period of the morn
B. C. c. 28.

³ *Buccinarum*. The trumpet called *buccina* was us
the watches. Hence the propriety of the term, on the p
to denote early rising at the commencement of the mo
three o'clock. The night was divided into four watches
each. The first watch commenced at six o'clock in the
ing to our enumeration of time.

⁴ *Tu actionem instituis*. "You arrange the form of
case." Cf. ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v.* "*Actio est formula,*
in intendenda reo lite, quæ a jurisconsultis fere petebatur
gous to what we call, at the present day, the "pleadin
that is, the carrying a case on, in accordance with the
forms, until it is ready for trial.

dicendum est enim, quod sentio,) ¹⁰ rei militaris virtus restat ceteris omnibus.

X. Hæc nomen populo Romano, hæc huic urbi æternam gloriam peperit: hæc orbem terrarum parere huic imperio cœgit: omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra præclara studia, et hæc forensis laus et industria latent in tutela ac præidio bellicæ virtutis. ¹² Simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus, ¹³ artes illico nostræ conticescunt.

(23.) ¹⁴ Et, quoniam mihi videris istam scientiam juris,

ly, when one, by erections or works of any kind, altered the course of such water, or made it flow more rapidly, or caused it to rise by compressing it within narrower limits, from all which things danger was apprehended by those dwelling in the neighbourhood, and the person who did this could be stopped in his movements. The action also lay when actual damage had been done: as, for example, when one constructed an embankment to keep out the waters of a neighbouring fen from his grounds, and the waters of this fen, being afterward swelled by rain, and unable to follow their old direction by reason of the embankment, spread in an opposite course and injured the fields of a neighbour. (NERATIUS, as cited by *Ulpian ad loc.* Compare *Cic. Top. c. 9.*)

¹ *Exercitatur.* The common text has *exercitatus est*, but *exercitatur*, which suits the context much better, is given by Quintilian (9, 3, 32), who cites the present passage from *Ille tenet to regendis*; and it is also found in several MSS. and early editions.

² *In propagandis finibus.* "In enlarging the boundaries of our empire." Literally, "in carrying forward."

³ *In regendis.* "In regulating those of some field," i. e. in an action fought about the boundary line of some piece of ground. The contrast here, between the operations of Murena and Sulpicius, is extremely amusing, and must have been most mortifying to the notions of self-importance entertained by the latter.

⁴ *Rei militaris virtus, &c.* "The excellence of the military art surpasses that of every other."

⁵ *Et hæc forensis laus, &c.* "And this our reputation and assiduity, at the bar, lie sheltered beneath the protection and security which martial prowess affords."

⁶ *Simul atque increpuit, &c.* "As soon as the least suspension of any public commotion has arisen." Literally, "has sounded forth." *Tumultus* appears to be taken here in a somewhat more general meaning than its ordinary one. The signification which this term usually has is explained in a previous part of this volume. Compare note 9, page 75.

⁷ *Artes nostræ.* Eloquence and legal science.

⁸ *Et, quoniam, &c.* "And, since you seem to me to fondle that science of the law, as if it were a little daughter of yours." Thus *NERATI* (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*): "Osculari, nimis magni facere, amare."

tamquam filiolarum osculari tuam, non patiar te in tanto errore versari, ut ¹ istud nescio quid, quod tanto opere didicisti, præclarum aliquid esse arbitrare. Aliis ego te virtutibus, ² continentia, gravitate, justitia, fide, ceteris omnibus, consulu et omni honore semper dignissimum judicavi. ³ Quod quidem jus civile didicisti, non dicam, operam perdidisti: sed illud dicam, nullam esse ⁴ in illa disciplina ⁵ munitam ad consulatum viam. Omnes enim artes, quæ nobis populi Romani studia conciliant, ⁶ et admirabilem dignitatem, et pergratam utilitatem debent habere.

XI. (24.) SUMMA dignitas est in iis, qui militari laude antecellunt; omnia enim, ⁷ quæ sunt in imperio, et in statu civitatis, ab iis defendi et firmari putantur: summa etiam utilitas; siquidem eorum ⁸ consilio et periculo, cum re publica, tum etiam nostris rebus perfrui possumus. Gravis

¹ *Istud nescio quid.* "That, I know not what," i. e. that something or other, that really very unimportant matter. Compare note 3, page 188. The reference is to dry, technical law knowledge.

² *Continentia, gravitate, justitia, fide.* The common text has these all as genitives, *continentiæ, gravitatis, justitiæ, fidei*. We have made the alteration, with Schütz, after the suggestion of Lambinus. In the common reading, *ceteris omnibus* comes in very awkwardly, to say nothing of the inelegant form of expression in *virtutibus continentia, &c.*

³ *Quod quidem jus civile didicisti, &c.* "As to your having learned, indeed, the civil law, I will not say you have lost your labour in so doing."

⁴ *In illa disciplina.* "In that branch of knowledge." *Disciplina* is here equivalent to *doctrina*. Compare the language of Cicero, in speaking of Archimedes (*In Verr.* 4, 58): *Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem et disciplina*, i. e. a man of the greatest talent and knowledge.

⁵ *Munitam.* "Sure." By *munita via* is meant a path guarded from all inroad or interruption from without, and free from all obstacles and impediments within, i. e. a way that leads with certainty to some object.

⁶ *Et admirabilem, &c.* "Both a dignity calculated to excite the admiration of others, and a utility that will call forth their warmest gratitude."

⁷ *Quæ sunt in imperio, et in statu civitatis.* "That are connected with our empire abroad, and with the condition of our government at home," i. e. both our foreign conquests and our civil institutions.

⁸ *Consilio et periculo.* "By their wise counsels and the dangers which they encounter," i. e. by their wisdom and valour. *Consilio* embraces both advice given at home, and the skilful management of operations abroad.

⁹ *Quæ.* Ernesti says that the words *posse consilio, &c.*, do not har-

iam illa est, et plena dignitatis, dicendi facultas (⁹ quæ spe valuit in consule deligendo), posse consilio atque oratione, et senatus, et populi, et eorum, qui res judicant, mentes permovere. Quæritur consul, qui dicendo nonnunquam comprimat ¹⁰ tribunicios furores, qui concitatum populum flectat, ¹¹ qui largitioni resistat. Non mirum, si ob hanc cultatem homines sæpe etiam non nobiles consulatum conxuti sunt: præsertim cum hæc eadem res ¹² plurimas gratias, firmissimas amicitias, maxima studia pariat. Quorum in isto vestro artificio, Sulpici, nihil est. (25.) Primum, ignitas ¹⁴ in tam tenui scientia quæ potest esse? ¹⁵ Res enim sunt parvæ, prope in singulis literis atque interpunctionibus verborum occupatæ. Deinde, etiam si quid apud majores nostros fuit in isto studio admirationis, id, ¹⁶ enuntiatis vestris mysteriis, totum est contemptum et abjectum.

nize well, in point of construction, with what precedes, and he therefore thinks that *quæ* ought to be struck out. The whole difficulty, however, is easily obviated by considering the clause from *quæ deligendo* as parenthetical, and we have accordingly inserted the marks of parenthesis.—*Posse permovere*, &c. “To be able, namely, to move with powerful effect,” &c.

¹⁰ *Tribunicios furores*. “The madness of the tribunes.” The tribunes of the commons, as the leaders of the democratic party, were most constantly at variance with the patricians, and, in the heat of these collisions, often proceeded to the most extravagant lengths. It is for the consuls, as the organs of the government at large, and the representatives in feeling, most commonly, of the aristocratic party, to curb these wild excesses.

¹¹ *Qui largitioni resistat*. “To check the current of corruption.”—*omnes non nobiles*. The same as *homines novi*.

¹² *Plurimas gratias*, &c. “The most extensive influence, the firmest friendships, the warmest feelings in our behalf.” (*gratias* here refers to those who are under obligations for favours received, and *studia* to all-wishers generally.)

¹³ *In isto vestro artificio*. “In that poor art of yours.” *Isto* here conveys a disparaging idea. *Vestro* refers to the whole body of jurisconsults to which Sulpicius belonged.

¹⁴ *In tam tenui scientia*. “In so frivolous a science.” Literally, “so weak,” or “feeble.”

¹⁵ *Res enim sunt parvæ*, &c., i. e. for the subjects connected with it are insignificant in their nature, being almost wholly confined to single letters and the punctuation between words, i. e. the punctuation of sentences.—*Occupatæ*, literally, “taken up with.” Cicero refers in this passage to the technical minutiae of the legal forms of the day. The legal pleading, and the technicalities of our own times, are almost precisely analogous.

¹⁶ *Enuntiatis vestris mysteriis*. “Now that your mysteries are

divulged." This is explained immediately after: *posset agi Totum est contemptum et abjectum*. "Is become altogether and disgraced," i. e. has fallen into utter contempt and disgrace.

¹ *Posset agi lege, necne*. "Whether a proceeding by law carried on or not," &c. *Agere lege* is "to go to law," i. e. accordance with the law permitting an action or suit to be brought. Thus ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. a. v.*): "*Legere agere, i. e. ex lege, lege accusare vel petere*." The student will bear in mind meaning in this passage is, not that few persons formerly knew they had a good cause of action or not, but on what day to bring their suit, certain days being set apart, on which proceedings could take place, and these days being known only to lawyers, who kept them purposely concealed, in order to render clients entirely dependent upon them.

² *Fastos enim vulgo non habebant*. "For they had no public calendar." Literally, "no calendar common to all," i. e. which might consult. The *Fasti*, or calendar, contained the day of the month, with a particular mark designating those on which it was lawful (*fas*) for the prætor to hold court. Hence these were called *dies fasti*, and hence also the name *fasti* given to the calendar itself, since from this circumstance it originally derived all its authority. The appellation always continued to be given to it, although it eventually became a record rather of sacred than of legal days. The Pontifex Maximus and his colleague had the care of the calendar, and an acquaintance with its contents was for a long time confined to the priests and patricians, the former being all of that order. The lawyers, being also patricians, were of course well versed in the subject.

³ *Tumquam a Chaldaeis*. The lawyers, who were consulted respecting the proper days for commencing lawsuits, are

int veriti, ne dierum ratione pervulgata et cognita, sine sua pera lege posset agi, ⁸ notas quasdam composuerunt, ut omnibus in rebus ipsi interessent.

XII. (6.) ⁹ Cum hoc fieri bellissime posset: "Fundus abinus meus est:" "immo meus:" deinde iudicium: nolunt. "Fundus," inquit, "qui est in agro, qui Sabinus vocatur." Satis verbose. Cedo, quid postea? "Eum ego

the eyes of these crows." The student will note the force of the subjunctive in *confixerit*. We have here a proverbial form of expression, applied, it is said, to those who deceived very cunning persons. The crow being remarkable for keenness of sight, to put out a crow's eyes is a figurative mode of designating a superior degree of keenness and craft. Camerarius, and others, however, give a different explanation of this proverb. According to them, birds of the species here denoted, in fighting with other animals, strike at their eyes; and ought therefore to be doubly careful in guarding their own. This seems rather forced.

¹⁰ *Et singulis diebus*, &c. "And to have published, for the information of the people, a calendar, in which each day was marked, and which they were carefully to learn." Literally, "a calendar for each day, to be carefully learned." This calendar contained all the days of the year, and distinguished between those on which an action could be brought (*dies fasti*), and those when no legal proceedings could take place (*dies nefasti*).—In the construction of this sentence, *singulis diebus* is to go with *fastos*.

¹¹ *Itaque irati illi*. "Thereupon, the poor lawyers, in great wrath." *Dierum ratione*, &c. "Now that the arrangement of the days was published and known to all."

¹² *Notas quasdam composuerunt*, &c. "Invented certain forms in legal proceedings, in order that their intervention might be necessary in all cases." These forms, called *notæ* because purposely abbreviated, in order that none but the lawyers might understand them, met eventually with no better fate than the system of days. They were published by Sextus Ælius Catus, and his book was named *Jus Ælianum*. Cicero notes and ridicules some of these forms, in the succeeding chapter.

¹³ *Cum hoc fieri*, &c. In proceeding to ridicule the legal forms of the day, Cicero here imagines a controversy between two parties respecting the title to a farm in the Sabine territory. First he suggests a simple mode of proceeding, the plaintiff claiming, and the defendant denying the claim, and the judge then giving his decision. But this way of doing business does not please the lawyers. They must have their forms and technicalities, and Cicero then proceeds to show, in a very amusing way, what these forms of proceeding are. Render as follows: Although the following mode might have answered perfectly well: 'The Sabine farm is mine:—' 'No, 'tis mine:—' and then the decision of the judge: the lawyers shook their heads at this. 'The farm,' says the lawyer, 'which is in the country that is called the Sabine.' Verbosely enough. Well, pray, what next?" &c.—The lawyer and Cicero are here holding an imaginary dialogue, and the former is giving the legal

ex jure Quiritium meum esse aio." Quid tum? ¹ *Inde ibi ego te ex jure* ² *manu consertum voco.*" Quid huic tam loquaciter litigioso responderet ³ *ille*, unde petebatur, non habebat. ⁴ *Transit idem jureconsultus, tibicinis Latini modo:* ⁵ *"Unde tu me,"* inquit, "*ex jure manu consertum vocasti,*

mode of conducting a suit, interspersed with occasional remarks from the latter.

¹ *Inde ibi*, &c. "I summon you out of court, from that place there, to contend with me on the spot itself." *Inde ibi* is a legal pleonasm, retained from the old forms of the language, and refers to the place where the opposite party is supposed to be standing in court. Ernesti very unnecessarily rejects *ibi* with Gruter, and is followed in this by many subsequent editors.—The phrase *ex jure* is based on an old law-custom. In the earlier Roman law, if a question arose about a farm, a house, or the like, the prætor went with the parties to the place, and gave possession to which of them he thought just. But, from the increase of business, this soon became impracticable, and then the parties called one another from court (*ex jure*) to the spot in controversy, a farm for instance, and brought from thence a turf, or clod, and contested about it as about the whole farm. It was delivered to the person to whom the prætor adjudged possession. But this custom also was dropped, and the lawyers devised a new form of proceeding, which is the one that Cicero here ridicules. The words *inde ibi*, &c. as far as *voco*, are supposed to be uttered by the plaintiff, and they are the same with those that were used when the parties actually went to the contested spot. The language remains after the actual form has ceased.

² *Manu consertum*. In this old form the supine is employed. The expression is a figurative one, and is thought by some to have originated at a time when the Romans determined their disputes with the point of their swords. Others suppose, that the two parties broke a rod before the prætor, in a kind of mock fight, in order that one of them might say he had been ousted, or deprived of possession, and might claim to be restored. (Compare AUL. GELL. 20, 10, and HEINECCIUS, *Antiq. Rom.* p. 682, ed. Haubold.)

³ *Ille, unde petebatur*. "He, of whom the claim was made," i. e. the defendant. The plaintiff was called *petitor*.

⁴ *Transit idem jureconsultus*, &c. "The same lawyer now crosses over, after the manner of a Latin flute-player." The flute-players among the Romans were usually natives of Latium. Compare LIVY, 9, 30. Cicero alludes here to the custom that prevailed on the Roman stage. The flute-player appears to have turned from one actor to another, aiding each in turn with a cadence adapted to his voice, and the part he was performing at the time. In the same way the lawyer, after arranging the form of words which one party is to utter, passes over, and does the same kind of office for the other.

⁵ *Unde tu me*, &c. "From that place there," says he, "from which you summoned me out of court to contend, I, in my turn, summon you." *Unde* does not here denote an actual change of place in the two

inde ibi ego te revoco." Prætor interea ne ⁶ pulchrum se ac beatum putaret, ⁷ atque aliquid ipse sua sponte loqueretur, ei quoque ⁸ carmen compositum est, cum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero in illo: ⁹ "Suis utrisque ¹⁰ superstitionibus istam viam dico: inite viam." ¹¹ Præsto aderat sapiens ille, qui inire viam doceret. "Redite viam." Eodem duce redi-

parties, but only a change, as it were, in their legal position towards each other, the summoned person becoming now the summoner. The idea intended to be conveyed is best expressed by a paraphrase, "as you summoned me, so now I, in my turn, summon you."

⁶ *Pulchrum se ac beatum putaret.* "Should think himself a clever and an able personage." *Putare se pulchrum ac beatum* is an idiomatic expression, and analogous to our English phraseology, "to have a high opinion of one's self," "to entertain a happy opinion of one's own abilities," &c.

⁷ *Atque aliquid, &c.* The meaning intended to be conveyed is this, but the prætor should think himself so clever and able a personage, as to make a speech in his own words.

⁸ *Carmen.* "A set form of words." Any set form of words, in prose or verse, was called *carmen*.—*Cum ceteris rebus, &c.* "Both absurd in other respects, and particularly so in what follows." In some MSS. and early editions the words *nullo usu* occur in place of *illo*, which Grævius has adopted. But then there is nothing to answer to *cum ceteris rebus*.

⁹ *Suis utrisque superstitionibus, &c.* "Their witnesses being present for each, I order the respective parties to proceed that way. "Go," i. e. in the presence of your witnesses here, I order you to go to the spot in controversy. In note 1, p. 414, we traced down the legal mode of proceeding to the bringing of a turf from the contested spot, and then stated that this custom was also dropped in course of time. The new mode is now referred to. The prætor tells the parties to go to the spot, and they make an appearance of going, headed by the lawyer to point out the way. Then, after a short interval, the prætor says, "Return," and they come back as it were, and are supposed to bear a turf. If it appeared that one of the parties had been dispossessed by the other through force, the prætor decreed according to one form; if not, according to another. The possessor being thus ascertained, then the action about the right of property commenced. The person ousted first asked the defendant if he was the lawful possessor (*Quando te in jure conspicio postulo an sis auctor*, i. e. possessor). Then he claimed his right, and in the meantime required that the possessor should give security not to do any damage on the farm, &c.

¹⁰ *Superstitionibus.* The common text has *præsentibus* added after this word, but this is a manifest pleonasm, as *superstes* itself means a present witness. Compare *Festus*: "*Superstites testes præsentis significat*," &c. *Servius, ad Æn.* 3, 339, refers to this same passage, and explains *superstitionibus* by *præsentibus*.

¹¹ *Præsto aderat, &c.* "The sage juriconsult was close at hand." Consult note 9.—*Redite viam.* Consult note 9.

bant. ¹ Hæc jam tum apud illos barbatos ridicula, credo, videbantur: ² homines, cum recte atque in loco constitissent, juberi abire: ut, unde abissent, eodem statim redirent. Iisdem ineptiis fucata sunt ³ illa omnia, "Quando te in jure conspicio:" et hæc: ⁴ "Anne tu dicis causa vindicaveris?" quæ dum erant occulta, necessario ab eis, qui ea tenebant, petebantur; postea vero pervulgata, atque ⁵ in manibus jactata et excussa, ⁶ inanissima prudentiæ reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiæ plenissima. (27.) ⁷ Nam cum

¹ *Hæc jam tum, &c.* "These forms appeared even at that day, I believe, ridiculous in their nature, among those bearded personages themselves," i. e. the very lawyers, who invented them, laughed I believe in secret at them.—*Barbatos.* A long beard was regarded by the vulgar as a type of wisdom. Hence the expressions, "*barbati philosophi*," "*barbati magistri*," &c. In the early days, however, to which Cicero alludes, the wearing of beards was an ordinary custom, and hence *barbatos* in the text carries with it the blended idea of antiquity and pretension to superior wisdom.

² *Homines, cum recte, &c.* "For persons, when they had placed themselves properly enough, and in a particular spot, to be ordered to go away," &c.

³ *Illa omnia, &c.* "All those other forms."—*In jure.* "In court." Consult note 9, page 415.

⁴ *Anne tu dicis causa vindicaveris?* "Have you made this claim for mere appearance's sake?" i. e. have you made it for mere appearance's sake, or have you a good right? The plaintiff is thus interrogated by the defendant, who is desirous of ascertaining what grounds of action he may have, that he may be able to meet the claim. Such at least is the explanation of Ursinus. But the true meaning of this detached law-form is allowed by commentators to be very difficult to ascertain, although the solution given by Ursinus appears the most plausible.—*Dicis causa* is an old form of expression, equivalent here to *in speciem*. Thus ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v.* [The phrase also occurs in VERR. iv. 24, "*attamen, ut possit se emissee dicere Arcathago imperat, ut aliquid illis nummularum, dicis causa, daret.*"]

⁵ *In manibus jactata et excussa.* "Well handled and examined." *Excutio* gets the meaning of "to examine" from its primitive import "to shake out the contents of any thing," and ascertain in this way what it contains.

⁶ *Inanissima prudentiæ.* "Totally devoid of sense," i. e. of any rational meaning.

⁷ *Nam cum, &c.* "For although very many admirable principles have been laid down by our laws."—*Ingeniis.* "By the ingenuity."

⁸ *Infirmiorem consilii.* "A natural weakness of judgment."—*In tutorum potestate.* "Under the control of guardians."

⁹ *Quæ potestate mulierum, &c.* These appear to have been the guardians whom the women chose *ex testamento viri*. Alciatus thinks, that they had slaves of theirs made public ones, and then appointed them

multa præclare legibus essent constituta, ea jurecon-
torum ingeniis pleraque corrupta ac depravata sunt.
mulieres omnes, propter⁸ infirmitatem consilii, majores in-
torum potestate esse voluerunt: hi invenerunt genera-
torum,⁹ quæ potestate mulierum continerentur.¹⁰ Sacra
scribere illi noluerunt: horum ingenio senes¹¹ ad coëmptiones
faciendas, interimendorum sacrorum causa, reperti sunt.
In omni denique jure civili æquitatem reliquerunt, verba
aut tenuerunt: ut, quia¹³ in alicujus libris, exempli causa,¹⁴ id

guardians. These, although not exactly slaves any longer, in the
sense of the term, as regarded a private owner, were yet, on the
other hand, not actually free, because the public was their master.
These persons were still, from their previous relation to the former
era, more or less under their influence and control, even after the
ownership had been transferred. (ALCIAT. *Perierg.* 9, 19.)

⁸ *Sacra.* "The sacred rites connected with families." Among the
Romans, each *gens* had certain sacred rites peculiar to itself, which the
pater, or head of each *familia* composing the *gens*, was bound to per-
form. These rites went with the inheritance. Compare Cic. *pro Dom.*
: "Quid? sacra Clodiæ gentis cur intereunt, quod in te est?" So also,
Leg. 2, 9: "Sacra privata perpetuo manento," to which Cicero gives
the following interpretation (c. 19): "De sacris hæc sit una sententia ut
serventur semper, et deinceps familiis prodantur, et, ut, in lege posui,
perpetua sint sacra." What was called "*detestatio sacrorum*" took place,
when it was announced to an heir or legatee, that he must adopt the
sacred rites that followed the inheritance.

¹¹ *Ad coëmptiones faciendas.* "To make purchases of estates encum-
bered by these rites." Literally, "for the purpose of making purchases."
In order to remove the incumbrance of family rites, a fictitious sale of
the property was made to some old and childless person, and then the
same property was purchased back from him. In this way the law was
completely evaded, there being no heir or devisee who was to maintain
the family rites in the present case. This custom is very neatly alluded
to by Curius, one of Cicero's friends, in a letter to the orator: (*Ep. ad*
Att. 7, 29.) "Sum χρήσει μὲν tuus, κρήσει δὲ Attici nostri: ergo
tuus est tuus, mancipium illius; quod quidem si inter senes coëm-
piones venale proscripserit, egerit non multum."

¹³ *In omni denique, &c.* "In fine, throughout the whole compass of
civil law, they have abandoned the spirit, have retained the mere
letter." Literally, "the mere words themselves."

¹⁴ *In alicujus libris.* "In the writings of some lawyer."

¹⁵ *Id nomen.* *Caia.* According to Cicero's humorous explanation,
they found the name *Caia* applied, in the works of some lawyer or
other, to a female who had contracted matrimony by the rite called
emptio. Now this happened to be her true name. But they
thought there was a great mystery concealed under the appellation,
and hence, in all legal proceedings connected with the rite termed
emptio, every female about to contract matrimony in that way was

nomen invenerant, putarunt, omnes mulieres, ¹ quæ coëmptionem facerent, Caias vocari. ² Jam illud mihi quidem mirum videri solet, tot homines, tam ingeniosos, per tot annos etiam nunc statuere non potuisse, ³ utrum diem tertium, an ⁴ perendinum : judicem, an arbitrum : rem, an litem dici oporteret.

XIII. (28.) ITAQUE (ut dixi) ⁵ dignitas in ista scientia consularis nunquam fuit; quæ tota ⁶ ex rebus fictis commenticiisque constaret: gratiæ vero multo etiam minores. Quod enim omnibus patet, et æque promptum est mihi et

called by them *Caia*. It will readily be perceived, that the ridicule here is a good deal overstrained. *Caius*, as applied to the male, and *Caia* to the female, were mere terms of convenience in the old Roman law-forms.

¹ *Quæ coëmptionem facerent*. "Who contracted matrimony by the rite termed *coëmptio*." There were three modes of contracting marriage among the Romans, termed respectively, *confarreatio*, *usus*, and *coëmptio*. By the last of these was meant a kind of mutual purchase, when a man and woman were married by delivering to one another a small piece of money, and repeating certain words. What these words were is not clearly ascertained. Boëthius (*ad Cic. Top. 3*) gives rather the meaning than the actual form of expression. It is more than probable, from the language of Cicero in the text, that one of the forms was that which is generally, though perhaps erroneously, thought to have been common to both *confarreatio* and *coëmptio*. "*Ubi tu Caius, ibi ego Caia*," i. e. "Where you are master, I am mistress."

² *Jam illud*. "The following too." Compare as to the peculiar force of *jam*, in this clause, note 7, page 253.

³ *Utrum diem tertium, &c.* "Whether the expression 'third day,' or 'day after to-morrow;' 'judge' or 'arbiter,' 'action,' or 'suit,' ought to be employed." This is another unfair hit at the lawyers. In the cautious and guarded language of the ancient pleadings, as in those of modern times, two terms were frequently used to designate the same thing. Thus they would say, "*Diem tertium sive perendinum*:"—"*judicem arbitrumve*:"—"*rem sive litem*." These forms were commonly given by the ancient juriconsults in an abbreviated style. Thus, I. D. T. S. P. which is the same as *In diem tertium sive perendinum*. T. I. A. V. P. V. D. equivalent to *Tempore judicem arbitrumve peto ad des.* And again Q. R. S. L. D. O. for *Quam rem sive litem dicere oportet*. (Consult BRISSENIUS. *de Formulæ*, &c.)

⁴ *Perendinum*. From *perendie*, "Quasi peremta die," says Charisius, that is, the day after a whole intervening day has passed. *Perendinus* is equivalent to *tertius dies*, since the Romans, in counting, always included the day from, and the day to which they counted.

⁵ *Dignitas consularis*. "Any title to the consulship," i. e. it never has carried with it that degree of merit, which could claim the consulship as its peculiar right.

arsario meo, id esse ⁷ gratum nullo pacto potest. Itaque modo beneficii collocandi spem, ⁸ sed etiam illud, quod mandiu fuit, "Licet consulere," jam perdidistis. Sapiens timari nemo potest ⁹ in ea prudentia, quæ neque extraneam usquam, neque Romæ, rebus prolatis, quidquam t. Peritus ideo haberi nemo potest, quod in eo, quod ant omnes, nullo modo possunt inter se discrepare. Difficile autem res ideo non putatur, quod ¹⁰ et perpaucis et in obscuris literis continetur. Itaque, si mihi, ¹¹ homini vehementer occupato, stomachum moveritis, triduo me jure-

Ex rebus fictis commenticiisque. "Of fictions and subtle devices." *atque vero multo etiam minores.* "And far fewer claims still to the ear of others," i. e. far less of what might lay others under obligation to you, and in this way secure their favour and interest.

Calculated. "Calculated to gain influence," i. e. so peculiarly acceptable to either party, as to lead him to regard it in the light of a special favour done him, and to induce him to cherish friendly feelings in return.

Sed etiam illud, &c. "But even that form of address, which was some time customary, 'May I consult you.'" This form of words, *consulere*? used to be uttered by the client, when he came to consult the lawyer; and the formal reply of the latter was "*Consule.*" The allusion in the text to this fashion being now out of date, means to imply, in a playful way, that the lawyers were not regarded by clients with as much veneration and respect as formerly, and that there was now more of familiarity in addressing them.

In ea prudentia. "In that branch of knowledge." In that species of wisdom.—*Rebus prolatis.* "During a vacation of the courts," i. e. when the courts of law are closed, and the aid of the lawyer is not at present needed. *Rebus prolatis* literally means "when matters are proffered," i. e. to the next opening of the courts. Compare as regards the general meaning, PLAUTUS (*Captiv.* 1, 1, 10): "*Ubi res prolatae sunt, ibi homines eunt.*"

Et perpaucis, &c. "Within the compass of both a very few and a few means obscure words." The allusion is to the written law, *scriptum*. Compare MANUTIUS: "*Loquitur de jure scripto: cum et breve sit, et minime obscurum, cognosci ab omnibus facile*"

Homini vehementer occupato. "Although a man completely engaged by other affairs."—*Stomachum moveritis.* There is some humour in this, Cicero will only meddle with the civil law in case he is asked to the step, since otherwise he would not take the trouble of giving a single thought upon it. We must not, however, suppose these were his real sentiments. From his own account, the civil law at one time, occupied a large share of his attention. Compare *Brut.* 89: "*Ego autem juris civilis studio multum operæ dabam Q. Murena, P. F., qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen, lentibus respondendo, studiosos audiendi docebat.*"

consultum esse profitebor. ¹Etenim quæ de scripto aguntur scripta sunt omnia: neque tamen quidquam ²tam angustum scriptum est, quo ego non possim, "Qua de re agitur," et ³quæ consuluntur autem, minimo periculo respondentis id, quod oportet, responderis; idem videre respondisse Servius: sin aliter; ⁴etiam controversum jus nosse et tractare videre. (29.) Quapropter non solum illa gloria vestris formulis atque actionibus anteponenda est, etiam dicendi consuetudo longe et multum ⁵istius exercitationi ad honorem antecellit. Itaque mihi vix plerique ⁶initio multo hoc maluisse: post, cum id non potuissent, ⁷istuc potissimum sunt delapsi. Ut ⁸in Græcis artificibus, eos ⁹aulædos esse, qui citharæ

¹ *Etenim quæ de scripto aguntur, &c.* "For all that re-
matters of writing has been reduced by this time to written
i. e. all the writing business of the profession is contained in
forms already reduced to writing.

² *Tam angustum.* "In terms so concise." Referring to the ac-
tions so much indulged in by the Roman lawyers, and some spe-
cimens of which have been given under note 3, page 418.—*Quo ego non*
&c. "That I cannot tell about what it treats."—*Qua de re agi*
law-phrase, denoting, when applied to a written form, the nat-
ural object of that form; and when referring to a suit or contro-
versy, the point on which that controversy turns. Compare Cic. *Brut.* 79.

³ *Quæ consuluntur autem, &c.* "While, on the other hand, the
matters about which advice is asked, are replied to at very little
delay." The explanation which Cicero immediately subjoins is ex-
ceedingly amusing. If you answer as you ought, you will pass for a
Servius; if otherwise, men will give you credit for a profound
acquaintance with the controverted points of the law, which leads
you thus to differ in opinion from others.

⁴ *Etiam controversum jus, &c.* "You will even appear to be
versed in the knowledge and handling of the controverted points of
the law." Literally, "the controversial law." Compare Murena.
"Controversum jus, quod interpretationis est dubiæ, et de quo dicitur
licet in utramque partem."

⁵ *Isti vestræ exercitationi.* "That profession of yours,"
refers to the whole body of jurisconsults.—*Ad honorem.* "For
advancement in the state." For the enjoyment of public honour.

⁶ *Initio.* "In the beginning of their career."—*Hoc.* Eloque

⁷ *Istuc potissimum sunt delapsi.* "Have slid down generally
into that vocation of yours." Literally, "into that place where
they are."

⁸ *In Græcis artificibus.* "In the case of the Greek musicians."
Artifex is a general term for one who exercises an art or empl-
oyment of any kind. Hence *artifices scenici*, "players," *artifex rhetorici*
rhetoriciarum; and so, as regards its usage in the present case, it

non potuerint; sic nonnullos videmus, qui oratores evadere non potuerunt, eos ad juris studium ¹⁰ devenire. ¹¹ Magnus dicendi labor, magna res, magna dignitas, summa autem gratia. Etenim a vobis ¹² salubritas quædam: ab iis, qui cavent, salus ipsa petitur. Deinde vestra responsa atque secreta et evertuntur sæpe dicendo, et sine defensione orationis firma esse non possunt: ¹³ in qua si satis profecissem, magis de ejus laude dicerem: nunc nihil de me dico, sed de iis, qui in dicendo magni sunt aut fuerunt.

XIV. (80.) Dux sunt ¹⁴ artes, quæ possunt locare homines amplissimo gradu dignitatis: una imperatoris, altera senatoris boni: ab hoc enim pacis ornamenta retinentur: ab

following in *Quintus Curtius*, 5, 1: "*Non vates modo, sed etiam iudices cum fidibus sui generis ibant.*"

¹ *Aulædos*. Some few editions have *auletas*. The form *citharædos* given by Quintilian (8, 3) and most early editions — *Citharædi*. "Performers on the harp." The *citharistæ* merely played upon the harp; the *citharædi* accompanied the playing with their voice. The Greek etymology is in accordance with this: *κιθαρωδός* from *κιθάρα* and *αἰδω*.

¹⁰ *Devenire*. This verb appears to imply here, that they come to the study of the law, because they cannot do any better. Compare the language of Ernesti, in explaining the force of *devenio* (*Ad Or. in pr. 5, 48* :) "*Devenire recte dicitur de iis, qui aliquo veniunt per fugiendi causa, supplicandi causa,*" &c.

¹¹ *Magnus dicendi labor*, &c. "Great is the toil that qualifies for public speaking, great the art itself, great its dignity, and most great, and the influence connected with it."

¹² *Salubritas quædam*. The meaning of Cicero is, that what the lawyer, or, as we would say, special pleader, does for his client, conduces to safety, whereas the orator ensures safety itself. The lawyer prepares what may have a salutary effect on the issue of the case, and may conduce to a successful defence; but the orator accomplishes that end, and establishes that defence. The idea then intended to be conveyed by *salubritas quædam* is best expressed by a paraphrase: "What may conduce to safety," while by *salus ipsa* is meant "safety itself." The language is figurative, and is borrowed from the condition of the human frame, at one time enjoying "a kind of health," at another, "health itself."

¹³ *In qua si satis profecissem*. "Had I made any great progress in the art," i. e. the art of public speaking; in oratory. This, of course, is the mere language of assumed modesty. Cicero's secret vanity suggested far different ideas in reality.

¹⁴ *Artes*. "Professions."—*Quæ possunt locare*, &c. "Which are able of placing men in the highest degree of personal consideration," or of raising them to the highest place in public estimation. By *virtus* is here meant public esteem founded on private worth.

illo belli pericula repelluntur. ¹Ceteræ tamen virtutes ipsæ per se multum valent, justitia, fides, pudor, temperantia; quibus te, Servi, excellere omnes intelligunt: ²sed nunc de studiis ad honorem dispositis, non de insita cujusque virtute disputo. Omnia ista nobis studia de manibus excutiuntur, simul atque ³aliquis motus novus bellicum canere cœpit. Etenim, ut ait ⁴ingeniosus poëta, et auctor valde bonus, præliis promulgatis, ⁵“pellitur e medio,” non solum “ista vestra verbosa simulatio prudentiæ, sed etiam ipsa illa domina rerum, “sapientia; vi geritur res; spernitur orator,”

¹ *Ceteræ tamen virtutes, &c.* *Virtutes* is here used in the sense not of virtues, but meritorious qualities, for eloquence and military talent are included in the number.—*Ipsæ per se.* “Even apart from eloquence.”—Compare MANUTIUS: “*Separatim singulæ, etiam sine eloquentia.*”

² *Sed nunc disputo.* “But I am now arguing.”—*Insita cujusque virtute.* “The innate worth of each particular individual.” Compare MANUTIUS: “*Nam neque ars imperatoris, neque boni facultas oratoris virtutes insitæ sunt, sed extrinsecus assumuntur.*”

³ *Aliquis.* In some editions *aliqui*.—*Bellicum canere.* “To sound forth the signal for war.”—With *bellicum* supply *carmen*. The term denotes the blast of the trumpet summoning to arms. Compare LIVY (35, 18): “*A Macedonia Philippum ubi primum bellicum cani audient, arma capturum.*”

⁴ *Ingeniosus poëta, et auctor valde bonus.* “An ingenious poet and excellent writer.” Ennius is meant, and Cicero then proceeds to quote from him.—*Præliis promulgatis.* “When battles are proclaimed.” This expression has somewhat of a poetical tinge, and is probably imitated or altered from some lost passage of Ennius. As it stands now, it could not of course find its way into an hexameter line.

⁵ *Pellitur e medio.* Cicero quotes from the 8th book of the *Annals* of Ennius. The full passage is given by AULUS GELLIUS (20, 10), and we will cite it here in order to make the references, on the part of the orator, more intelligible:—

“*Pellitur e medio sapientia; vi geritur res,
Spernitur orator bonus; horridus miles amatur;
Haud doctis dictis certantes, sed maledictis,
Miscent inter sese, inimicitias agitantes:
Non ex jure manu consertum, sed magis ferro
Rem repetunt, regnumque petunt, vadunt solida vi.*”

The words are given more according to the earlier orthography, by Hesselius, in his edition of the fragments of ENNIUS, p. 79, &c. In the second line, the final *s* in *horridus* is elided in scanning, before the initial consonant of *miles*. The early Romans did not sound the final *s* in words, if the next word began with the consonant. The practice began to disappear, however, about the time of Cicero. The last traces of this elision are found in some parts of the poetry of Lucretius,

non solum odiosus in dicendo, ac loquax, verum etiam
 unus: horridus miles amatur:" vestrum vero studium
 iam jacet. "Non ex jure manu consertum, sed ⁸ magis
 o," inquit, "rem repetunt." Quod si ita est, cedat,
 nor, Sulpici, forum castris, otium militiæ, ⁹ stilus gladio,
 umbra soli: sit denique in civitate ea ¹¹ prima res propter
 in ipsa est civitas omnium princeps. (31.) Verum ¹² hæc
 omnium nos nostris verbis magna facere demonstrat;
 oblitos esse, bellum illud omne Mithridaticum cum muli-
 erculis esse gestum. Quod ego longe secus existimo,

illud, and Cicero himself. So in the fifth line, some read *magis* in
 place of *mage*, making in the scanning the elision *magi*. Others read
 once *horridu' miles*, and *magi' ferro*, as, for example, Hesselius. The
 are various readings in these lines, such as *Tollitur* for *Pellitur*, and
manu for *manu*, need not be dwelt upon here.

Ista vestra, &c. "That wordy and counterfeit wisdom of yours."
 is literally, "that wordy counterfeiting of wisdom," &c. The
 allusion is to the unmeaning forms and subtleties of the law.

Non solum odiosus, &c. "Not only he who is disagreeable in
 speaking, and a mere talker. but even the good one."—*Horridus miles*
amatur. "The rough soldier is caressed."—*Totum jacet*. "Lies
 entirely neglected." Compare as to the force of *jaceo* here, note 9,
 p. 403.

Mage. An old form for *magis*. Perizonius maintains, that both
gis and *mage* were originally adjectives of the positive degree, like
is and *pote*. (*Ad Sanct. Min.* 2, 10.—Vol. i p. 280, ed. Bauer.)

Stilus. This was the ordinary instrument for writing. It was
 sharp at one end and broad at the other. They wrote with it on
 tablets covered with wax. When they wished to correct any thing which
 they had written, they turned the *stilus*, and smoothed the wax with
 the broad end. Hence, *sæpe stilum vertas*, "make frequent corrections."
 ORAT. *Sat.* 1, 10, 72.)

⁸ *Umbra soli*. "The shade of retirement to the beams of the sun,"
 i. e. the retired life of the lawyer to the active one of the soldier. So
umbratilis is applied to a retired, studious, or comparatively in-
 active life (Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 11), and *oratio umbratilis* to a philosophical
 discourse (Cic. *Orat.* 19), as marking the contrast between the retired
 habits of the philosopher and the more active life of the public
 speaker. So in the present case the lives of the lawyer and soldier are
 contrasted.

¹¹ *Prima*. "First in importance."—*Omnium princeps*. "The first
 of all." Alluding to the glorious results of the Roman arms.

¹² *Hæc*. "These services of Murena."—*Demonstrat*. "Strives to
 show."—*Cum mulierculis*. "With mere women." The term *muliercula*,
 the meaning of which we have here softened down, refers to the
 effeminate and dissolute habits of the Asiatics generally, and the
 debasing effects which resulted from them.

rerum monumentis, vel maximum bellum populum I
cum 'Antiocho gessisse video: cujus belli victor ⁵
partita cum Publio fratre gloria, quam laudem il
oppressa, ⁶ cognomine ipso præ se ferebat, eandem
ex Asiæ nomine assumpsit. (32.) Quo quidem in be

¹ *Neque enim, &c.* "And only a few, for the merits of the
not contained in this." Supply before *neque* the words, *et p*
or something equivalent.

² *Cum Græciæ.* As the Romans, during the Mithridatic wa
contact principally with the Asiatic Greeks, Cicero here m
tion of their other wars with the Greek nation generally
account of the different individuals mentioned by the speak
Historical Index.

³ *Ille hostis.* Referring to Mithridates. It is the same i
if he had said, "and such a foe as Mithridates."

⁴ *Antiocho.* Antiochus is here brought in as an Asiatic
and the war that was waged with him is alluded to as an As

⁵ *L. Scipio.* Consul with Lælius, A.V.C. 562, and surnamed
for his success in this war.—*Partita cum Publio, &c.* The
to Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of
He volunteered to serve as lieutenant under his brother L.
this war against Antiochus, and hence the glory of the cont
by Cicero to have been shared between them. We hav
partita, the emendation of Lambinus, in place of *parta*, as
the common text. There can be no doubt as to the superior
former, although the latter is advocated by Ernesti.

⁶ *Cognomine ipso.* Alluding to his surname Africanus.

it egregia ⁷ M. Catonis, proavi tui: quo ille, cum esset, ⁸ mihi statuo, talis, qualem te esse video, ⁹ nunquam profectus, si cum mulierculis bellandum esse arbitra-
 . ⁹ Neque vero cum P. Africano senatus egisset, ut
 as fratri proficisceretur; cum ipse, paullo ante, Hanni-
 x Italia expulso, ex Africa ejecto, Carthagine oppressa,
 nis periculis rem publicam liberasset, nisi illud grave
 n et vehemens putaretur.

7. Atqui, si diligenter, ¹⁰ quid Mithridates potuerit, et
 effecerit, et qui vir fuerit, consideraris; omnibus regi-
 quibuscum populus Romanus bellum gessit, hunc regem
 um antepones; quem L. Sulla, maximo et fortissimo
 itu, ¹¹ pugna excitatum, ¹² non rudis imperator, ut aliud
 dicam, ¹³ bello invectum totam in Asiam, ¹⁴ cum pace

nunquam esset profectus. The common text has *cum Scipione* after
am, which is an historical blunder, originating very probably
 some idle gloss. In the war against Antiochus, M. Cato accom-
 ! M. Acilius Glabrio, not Scipio. Compare LIVY, 36, 21.

Neque vero cum P. Africano, &c. "Nor would the senate, in
 have engaged Publius Africanus to go as lieutenant to his bro-

The elegance of the phraseology, *egisset cum Africano ut pro-*
etur, (literally), "have arranged with Africanus that he should
 atones in some degree for its want of historical correctness.
 was not requested by the senate to accompany his brother as
 ant: but, when a difficulty was about to arise in that body re-
 ing the provinces of the new consuls, L. Scipio and Lælius, he
 ed, that if they would give his brother the province of Greece,
 uld go with him as his lieutenant. This, of course, settled the
 on. Compare LIVY, 37, 1: "*P. Scipio Africanus dixit, 'Si L.*
ni, fratri suo, provinciam Græciam decrevissent, se legatum iturum.'
or, magno adsensu audita, sustulit certamen."

Quid Mithridates potuerit, &c. Cicero's oration in favour of the
 ian law is the best commentary on this whole passage.—*Qui vir*

"What kind of man he was." *Qui* is here elegantly used for

Pugna excitatum. "Only aroused to more vigorous efforts by the
 f a battle." Sylla had defeated Archelaus, a general of Mithri-
 with great loss, at Charonea. The true reading here is ex-
 ly doubtful. We have adopted that given by Ernesti.

Non rudis imperator "No raw commander." This is what gram-
 ns call a *litotes* (λιτότης), where, by a negation of the contrary,
 is implied than expressed. Sylla was in fact eminent for military
 a.

Bello invectum, &c. "After having traversed all Asia in hostile
 ." The common text has *cum bello*, but we have rejected the pre-
 on with Ernesti and others.

Am pace dimisit. Sylla granted peace to Mithridates, not because

commemorari possit, neque majore consilio et virtute
⁴ Nam, cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorū institisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates ⁵ Asiæ jū-
 putasset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret
 perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fide
 sociorum defenderetur, ⁶ et omnes copię regis d
 obsessionis consumerentur. Quid? illam? pugna
 ad Tenedum, cum contento cursu, acerrimis ducib
 classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, in
 tamine et parva dimicatione commissam arbitrari
 prœlia: prætereo oppugnationes oppidorum. Expe
 tandem aliquando, tantum tamen consilio atque

he found it impossible to conquer that monarch, but his
 presence was required in Italy, where the opposite factions
 fresh troubles.

¹ *Rationes et copias belli.* "His revenues and armies
cum Ponto. His object was to attack the Romans on the
 Sertorius in Spain did the same on the west. Compare the
 the Manilian law, chapter 4.

² *Duobus consulibus.* Lucullus and Cotta, A.U.C. 679.—
 this view."—*Alter Mithridatem, &c.* Alluding to Lucullus

³ *Alterius res calamitosa.* The reference is to Cotta
 mander, thinking that he had a fair opportunity of gain
 before Lucullus could join him, gave battle to Mithrid
 defeated both by sea and land, with the loss of 60 ships

mit, ut se, rege Armeniorum adjuncto, ⁸ novis opibus co-
sque renovarit.

XVI. Ac, si mihi nunc de rebus gestis esset nostri exer-
as imperatorisque dicendum, plurima et maxima prœlia
mmemorare possem. ⁹ Sed non id agimus. (34.) Hoc dico:
bellum hoc, si hic hostis, si ille rex contemnendus fuisset,
que tanta cura ¹⁰ senatus et populus Romanus suscipi-
dum putasset, neque tot annos gessisset, neque tanta
ria L. Luculli: neque vero ejus belli conficiendi curam
ito studio ¹¹ populus Romanus ad Cn. Pompeium detu-
set: cujus ex omnibus pugnis, quæ sunt innumerabiles,
el acerrima mihi videtur illa, quæ cum rege commissa est,
summa contentione pugnata. Qua ex pugna cum se ille
puisset, et ¹² Bosporum confugisset, quo exercitus adire
a posset: ¹⁴ etiam in extrema fortuna et fuga, nomen
nen retinuit regium. Itaque ipse Pompeius, regno pos-
so, ex omnibus oris ac notis sedibus hoste pulso, ¹⁵ tamen
tum in unius anima posuit, ut, cum omnia, quæ ille tenu-
t, adierat, sperarat, victoria possideret; tamen non ante,
um illum vita expulit, bellum confectum judicarit. Hunc tu
stem, Cato, contemnis, quocum per tot annos, tot prœliis,
imperatores bella gesserunt? cujus expulsi et ejecti vita

Pugnam navalem, &c. Compare note 13, page 229.—*Contento cursu*,

"In rapid course, under the fiercest leaders." Compare note 14,
page 229.

Novis opibus, &c. Compare note 5, page 230.

Sed non id agimus. "But that is not our present object." More
fully, "we are not now endeavouring to do that."

⁹ *Senatus et populus Romanus*. The senate passed a decree, relative
the declaring of war against Mithridates, and the people, with whom
rested the power of actually declaring war, confirmed that decree
a vote in the comitia.

¹¹ *Populus Romanus*. The people alone are named here, as they
used the Manilian law, which gave the command to Pompey.

¹² *Vel acerrima mihi videtur illa*, &c. This is the famous night-engage-
ment fought near the Euphrates, an account of which is given by
Dion. *Vit. Pomp.* c. 32.

¹³ *Bosporum*. The Cimmerian Bosphorus is meant, now the Straits of
Tchikali.

¹⁴ *Etiam in extrema fortuna*, &c. The eulogium passed by Cicero on
character and abilities of Mithridates is well deserved. In point of
wealth and resources, he was certainly the most formidable monarch
with whom the Romans had ever to contend.

¹⁵ *Tamen tantum*, &c. "Attached so much importance notwithstand-
ing to the life of a single individual," i. e. to the mere circumstance of
Mithridates' remaining alive.—*Ille*. "The other." Mithridates.

tanti æstimata est, ut, morte ejus nuntiata, tum bellum confectum ¹arbitraremur? Hoc igitur in b Murenam, legatum fortissimi animi, summi consilii, laboris cognitum esse ²defendimus: et ³hanc ejus non minus ad consulatum adipiscendum, quam hanc r forensem industriam, dignitatis habuisse. ✓

XVII. (35.) “⁴At enim in præturæ petitione p nuntiatus est Servius.”—⁵Pergitisne vos, tamquam e: grapha, agere cum populo, ut, quem locum semel l cuipiam dederit, eundem ⁷reliquis honoribus debeat? enim fretum, quem ⁹Euripum tot motus, tantas, tam habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturb

¹ *Arbitraremur*. All the MSS. have *arbitraretur*, in the But still Ciceronian usage and Latinity demand *arbitraremur* we have, consequently, not hesitated to give. Ernesti, who however *arbitraretur*, is strongly in favour of *arbitraremur*, ol of the common reading, “*Istæ sordes sunt Latinae, indignæ (præsertim in oratione quæ in foro dicta est, aut concione senatue.* instances, it is true, of *arbitro*, as an active verb, occur in (*Pseud.* 4, 2, 57; *Stich.* 1, 2, 87), but this is the usage of a poet a prose writer, and it may be, too, a specimen of vulgar not usage. At all events, the pages of a comic writer can furnish r ment either way in a question relative to Ciceronian prose. *Priscian* p. 791—2.]

² *Defendimus*. “We contend.” Literally, “we allege,” or tain, in his behalf.” *Defendere* means here to bring forward in of defence, or, as Facciolati explains it, “*allegare in defensionem*

³ *Hanc ejus operam*. “That these services of his.”—*Non mi nitatis*. “No less strong a claim.” *Dignitas* here again denotes or title founded on merit or fitness.

⁴ *At enim*, &c. Cicero here proceeds to answer another ar advanced on the part of Sulpicius. At the comitia for the ele prætors, Sulpicius was higher on the list of successful candidat Murena, that is, the majority of the former exceeded that of the And this is now urged as a proof of the superior estimation in Sulpicius was held by the people, and a sure indication that, ha been no bribery on the part of Murena, the other would have c him at the consular election. Cicero's answer is a very adroit

⁵ *Pergitisne vos*, &c. “What? do you proceed to deal with t ple, as if by virtue of some written obligation?” i. e. as if the tied down by the terms of some bond, and had no free agency left We have here a very artful evasion of the argument adduced opposite side? What? if the people have done a thing once in ular way, are they bound to do it always in that way? the peop who are so notorious for their fickle and changeable character!

⁶ *Syngrapha*. By this is meant a bond or obligation, by w creditor got security from his debtor for the payment of a money; or by which one person bound himself to another, for t

quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum? Dies intermissus, aut nox interposita, sæpe perturbat omnia: et ¹⁰ totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat aura rumoris. Ipse etiam sine ulla aperta causa fit aliud, atque existimamus, ut nonnunquam ita factum esse etiam populus admittitur: quasi vero non ipse fecerit. (36.) Nihil est incertius ipso, nihil obscurius voluntate hominum, ¹¹ nihil fallacius ratione tota comitiorum. Quis L. Philippum summo ingenio, ¹² opera, gratia, nobilitate, a M. Herennio superari posse arbitratus est? quis ¹³ Q. Catulum, humanitate, sapientia, integritate antecellentem, a Cn. Mallio? quis M. Ciceronem, ¹⁴ hominem gravissimum, civem egregium, fortissi-

mance of some particular act. It was generally signed and sealed both parties, and a copy given to each, whence the name, *συγγραφή* et *συγγράφω*. The phrase *agere ex syngrapha* then denotes, to exact something from another, as if it were the payment of a debt on bond, the performance of some express written covenant.

Reliquis honoribus. "In the case of the other honours he may lack.—*Debeat.* Supply *dare.*

Quod enim fretum, &c. "For what strait, what Euripus, has as many changes, as violent and as varied fluctuations, as are the powerful winds and impetuous tides which the comitia from their very nature possess?" Literally, "as the system," or "plan of the comitia has." We need hardly point to the beauty and justice of the allusion. The whole passage is cited by QUINTILIAN, 8, 6, 29.

Euripum. The Euripus, or strait between Eubœa and the main land of Greece, was famed in the popular belief for its frequent changes. Consult Geographical Index.

Totam opinionem commutat. "Produces an entire change of opinion," i. e. respecting the merits of a candidate for public favour.—

Aliud, atque existimamus, &c. "Something is done directly contrary to what we think is to be the result, so that even the people themselves wonder," &c.

Nihil fallacius ratione tota comitiorum. "Nothing more deceptive in the whole course of things at the comitia," i. e. than the issue of these elections.

Opera. Philippus was not only a public man, but an eminent lawyer, and hence his aid was often given in the forum, at trials, for his friends and others. With *opera*, therefore, we may supply *auxilium*, as Gruter directs, and render the term by "application at the bar." Compare ERNESTI, *ad loc.*: "*Est ea quæ alias industria proprie dicitur.*" Cicero alludes to the defeat of Philippus by Herennius, in *Brutus*, c. 45.

Q. Catulum. This was the famous colleague of Marius, in the conflict with the Cimbri. Consult Historical Index.—*Cn. Mallio.* A man of noble birth. The common text has *Manlio*.

Hominem gravissimum. "A man of the greatest weight of cha-

mun senatorum, a Q. Maximo? Non modo horum nō fore putatum est, sed ne cum esset factum quidem, ita factum esset intelligi potuit. Nam ut tempestates certo aliquo cœli signo commoventur, sæpe improvise ex certa ratione, obscura aliqua ex causa concitantur in hac comitiorum tempestate populari, sæpe intelligi signo commota sit; ² sæpe ita obscura causa est, ut excitata esse videatur.

XVIII. (37.) SED tamen, ¹ si est reddenda ratio, res vehementer in prætura desideratæ sunt, quæ an consulatu Murenæ profuerunt: una, ⁵ expectatio muneris, quæ et rumore nonnullo, et studiis sermonibusque competitorum creverat: ⁶ altera, quod ii, quos in provincia actione omnis et liberalitatis et virtutis suæ testes habere nondum decesserant. / Horum utrumque ei fortuna a

racter." The individual referred to is the celebrated M. A. Seaurus.—Q. Maximo. Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Eburnus, sult Historical Index.

¹ *Sæpe certo aliquo, &c.* "Are oft-times aroused by the influence of some particular constellation." This was an article of fixed popular belief on the part of the Romans.—Quintilian (8, 3, 80) remarks that Cicero expresses himself here with almost a poetical spirit *pæne poetico spiritu.*"

² *Sæpe ita, &c.* We have inserted *causa* after *obscura*, on the suggestion of Lambinus, but have not adopted his other emendation after *sæpe*, as this seems quite unnecessary.

³ *Si est reddenda ratio.* "If a reason must be given," i. e. as for Murena's apparent want of popular favour, compared with the successful candidates, who had received larger majorities in the election for the prætorship.

⁴ *Ducæ res, &c.* Cicero's meaning is, that two circumstances were deficient in Murena's canvass for the prætorship, both of which had occurred, and were of use to him when a candidate for the consulship.

⁵ *Expectatio muneris, &c.* "The expectation of public shows had been increased as well by certain rumours, as by the zeal and language of his competitors." Murena had not borne the office of ædile, and had therefore exhibited no public shows, as was customary with those who filled that station. There was no expectation of his exhibiting any in case he were elected prætor, and the rumour spoke loudly of what his competitors would do in the public exhibitions, and they themselves gave confirmation to the rumours by their conduct and language. All this, of course, tended to lessen very materially the number of votes given for Murena, and it was no wonder, if the majorities of his competitors were greater than his own.

tus petitionem reservavit. Nam et L. Luculli exercitus, ad triumphum convenerat, idem ⁷ comitiis L. Murnæ sto fuit; et ⁸ munus amplissimum, quod petitio præturæ derabat, prætura restituit. (38.) Num tibi hæc parva ntur adjumenta et subsidia consulatus? ⁹ Voluntas tum? quæ cum per se valet multitudine, tum apud suos ia, tum vero in consule declarando multum etiam apud ersum populum Romanum auctoritatis habet suffra o militaris. Imperatores enim comitiis consularibus, ¹⁰ verborum interpretes deliguntur. ¹¹ Quare gravis est oratio, "Me saucium recreavit: me præda donavit: hoc castra cepimus, signa contulimus: nunquam iste plus ti laboris imposuit, quam sibi sumpsit ipse; ¹² cum fortis, etiam felix." ¹³ Hoc quanti putas esse ad famam homi ac voluntatem? ¹⁴ Etenim, si tanta illis comitiis religio

Altera. The second reason was, that the troops whom he had com- led in Asia had not yet returned home, by which circumstance he a number of votes, as well from these persons themselves, as from rs who would be influenced by their commendations of Murena.

Comitiis. This is the conjectural emendation of Hotomannus, which binus first adopted into the text, and of which Beck, Schütz, and rs approve. The common text has *comes*.

Munus amplissimum. "The very splendid shows." Murena, having ined the office of *prætor urbanus*, was called upon to give the *Ludi llinares*, which he did with great splendour. It will be borne in d, that the magistrates who gave, or, in other words, presided at, he exhibitions and shows, generally lavished upon them a prodigious mæ, to pave the way for future preferments. Compare Cic. *de Off.* 1, where he speaks of a *magnificentissima ædilitas*, and of Pompey's ificentissima munera in his second consulship.

Voluntas militum? "The good will of the soldiery?"—*Quæ cum es, &c.* Compare note 6.—*Tum vero multum auctoritatis habet.* "And possesses great influence."

Verborum interpretes. "Mere interpreters of words," i. e. mere ex- nders of law forms and phrases.

Quare gravis est illa oratio. "Of great weight therefore is language the following."—*Me saucium recreavit.* A soldier is supposed to be speaking of his commander to the by-standers who are about to at the consular comitia.

Cum fortis, tum etiam felix. "As fortunate as he is brave." Lite- y, "both brave and also fortunate."

Hoc quanti putas, &c. "Of how much importance do you imagine his is, as regards the reputation of individuals, and the favour of rs?"

Etenim, si tanta, &c. "For if the influence of a religious feeling is strong at those comitia, that, even to the present day, the omen

est, ut adhuc semper ¹omen valuerit ²prærogativa; quod mirum est, in hoc felicitatis famam ³sempiternamque videri posse?

XIX. SED, si hæc ⁴leviora ducia, quæ sunt gravissima ⁵et hæc urbanam suffragationem militari anteponia, et ⁶ludorum hujus elegantiam, et scenæ magnificentiam velle contemnere; quæ huic admodum ⁷profuerunt. Nam quæ ego dicam, populum ac vulgus imperitorum ludis magis opere delectari? Minus est mirandum. ⁸Quamquam hæc causæ id satis est: sunt enim populi ac multitudinis comitia. Quare si populo ludorum magnificentia voluptati est, non est mirandum, eam L. Murenæ apud populum profuisse.

afforded by the century, which is first called, has always exerted an effect on the election, why is it surprising, that, in the case of this individual, the reputation of his good fortune, and the language of his soldiers produced a similar result?" *Valuisse*, literally, "prevailed."

¹ *Omen prærogativum*. At the *comitia centuriata*, where the centuries were chosen, the centuries were called to give their votes by lot. The names of the centuries were thrown into a box, and the century which came out first was called *prærogativa*, because it was asked for its vote that is, consulted, before the rest (*præ* and *rogō*). Its vote was regarded as a kind of omen of the result of the election. [The other tribes were said to be *jure vocatæ*.]

² *Leviora*. "As of too trifling a nature to be mentioned."—*Quæ gravissima*. "Which are in fact of very great importance." *Leviora* freely, "though they are," &c.

³ *Et hæc urbanam*, &c. "And prefer the votes of citizens here to those of the soldiery," i. e. consider them as carrying greater weight, or more worth having, &c.

⁴ *Ludorum hujus*, &c. "The elegance of the shows exhibited by this individual, and the magnificence of his scenery." Under the head of *ludi* are meant, not only games, but also scenic exhibitions (*ludi scenici*). Sometimes the latter were regular plays. Thus, the plays of Terence were acted on these occasions, at other times, what were called *pageant* were exhibited. These were large stages or wooden machines, of several stories, which were raised or depressed at pleasure, and were magnificently adorned. They were intended to represent detached scenes of an interesting nature, such as a conflagration, the descent of a deity, &c. Pliny says that Murena and his brother Caius were the first who exhibited one of these, and that it was richly adorned with silver. (*H. N.* 33, 3.) Such very probably is the *argentea scena* mentioned a little farther on.

⁵ *Profuerunt*. They proved of great service to him in conciliating the favour of the people.

⁶ *Quamquam huic causæ*, &c. "Although the fact itself is sufficient for the purposes of the present case," i. e. to serve as a basis for my present argument.

39.) Sed si nosmet ipsi, qui et ab delectatione omni ⁷ negotiis impedimur, et in ipsa occupatione delectationes alias multas habere possumus, ludis tamen ⁸ oblectamur et ducimur; quid tu admirare de multitudine indocta? (40.) ⁹ L. Otho, vir fortis, meus necessarius, equestri ordini restituit non solum dignitatem, sed etiam ¹⁰ voluptatem. Itaque lex hæc, quæ ad ludos pertinet, est omnium gratissima, quod honestissimo ordini ¹¹ cum splendore fructus quoque jucunditatis est restitutus. Quare delectant homines, mihi crede, idi, etiam illos, qui dissimulant, non solum eos, qui fatentur: quod ego ¹² in mea petitione sensi. ¹³ Nam nos quoque

⁷ *Negotiis*. "By the calls of business."—*In ipsa occupatione*. "In employment itself."

⁸ *Oblectamur et ducimur*. "Are gratified and attracted."—*Quid tu admirare, &c.* "Why need you wonder at this, in the case of the unearned multitude?"

⁹ *L. Otho*. Lucius Roscius Otho, who was tribune of the commons B.C. 686.—*Equestri ordini, &c.* The allusion is to the Roscian law, proposed by Otho, by which the fourteen seats next to those of the senators, in the theatre, were appropriated to the equestrian order. Consult Legal Index. From Cicero's employing the term *restituit* here, it has been inferred, that the equites had previously possessed separate seats in some conspicuous part of the theatre, from which they had been dislodged; unless we suppose, what is not very probable, that the term *restituit* is here employed, after the manner of the Roman lawyers, in the sense of *dedit* or *præstitit*. The Roscian law is the one that occasioned the famous disturbance at Rome. Consult Historical Index, L. v. *Otho*.

¹⁰ *Voluptatem*. "The means of gratification," i. e. in beholding, with more ease and comfort, the representation of the stage.

¹¹ *Cum splendore fructus quoque jucunditatis*. "Along with the splendour of their rank, the enjoyment also of their diversions."

¹² *In mea petitione*. "In my application for the consulship."

¹³ *Nam nos quoque, &c.* "For we too had, on the part of our opponent, a scene so splendid to contend against, that it actually seemed to be itself a competitor." We have here been compelled to express by a paraphrase, what the Latin gives in the compass of a few brief words. The phraseology of *scenam competitoricem* is peculiar and forcible. The nature of the allusion is as follows: Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship, had been also his colleague in the ædileship, and had, while filling this latter office, exhibited in the public shows, at which he presided, a splendid piece of scenery, loaded with silver. This gained him great popularity, and ensured him a strong vote when he applied for the consulship. Cicero was his competitor on that occasion, and adopts the very forcible mode of expression in the text, to show how much advantage Antonius had derived, in his opinion, from the silver scene which he exhibited. Antonius, it is well known, was elected to the consulship along with Cicero.

habuimus scenam competitricem. Quod si ego, qui ¹ tres ludos ædilis feceram, tamen Antonii ludis ² commove tibi, qui casu nullos feceras, ³ nihil hujus istam ipsam, c. irrides, argenteam scenam, adversatam putas? (41.) hæc sane sint paria omnia: ⁴ sit par forensis opera militi sit par militari suffragatio urbana: sit idem magnificentiæ mos et nullos umquam fecisse ludos; quid? in prætura nihilne existimas ⁵ inter tuam et istius sortem interfuisse?

XX. ⁶ Hujus sors ea fuit, quam omnes tui necessarii optabamus, juris dicundi: in qua ⁷ gloriam conciliat ma

¹ *Trinos ludos.* "Three different kinds of solemn shows." The first in honour of Ceres and Bacchus; the second of Flora; the third of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. (*In Verr.* 5, 14.)

² *Commovebar.* "Was alarmed."—*Casu.* "From the operation of lot." The *prætor urbanus*, whose duty it was to preside at the *Apollinares*, was appointed by lot; that is, the two prætors, after election, determined by casting lots, which of them should be *prætor urbanus*, which *prætor præregrinus*, and which should exercise the respective jurisdictions.

³ *Nihil adversatam.* "Proved of no injury," i. e. in your application for the consulship. Cicero asks, whether Sulpicius does not think the silver scene, which Murena exhibited when prætor, gained the large number of numerous votes, and facilitated his election to the consular office. Compare note 13, page 433.

⁴ *Sit par forensis opera militari, &c.* "Let the labours of the citizen be equal to those of the camp, let the vote of the citizen be equal to that of the soldier."

⁵ *Inter tuam et istius sortem.* "Between your allotted duties and his." Compare note 2.

⁶ *Hujus sors ea fuit, &c.* "The sphere of duty, which fell to him by lot, was, what all of us your friends wished might be yours, the dispensing justice." Murena, as has already been remarked, obtained by lot the station of *prætor urbanus*, an office which opened up for him a path to extensive popularity.

⁷ *Gloriam conciliat, &c.* "The importance of the charge gains him consideration for the individual, and the dispensing of liberal justice to the favour of others." By *æquitas* is here meant a decision according to the spirit, rather than the strict letter, of the law. Compare MANUTIIUS: "*Recte largitionis nomen ad æquitatem adjunxit, nam sæpe quod negat, æquitas largitur.*"

⁸ *Æquabilitate decernendi.* "By the impartiality of his decision."—*Lenitate audiendi.* "By the affability with which he listens to all."

⁹ *Ad extremum, &c.* "Is terminated at last by the gratification derived from public spectacles," i. e. after having received the applause of others for the equity, uprightness, and affability which characterized his deportment, the magistrate in question crowns all by a splendid exhibition of public shows.

modo negotii, gratiam æquitatis largitio : qua in sorte sapiens prætor, qualis hic fuit, offensionem vitat⁸ æquabilitate decernendi, benevolentiam adjungit lenitate audiendi. Egregia et ad consulatum apta provincia, in qua laus æquitatis, integritatis, facilitatis,⁹ ad extremum ludorum voluptate concluditur. (42.)¹⁰ Quid tua sors ?¹¹ tristis, atrox ; quæstio peculatus, ex altera parte, lacrimarum et¹² squaloris,¹³ ex altera, plena catenarum atque indicum. ¹⁴ Cogendi iudices inviti, stinendi contra voluntatem : ¹⁵ scriba damnatus, ordo totus lienus : ¹⁶ Sullana gratificatio reprehensa ; multi viri fortes, et ¹⁷ prope pars civitatis offensa est : ¹⁸ lites severe æstimatæ ;

¹⁰ *Quid tua sors ?* Sulpicius drew for his lot the presiding at trials of *peculatu*, or embezzlement of the public money. Besides the *prætor urbanus*, and *prætor peregrinus*, there were other prætors, who each resided at particular trials throughout the year ; namely, one at trials concerning extortion, (*de repetundis* ;) another concerning bribery, (*de ambitu* ;) a third concerning crimes against the state, (*de majestate* ;) a fourth about defrauding the public treasury, (*de peculatu* ;) &c.

¹¹ *Tristis atrox*, &c. "A gloomy, a harsh one : the trial of questions of embezzlement." Literally, "inquiry into embezzlement." *Quæstio* the technical term for each of the special jurisdictions mentioned in the previous note, and as these were assigned each to a particular prætor, for an entire year, they were hence termed *quæstiones perpetuæ*.

¹² *Squaloris*. Referring to the squalid and neglected garb of the accused, assumed by him for the purpose of exciting commiseration.

¹³ *Ex altera*. Referring to the side of the accusers.—*Plena catenarum atque indicum*. "Full of imprisonment and common informers."

¹⁴ *Cogendi iudices inviti*. "The reluctant judges to be forced to sit." The *iudices*, called also *assessores*, formed the council of the prætor. Compare note 11, page 141.

¹⁵ *Scriba damnatus*, &c. "A scribe condemned ; the whole order in consequence alienated." A scribe had been condemned by Servius for embezzlement of the public money, and this lost him the votes of the whole order in his application for the consulship. As regards the *tribes*, compare note 9, page 125.

¹⁶ *Sullana gratificatio reprehensa*. "Sylla's bounty disapproved of," and condemned or reversed. Several of Sylla's adherents had received from him gifts of money from the public treasury. This proceeding was now adjudged to be illegal ; and regarded as *peculatus*.

¹⁷ *Prope pars*. "Almost an entire part." Schütz makes this the same as *magna pars* ; and Lambinus, *dimidia pars*.

¹⁸ *Lites severe æstimatæ*. "Damages heavily assessed," i. e. a heavy amount of damages imposed. The allusion is to damages, or a fine awarded by the prætor, in favour of the state, against individuals who had been convicted of embezzlement. As the amount of damages awarded with the prætor, Servius made many enemies by imposing heavy

¹ cui placet, obliviscitur, cui dolet, meminit. Postremo tu in provinciam ire noluisti. Non possum id in te reprehendere, quod in me ipso et prætor et consul probavi. Sed tamen ² L. Murenæ provincia multas bonas gratias cum optima existimatione attulit. Habuit proficiens delectum in Umbria: ³ dedit ei facultatem res publica liberalitatis: qua usus, multas sibi tribus, ⁴ quæ municipiis Umbræ conficiuntur, adjunxit. Ipsa autem in Gallia, ⁵ ut nostri homines desperatas jam pecunias exigent, æquitate diligentiaque perfecit. Tu interea Romæ ⁶ scilicet amicis præsto fuisti. Fateor: sed tamen illud cogita, nonnullorum amicorum studia minui solere in eos, a quibus provincias contemni intelligant.

XXI. (43.) Et, quoniam ostendi, judices, parem dignitatem ad consulatus petitionem, ⁷ disparem fortunam provincialium negotiorum in Murena atque in Sulpicio fuisse: dicam jam

¹ *Cui placet, obliviscitur.* "He to whom it affords pleasure, soon forgets it." The reference is to the accuser — *Cui dolet, meminit.* "He to whom it occasions pain, long remembers the circumstance," i. e. he that is condemned.

² *L. Murenæ provincia.* Transalpine Gaul, of which he had charge after his prætorship.—*Multas bonas gratias, &c.* "Brought with it many opportunities of conferring important favours, together with the highest reputation to himself."

³ *Dedit ei facultatem liberalitatis.* "Put it in his power to exercise indulgence," i. e. in excusing some from military service. The state of public affairs (*res publica*) allowed him this opportunity.

⁴ *Quæ municipiis, &c.* "Which are composed of the municipal towns of Umbria."—*Ipsa autem in Gallia.* This is the very neat emendation of Ernesti, in place of the common reading *ipse autem in Gallia*. The province of Gaul is here opposed to Umbria, through which he was proceeding to the former.

⁵ *Ut nostri homines, &c.* "He enabled our countrymen by his equity and application to recover sums of money which were by this time despaired of," i. e. debts considered by this time as desperate. This result was brought about by mild and yet effectual remedies on the part of Murena, so that he often made both parties, and not merely the creditor, his friends.

⁶ *Scilicet.* "It is true."—*Fateor.* "This I am willing to allow."—*Nonnullorum amicorum, &c.* The zeal of such friends cools because their patrons, by refusing a province, have put out of their hands the means of being serviceable to their followers and dependants.

⁷ *Disparem fortunam.* "Unequal good fortune as regarded the affairs of a province." Murena held an important province. Sulpicius declined altogether going to his.

⁸ *A misso jam tempore.* "The occasion having now gone by." Com-

ertius, in quo meus necessarius fuerit inferior Servius, et dicam, vobis audientibus, ⁸ amisso jam tempore, quæ ipsi li, re integra, sæpe dixi. Petere consulatum nescire te, rvi, persæpe tibi dixi: et ⁹ in iis rebus ipsis, quas te magno forti animo et agere et dicere videbam, tibi solitus sum cere, magis te fortem senatorem mihi videri, quam sapientem candidatum. Primum ¹⁰ accusandi terrores et minæ, ubus tu quotidie uti solebas; sunt fortis viri, sed et populi unionem ¹¹ a spe adipiscendi avertunt, et amicorum studia bilitant. Nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit: neque ¹² in uno et altero animadversum est, sed jam in pluribus: simul que candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur. (44.) ¹³ Quid ergo? acceptam iuriam persequi non placet? Immo vehementer placet: d ¹⁴ aliud tempus est petendi, aliud persequendi. Petitorem, præsertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, ¹⁵ magnis

re MANUTIUS: "*Cum præterierit occasio.*"—*Re integra.* "While the matter was as yet undetermined," i. e. before the election took place.

⁸ *In iis rebus ipsis, &c.* Referred to immediately after.—*Primum accusandi terrores, &c.* The part Sulpicius here acted was no doubt a patriotic one, and showed "a spirited senator," but it was not that of a politic candidate."

¹⁰ *Accusandi terrores et minæ, &c.* Referring to the language of Sulpicius, before the comitia had taken place, and while private canvassing was going on. He expressed, it seems, his firm determination to impeach any one of his competitors who should have recourse to bribery. Suetonius says that this course showed the man of spirit, but it led the people to expect that he would fail in his election, because he acted as he had lost all hope of success, and it made his friends, also, less zealous in his behalf.

¹¹ *A spe adipiscendi.* "From any hope of obtaining office," sc. on the part of the candidate, i. e. as cherished by the candidate. *Spe adipiscendi* does not refer to the people, but to the particular candidate himself, who seems, by his desperate conduct and language and by his threats of impeachment, to have lost all hope in his own case.

¹² *In uno aut altero.* "In one or two," i. e. in the case of one or two candidates merely.—*Honorem desperasse.* "To have despaired of the office to which he aspires."

¹³ *Quid ergo? &c.* Cicero now proceeds to meet an argument that might be urged by Sulpicius in justification of his conduct; namely, that he was prompted to the course in question by a wish to retaliate upon his opponents, for the injury they had done him by their unfair proceeding.

¹⁴ *Aliud tempus est petendi, &c.* "There is one time for soliciting the consulship, another for prosecuting," i. e. for impeaching candidates who have been guilty of corruption.

¹⁵ *Magnis copiis.* "With great numbers attending him," i. e. nume-

cogitare? inquirere in competitores? testes quærere faciam, quoniam sibi hic ipse desperat." Ejusmodi amici intimi "debilitantur, studia depopulatam rem abjiciunt, aut suam operam et gratia et accusationi reservant.

ously attended by friends and clients. The candidates ventured to go down occasionally into the Forum or Campus to show themselves to the people and gain votes. They were accompanied at these times by large numbers of friends and dependants. A candidate, in this way, was called *deducere*, and his followers *deductores*.

¹ *Inquisitio candidati*. "A prying into the conduct of a candidate," i. e. to obtain matter for impeachment.—*Comprobandum* procuring."

² *Declamatio potius, quam per salutatio*. "Declamatory rather than assiduously paying court to the people," i. e. accusations against rival candidates, and accusations of bribery ought to be going round and soliciting votes. The old *per salutatio*, until changed by Gruter to the present one, which is stronger, and is equivalent to *assidua salutatio*. For a long time before the day of election, the candidates endeavoured to gain the favour of the people by every popular art, by going round the houses, shaking hands with those whom they met, saluting by name, &c. This last was esteemed a very great compliance, hence the candidate commonly had along with him a *monitor clator*, who whispered in his ears every body's name. In the old *salutatio* and *per salutatio* became general terms for all kinds

II. ACCREDIT eodem, ut etiam ipse candidatus ⁸ totum m, atque omnem curam, operam, diligentiamque suam ione non possit ponere. Adjungitur enim accu- is cogitatio, ⁹ non parva res, sed nimirum omnium a. Magnum est enim, te ¹⁰ comparare ea, quibus hominem e civitate, præsertim non inopem, neque m, exturbare: qui et per se, et per suos, et vero a per alienos defendatur. Omnes enim ad pericula sanda concurrimus; et qui non aperte inimici sumus, alienissimis, ¹² in capitis periculis, amicissimorum officia præstamus. (46.) Quare ego expertus et petendi, endendi, et accusandi molestiam, ¹³ sic intellexi: in o, studium esse acerrimum; in defendendo, officium;

um faciam. "I'll make another my candidate."

ilitantur. "Are dispirited." Literally, "are enfeebled in their — *Testatam.* "As manifest and known to all." The true

here has been much disputed. Ernesti and Orelli retain *tes-* out suggest *desperatam.* Lambinus prefers *totam.* It is a case, r, where no emendation whatever appears necessary.

ram et gratiam. "Their aid and influence."

um animum. "His whole spirit."—*Non possit ponere.* "Can- en so situated, employ." The reference is still to a candidate spairs of success, and is now thinking of an impeachment his competitors.

parva res, &c. "No small matter in itself, but in reality the portant of all."

comparare ea. "To get together those things," i. e. to supply ' with the means of driving out," &c.

um per alienos. "Even by mere strangers." From feelings of commiseration. This is explained immediately after.

capitis periculis. "When their lives (or privileges) are in dan- *Periculum capitis* means not only "a capital trial," in our sense term, but also one involving the rights and privileges of a where, for example, the punishment in case of conviction e exile, and not loss of life. We have been compelled, there- give it a general translation here, embodying both meanings.

ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. s. v. caput*): "*Causæ capitis porro, res capi- quibus caput hominis agitur, sunt, cum aliquis in iudiciu est publicum, quo condemnatus locum in senatu, aut alia, inis commoda, civitatem, libertatemve amittit, solum vertere aut vitam adeo perdit. Itaque quoties formula hujusmodi atinos occurrit, semper de quibus hominibus, de quibusque ermo sit, videndum, et quibus ex legibus causa agatur, iisque enæ propositæ fuerint. Nam ita demum, capitis quæ sit vis, poterit.*"

intellexi. "Have perceived this."—*In petendo, studium, &c.* in suing for office there is the most unremitting ardour; in

in accusando, laborem. Itaque ¹ sic statuo, fieri nullo modo posse, ² ut idem accusationem et petitionem consulatus diligenter adornet atque instruat. ³ Unum sustinere pauci possunt, utrumque nemo. Tu, ⁴ cum te de curriculo petitionis deflexisses, animumque ad accusandum transtulisses, existimasti te utrique negotio satisfacere posse? Vehementer errasti. Quis enim dies fuit, posteaquam in ⁵ istam accusandi denuntiationem ingressus es, quem tu non totum in ista ratione consumpseris?

XXIII. ⁶ LEGEM ambitus flagitasti, quæ tibi non deerat.

defending another, the most anxious zeal; in accusing, the most active exertion," i. e. that suing for office requires the most unremitting ardour, &c.

¹ *Sic statuo*. "I maintain this." The literal idea of *statuo*, when taken in this sense, is to set or place a thing in a particular position, with the determination of keeping it there as far as we may be able.

² *Ut idem*, &c. "That the same individual can, with sufficient diligence, prepare the materials for an impeachment, and arrange an application for the consulship," i. e. at one and the same time.—*Adornare accusationem* literally means, to furnish or supply an accusation with what may be requisite for its success.

³ *Unum*. "The weight of merely one of these."

⁴ *Cum te de curriculo*, &c. "When you turned off from the career of a candidate." *Curriculum* properly denotes a chariot course, or race, and is here figuratively applied to the contest for the consulship.

⁵ *In istam accusandi denuntiationem*. "Upon that announcement of your intention to accuse."—*In ista ratione*. "In that employment," i. e. in getting ready the materials for an impeachment.

⁶ *Legem ambitus*, &c. "You earnestly solicited a law against bribery; although there was one already for you," i. e. although there was a law of this nature already in existence, namely, the Calpurnian.

⁷ *Erat enim*, &c. "For there was the Calpurnian, couched in terms of very great severity." Passed A.U.C. 686. Compare chapter 32, and consult Legal Index.

⁸ *Gestus est mos*. "Regard was paid." More literally, "obedience was yielded," i. e. a new law was passed, as you entreated. This new law against bribery was the Tullian, proposed by Cicero himself, and which inflicted, in addition to the punishments ordained by the previous laws on this subject, the penalty of ten years' exile. Consult Legal Index.

⁹ *Sed tota illa lex*, &c. "Now that whole law would perhaps have armed your accusation with new terrors, if you had had an accused person to deal with who was actually guilty: as it was, however, it only served to oppose your application for the consulship," i. e. if you had had a real offender to impeach, and not Murena, the Tullian law might have done some good, in making your accusation the more formidable, and his punishment the more severe. But, having only an innocent man like Murena to threaten with the penalties

rat enim severissime scripta Calpurnia. ⁸ Gestus est
 s et voluntati et dignitati tuæ. ⁹ Sed tota illa lex accusa-
 tionem tuam, si haberes nocentem reum, fortasse armasset :
 itioni vero refragata est. (47.) Pœna ¹⁰ gravior in plebem
 voce efflagitata est ;—¹¹ commoti animi tenuiorum ;—
 silium in nostrum ordinem : concessit senatus postulati-
 tuæ, ¹² sed non libenter duriorē fortunæ communi
 ditionem, te auctore, constituit. ¹³ Morbi excusationi
 na addita est ; ¹⁴ voluntas offensa multorum, quibus aut
 tra valetudinis commodum laborandum est, aut incom-

that law, you merely injured your cause with the people, who
 ordered your conduct toward my client as the offspring of a vindic-
 spirit.

Gravior. He means more severe than that already prescribed by
 Calpurnian and other laws.—*In plebem.* Referring to those of the
 common people, who should suffer themselves to be corrupted by any
 illdate.

Commoti animi tenuiorum. “The minds of the lower orders were
 moved.” The consequence was that he lost their votes.

Exsilium in nostrum ordinem. “The penalty of exile was en-
 acted by you against our own order,” i. e. against those senators who
 could be guilty of bribery.—*Concessit.* The punishment of ten years’
 exile was ordained.

Sed non libenter, &c. “But it was with reluctance that, in accord-
 with your suggestion, they decreed greater severity against the
 state at large.” Literally, “they unwillingly established a harsher
 condition for our common fortune.”—*Fortunæ communi* refers to the
 common condition of the order, and not, as some erroneously explain
 to the lower classes of the people. We must supply *omnium sena-*
torum after *fortunæ communi*, as Sylvius does.

Morbi excusationi, &c. “A punishment was annexed to every ex-
 cuse of illness.” The allusion here is extremely doubtful, and we have
 nothing to guide us but mere conjecture. Manutius thinks, that Ser-
 gius got a law passed with consent of the senate, ordering all persons
 present at the consular comitia, and directing, that the excuse of
 illness should not be received to account for a person’s absence, but
 that he should be punished for non-attendance. Ernesti, however,
 gives a more reasonable interpretation. He thinks that the enactment
 in question was aimed at the judges, witnesses, and others, whose pre-
 sence might be deemed of importance in a trial for bribery. These
 were punished if they stayed away, and excuse of illness was not
 allowed. The object of the law was to guard against any improper
 collusion, which might defeat the ends of justice.

Voluntas offensa multorum, &c. “The friendly feelings, which many
 entertained towards you, were hurt at this, since they must either
 neglect themselves to attend court to the detriment of their health, or
 in addition to the evil of illness, even the advantages of life
 were to be abandoned by them,” i. e. the other advantages of life besides

modo morbi etiam ceteri vias frustas relinquunt. ¹ Ergo P. ² hæc quis tulit? ³ Is, qui auctoritati senatus, voluntati tue paruit: denique is tulit, qui minime probavit. ⁴ Illa quæ mea summa voluntate senatus frequens repudiavit mediocriter adversata tibi esse existimas? ⁵ Confusionem

health. From the language here employed by Cicero, Ernest, thinks that the penalty to be inflicted on those who gave the excuse of illness was an exclusion from office and from the other rights and privileges of citizens.

¹ *Hæc quis tulit?* "Who proposed the law enacting all this? Literally, "who proposed these things?" The answer of course is Cicero himself. From this passage it would appear, that all the enactments which have just been enumerated by Cicero, were contained in the provisions of the Tullian law.

² *Is, qui, &c.* Cicero, as consul, proposed the law in question to the people, in accordance with the direction of the senate and the wishes of Sulpicius, although he himself by no means approved of the measure. Hence we have adopted Schütz's emendation, *qui minime probavit*, in place of the common reading *cui minime probavit*. Ernesti retains the common lecture, but condemns it in his notes as incorrect. "*Valgatum quidem verum non est. Ciceroni quidem non nocebant, nec nocere poterant.*"

³ *Illæ, quæ mea summa voluntate, &c.* "Think you that the following, which a crowded senate rejected to my very great satisfaction, were only moderate impediments to your application for the consulship? Literally, "opposed you in a moderate degree."

⁴ *Confusionem suffragiorum.* "A promiscuous intermingling of votes." The usual arrangement of the comitia centuriata, was for the centuries of the first class to give their votes in order, and then the centuries of the other classes after them. This was favourable to bribery; for if a majority of votes had been purchased in any century it could easily be ascertained by the vote of that century, on the day of election, whether it had fulfilled its share of the bargain or not. In order to prevent this, Servius proposed to the senate, that all the votes of all the centuries should be considered as thrown into a common, that is, that the old order of calling up the centuries in succession should not be observed, but that the individual citizens should be called upon for their votes, in no regular order whatever, but as it were confusedly. Hence the expression *confusionem suffragiorum*. Two advantages would result from this new arrangement. First, it could not be ascertained how a particular century voted, the different individuals composing it being scattered throughout the great body of voters; and in the next place, the vote of each citizen counted equally, which was not the case under the old system. Compare note 4, page 210. The senate rejected the proposition. See Ernesti at end of the volume.

⁵ *Prorogationem legis Manilicæ.* "An extension of the Manilian law," which amounted in fact, to an extension of the provisions of the Manilian law. By *prorogatio legis* is meant the extending of the provisions of a law, so as to make these same provisions apply in cases

fragiorum flagitasti, ⁵prorogationem legis Maniliæ, ⁶æqualem gratiæ, dignitatis, suffragiorum. Graviter ⁷homines nesti, atque in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis gratiosi lerunt, a tali viro esse pugnatum, ut omnes et ⁸dignitatis gratiæ gradus tollerentur. ⁹Idem editicios judices esse

er case, not originally contemplated by those who passed the law the first instance. Servius had not asked for an extension of this r, but Cicero, in order to excite some degree of odium against the ter, says that his proposition about blending the votes was equivalent to an extension of this statute. The Manilian law, here alluded was proposed by the same Manilius who brought forward the other r of the same name, for investing Pompey with the charge of the thridatic war. The Manilian law, which we are at present con- lering, however, allowed freedmen to vote in all the tribes, whereas, viously to this, they voted in some one of the four city tribes only. is law was very unpopular with the upper classes at Rome, since it ade the freedmen equal with the free citizens, and the favour of the rmer would have to be sought as carefully at elections by the ighty patricians, as that of the latter. (ASCON. in *Or. pro Cornel.*) ow the proposition made by Servius, about confounding together the tes would have had the effect of making the votes of the lowest of e people equal to those of the highest, and in this sense Cicero says would have been in fact an extension of the Manilian law, which ade the votes of freedmen equal to those of freemen. This is raly said, however, to bring Sulpicius into odium with those who garded the Manilian law itself in so unfavourable a light.

⁵ *Æquationem gratiæ, &c.* "An equalizing of influence, of rank, of rages." Such would have been the result, according to Cicero, of e proposition of Servius; amounting, in effect, to a perfect levelling stem.

⁷ *Homines honesti.* "Men of honourable standing."—*Gratiosi.* "Of fluence."

⁸ *Dignitatis et gratiæ.* "Of rank and influence." By *dignitas* is re meant the degree of consideration in which an individual would held, who had exerted his influence in favour of any particular can- date, in case that individual were elected to office; and *gratia* denotes e influence so exerted. Compare MANUTIUS, *ad loc.*

⁹ *Idem editicios judices, &c.* "You likewise wished, that the judges ould be named by the parties." The *judices*, or "judges," as the m is accustomed to be translated, were in fact a kind of jury, though r more numerous. They formed a species of council, over which the ator presided, and were called his *assessores*. In ordinary cases, they re chosen by lot. But sometimes the law allowed the accuser and e defendant to select them, in which case they were said *judices edere*, ad the judges themselves were called *editicii*. Thus, by the Servilian w against extortion, the accuser was ordered to name 100 from the hole number of persons who were liable to be called upon as *judices* or that year, and from that 100 the defendant was to choose 50. By he Licinian law, *de sodalitiis*, the accuser was allowed to name the

voluisti, ¹ ut odia occulta civium, quæ tacitis nunc discordiis continentur, in fortunas optimi cujusque erumperent. (48.) Hæc omnia tibi accusandi viam muniebant, ² adipiscendi obsæpiebant.

Atque ³ ex omnibus illa plaga est injecta petitioni tuæ, non tacente me, maxima: de qua ab homine ingeniosissimo et copiosissimo, Hortensio, multa gravissime dicta sunt. Quo etiam mihi ⁴ durior locus dicendi datus: ut, cum ante me et ille dixisset, et vir summa dignitate, et diligentia, et facultate dicendi, M. Crassus, ⁵ ego in extremo non partem aliquam agerem causæ, sed de tota re dicerem, quod mihi

judices from the people at large. Whatever checks there might be on this strange practice, we should view it at the present day as one of the surest means of subverting all justice. Servius wished, according to Cicero, this mode of selecting *judices* to be extended to trials of bribery, and the latter immediately after states the evil that would have resulted from such an arrangement.

¹ *Ut odia occulta, &c.* "In order that the private animosities of citizens, which are now confined within the bounds of silent dislike, might break forth," &c. Cicero means, that, if an accuser were to be allowed to select the *judices*, it would be a very easy matter for persons to accuse and effect the condemnation of illustrious individuals, who chanced to have incurred their hatred.

² *Adipiscendi obsæpiebant.* "They obstructed that of attaining to the consulship." After *adipiscendi* supply *consulatum*.

³ *Ex omnibus illa plaga maxima.* "That greatest of all wounds," i. e. that mortal blow.—*Hortensio.* Hortensius and Crassus were, as has already been remarked, engaged on the same side with Cicero in this case.

⁴ *Durior locus dicendi.* "A more difficult task in speaking."

⁵ *Ego in extremo, &c.* "I, in closing, should not have to handle merely some particular part of the case, but to state whatever might seem fit to me, respecting the affair at large," i. e. I, as the closing speaker, when Hortensius and Crassus have gone over the whole case with so much ability, should be compelled to follow in the same track, and not be allowed to discuss merely some particular head of this cause, although the latter arrangement would be easier for me, and certainly more agreeable to you.

⁶ *Itaque in iisdem, &c.* "Wherefore, I am now occupied with almost the same topics that they were, and, as far as lies in my power, I strive to facilitate the decision which you in your wisdom will make." Cicero means, that, being compelled to go over the same ground which had been travelled by his predecessors, he endeavours to do this in such a way, that it may serve as a brief recapitulation of the most important points in the cause, and thus render their task the less burdensome in coming to a decision. Lambinus found *sapietati* in one of his MSS., which has been found also in another, and hence conjectured *satiētati*, so that *occurro satiētati, &c.*, will mean, "I strive to diminish

deretur. *Itaque in iisdem rebus fere versor, et, quoad
sum, iudices, occurro vestræ sapientiæ.

XXIV. SED tamen, Servi, ⁷quam te securim putas in-
sisse petitioni tuæ, cum tu populum Romanum in eum
etum adduxisti, ut pertimesceret, ne consul Catilina fieret,
um tu accusationem comparares, ⁸deposita atque abjecta
titione? (49.) Etiam te ⁹inquirere videbant, tristem ip-
m, mœstos amicos; observationes, ¹⁰testificationes, seduc-
mestestium, ¹¹secessionem subscriptorum animadvertabant:
ibus rebus certe ipsi candidatorum vultus obscuriores vi-
ri solent; Catilinam interea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum
oro juventutis, vallatum ¹²indicibus atque sicariis, inflatum
um spe militum, tum ¹³collegæ mei, quemadmodum dicebat

much as I can the satiety you must necessarily feel," i. e. having to
over the same topics, I do so as briefly as possible. There is a good
al to be said in favour of this reading, although it is condemned very
diedly by Ernesti, and is followed by a very few. Ernesti, however,
wrong in the explanation which he gives of the whole passage,
may be seen from the remarks of Schütz. The verb *occurro*, it must
remembered, is here used in the sense of *juro*.

⁷ *Quam te securim*, &c. "What an axe do you think you laid?" i. e.
ly think what an axe you laid.

⁸ *Deposita atque abjecta petitione*. "Your application for the consul-
p being given up, and cast aside as of no value," i. e. as quite hope-
l. This retiring from the contest, on the part of Sulpicius, would
use Catiline's party to rally, and inspire them with the hope of suc-
s, and would alarm many lest that hope might be realized. These
; would therefore throw the weight of their influence into the scale
Murena and Silanus.

Inquirere. "Collecting information."—*Observationes*. "Your in-
tigations," i. e. your inquiries as to who had given and who received
ben.

⁹ *Testificationes*. "The depositions that were made."—*Seductiones*
iam. "The taking aside of witnesses," i. e. the being closeted with
em, in order to arrange their testimony for the approaching trial.

¹¹ *Secessionem subscriptorum*. "The consultations of the accusers."
rally, "the going apart of the accusers." The principal accuser
s called *accusator*, and those who joined in the accusation *subscrip-*
m, from their subscribing their names to the impeachment.

¹² *Indicibus atque sicariis*. "By informers and assassins." Grævius
ds it difficult to understand who are meant by "informers" in this
sa. The answer is an easy one. They were false accusers, and at
e same time worthless persons, whom Catiline kept around him for
e purpose of harassing and intimidating the good, (*conf. Sert. 44*):
Qui stipatus semper sicariis, septus armatis, munitus indicibus fuit."

¹³ *Collegæ mei*. Antonius. Compare SALLUST (*B. C.* 21): "*Petere con-*

ipse, promissis ; circumfluentem colonorum ¹ Arretin Fesulanorum exercitu ; quam turbam, dissimillimo ex distinguebant homines ² perculsi Sullani temporis cal Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris : oculi, sceleris : arrogantiae : sic ut ei jam exploratus et ³ domi consulatus videretur. Murenā contemnebat : Si ⁴ accusatorem suum numerabat, non competitorem : denuntiabat : rei publicae minabatur.

XXV. (50.) QUIBUS rebus qui timor bonis injectus sit, quantaque desperatio ⁵ rei publicae, si ill esset, nolite a me commoneri velle : vosmet ipsi recordamini. Meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gl voces ⁶ percrebuisent, quas habuisse in concione dicebatur, cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negari veniri posse, nisi ⁷ eum, qui ipse miser esset : ⁸ int

sulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem liarem," &c., and also (c. 26) : "Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium

¹ *Arretinorum et Fesulanorum.* Compare *Or. in Cat. 2*, *turbam*, &c. "Which crowd, most motley in its character, individuals, who had been sufferers by the calamities of Sulla served to diversify," i. e. one might see scattered through a motley group, and serving to make the contrast more conspicuous persons who had lost their all during the proscriptions and who were now, as desperate men, following a desperate leader.

² *Perculsi.* The common text has *percussi*. But *perculsi* is the reading. When speaking of the blow of calamity, where the feelings are of course involved, the Roman writers use *perculsi* referring to mere bodily injury they employ *percutio*. Hence the distinction which Bentley lays down; *ad Horat. Epod. 11, 2*, that is the weaker term, and denotes merely "to strike," whereas *perculsi* means "to stun," "to prostrate," as it were.

³ *Domi conditus.* "Laid up for him at home." A forcible expression. The consulship appeared to Catiline to be as fully in his possession as any article of property under his own roof, and all that was required for him to do was to put forth his hand, and take it when the opportunity required.

⁴ *Accusatorem suum.* Because Sulpicius had declared his intention to bring to trial every one who should employ improper means for vassing for the consulship.

⁵ *Rei publicae.* "Of the public welfare." *Factus esset consul.*

⁶ *Percrebuisent.* "Had spread abroad."—*In concione domo* the house of Læca. *Or. in Cat. 1, 4.*

⁷ *Eum, qui ipse miser esset.* Alluding to himself. The student should mark the use of the subjunctive here by Cicero, who is quoting the sentiments and language of Catiline. So *negasset* in the next clause.

et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non portare: quare qui ⁹ consumpta replere, crepta recuperare allent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet: minime timidum, et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum. (51.) Tum igitur, his rebus auditis, meministis fieri senatusconsultum, ¹⁰ referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, et de his rebus in senatu agere possemus. Itaque postridie, frequenti senatu, ¹¹ Catilinam excitavi, atque eum de his rebus cussi, si quid vellet, quæ ad me allatæ essent, dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit ¹² apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, ¹³ duo corpora esse rei publicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite: alterum firmum, sine capite: huic, cum ita de se meritum esset, caput, se vivo, non defuturum. ¹⁴ Congemuit senatus frequens, neque tamen

⁹ *Integrorum et fortunatorum.* "Of those who were uninjured and fortunate." Meaning the upper classes and the wealthy. *Integrorum* here opposed to *saucios*, and *fortunatorum* to *miseros*.

¹⁰ *Consumpta replere.* "To repair their exhausted fortunes." -- *Crepta.* "What had been wrested from them," i. e. by the oppression and power of the aristocracy. Compare Catiline's speech in Sallust (*B. C. c.* 20); "*Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos erant,*" &c.

¹¹ *Referente me.* "On my motion." More literally, "I referring the matter to them for their consideration." Cicero, as consul, laid this subject before the senate. Compare, as regards the affair to which he alludes, note 1, page 12.

¹² *Catilinam excitavi.* "I called upon Catiline." The literal force of *excitavi*, "I caused to rise," has reference to the custom that prevailed in the Roman senate of a member's always rising when he had any remark to make, and his remaining up until he had finished the observations he had to offer.

¹³ *Apertissimus.* Very open in his declarations."—*Indicavit atque induit.* "Owned the charge and plunged into the very midst of the matter." *Indicare* differs from *confiteri* in denoting a voluntary and ready confession. *Conf.* DONATUS (*Ad Terent. Adelph. Prol.* 4): "*Indicat is qui de se volens aliquid, et de aliis etiam, prodit: sed confitetur, qui de se tantum, et qui invitatus.*" With regard to *induit*, in this passage, it may be remarked, that it is a metaphor taken from an animal plunging into the nets set for it. Catiline plunges into the very midst of the danger, boldly and fearlessly, although he sees it full before him. Compare OR. in *Ferr.* (4, 42): "*Videte in quot se laqueos induerit, quorum ex nullo se unquam erpedit.*"

¹⁴ *Duo corpora, &c.* Compare note 1, page 12.—*Unum debile, &c.* The first of these denotes the senatorial party with Cicero at its head; the other the advocates for a change of affairs, to these Catiline promises that they shall not be without a head.

¹⁵ *Congemuit senatus frequens.* "A crowded senate broke forth into

satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit. Nam partim ideo, fortes in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant: partim, quia timebant. ¹ Tum erupit e senatu, triumphans gaudio quem omnino vivum illinc exire non oportuerat: præsertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine ² paucis diebus ante, Catoni fortissimo viro, iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti, respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum id se non aqua, ³ sed ruina restincturum.

XXVI. (52.) His tum rebus commotus, et quod homine jam tum conjuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilina sciebam, descendi in campum cum firmissimo præsidio fortissimorum virorum, ⁴ et cum illa lata insignique lorica, non quæ me tegeret, (etenim sciebam Catilinam non latus suum ventrem, sed caput et collum solere petere,) verum ut omnes boni animadverterent; et, cum in metu et periculo consules viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem præsidiumque meum concurrerent. Itaque cum te, Servi, ⁵ remissiore in pe-

one groan of indignation." The student will note the force of the compound verb.—*Pro rei indignitate*. "Considering the dignity of the insult."

¹ *Tum erupit e senatu*, &c. What the senate decreed against Catiline on this occasion, does not appear, but most probably, from the word here employed, and from his going to the Campus Martius as a candidate, no measures of any importance were taken against him. Dion Cassius, indeed, says that he did not venture to persist in his application for the consulship, being deterred by the law which had been passed against bribery; but Sallust (c. 26) merely remarks that his application proved unsuccessful. Plutarch states expressly, that he stood for the consular office on this occasion. (*Vit. Cic.* c. 14.)

² *Paucis diebus ante*. Sallust states that Catiline uttered the threat here alluded to on the occasion of Cicero's first oration against him. Cicero's authority, however, is of greater weight, and he gives the same account in his *Orator*, 37, 129. Florus and Valerius Maximus agree with Sallust.

³ *Sed ruina*. "But by ruins." Alluding to the custom of stopping the progress of a fire, when ordinary means fail, by demolishing the buildings in the vicinity.

⁴ *Et cum illa lata*, &c. Compare note 1, page 18.—*Non quæ me tegeret*. "Not that it might protect me." When Cicero says that Catiline aimed only at the head and neck of his victims, he must be understood as alluding figuratively to his cruel conduct during the proscription of Sylla, when the heads of their political antagonists were brought in by the assassins of party. Consult Historical Index, s. v. CATILINA.

⁵ *Remissiore*. "Relaxing your ardour."

⁶ *Magna est autem*, &c. This appears at first view harsh Latinity, since two epithets are seldom, if ever, employed, unless one of them

ndo putarent, Catilinam et spe et cupiditate inflammatum lerent, omnes, qui illam ab re publica pestem depellere piebant, ad Murenam se statim contulerunt. (53.) ⁶ Magna t autem comitiis consularibus repentina voluntatum inclitio, præsertim cum incubuit ⁷ ad virum bonum et multis is adjumentis petitionis ornatum. Qui cum honestissimo tre atque majoribus, ⁸ modestissima adolescentia, clarissima tatione, ⁹ prætura probata in jure, grata in munere, ornata provincia, petisset diligenter, et ita petisset, ut neque inanti cederet, neque cuiquam minaretur: huic mirandum t, magno adjumento Catilinæ subitam spem consulatus lipiscendi fuisse?

(54.) Nunc mihi tertius ille locus est orationis de ambitus iminibus, ¹⁰ perpurgatus ab iis, qui ante me dixerunt; a me, ioniam ita Murena voluit, retractandus: quo in loco ¹¹ Postumio, familiari meo, ornatissimo viro, ¹² de divisorum indicibus; de deprehensis pecuniis, adolescenti ingenioso et bono,

me in as a participle. *Magna*, however, is not in fact an epithet of *clatio*, but a predicate of *repentina inclinatio*. "Of great importance is a sudden turn of popular feeling," &c. Compare ERNESTI, *loc.*

⁶ *Ad virum bonum*. Such as Murena is.—*Multis aliis adjumentis*, These are enumerated after.

⁸ *Modestissima*. "Characterized by the utmost self-control."—*Legatione*. His lieutenancy under Lucullus.

⁹ *Prætura probata in jure*, &c. The prætorship of Murena is here sidered in its three different aspects, the dispensing of justice, the libiting of public shows, and the province that followed. Render, pproved of as regarded the discharge of its judicial duties, accept-a for the public shows connected with it, supplied with every thing quisite as regarded the province that succeeded." By *ornare provinciam* is meant, to supply a province with every thing that may tend give it efficiency in its several operations, and consideration in the es of those who come under its jurisdiction. Thus FACCIOLATI: *Ornare provinciam est, ex senatus consulto decernere certum militum merum, et iis stipendium, item viaticum in legatos et comitatum, ternare ipsius provincie fines, jurisdictionis formam modumque præscri-re, et hujusmodi alia, quæ honori et ornatui erant tum provincie ipsi, tum magistratui eam regenti.*"

¹⁰ *Perpurgatus*. "Fully cleared up."—*Ab iis, qui ante*, &c. Referring Hortensius and Crassus.

¹¹ *Postumio*. Postumius was associated in the accusation with Sull-cius and Cato. Consult Introductory Remarks.

¹² *De divisorum indicibus*, &c. "Concerning the disclosures made specting the distributors of bribes, and the sums of money that had en seized in their hands." The *divisores* were persons employed by

¹ Ser. Sulpicio, de ² equitum centuriis, M. Catoni, homini i omni virtute excellenti, de ipsius accusatione, de senatu consulto, de re publica respondebo.

XXVII. (55.) SED pauca, quæ meum animum repen moverunt, prius de L. Murenæ fortuna conquerar. Næ cum sæpe antea, iudices, et ex aliorum miseriis, et ex me curis laboribusque quotidianis, fortunatos eos homines iud carem, qui, remoti ³ a studiis ambitionis, otium ac tranquill tatem vitæ secuti sunt: tum vero in his L. Murenæ tant tamque improvisis periculis ita sum animo affectus, ut ne queam satis neque communem omnium nostrûm conditionem ⁴ neque hujus eventum fortunamque miserari: qui, primûm ex honoribus continuis familiæ majorumque suorum ⁵ unum adscendere gradum dignitatis conatus est, venit: periculum, ne et ⁶ ea, quæ relictæ, et hæc, quæ ab ipso par

the candidates to distribute bribes. This, though illegal, was oft done; and was practised, on one occasion, against Cæsar, with the a probation of Cato himself.

¹ *Ser. Sulpicio.* Son of Sulpicius the accuser, and one of the a scriptores. Compare MANUTIUS: "*Quis non intelligit, Ser. Sulpi filium significari? qui et cum Postumio et Catone, patri, Murenæ ac aanti, subscripserat.*"

² *De equitum centuriis.* These are centuries that composed the whole body of the equites. They were eighteen in number, and voted in the first class. If unanimous in their agreement with that class the election was nearly decided. (Compare note 4, page 210.) Hence the importance attached to their vote by the respective candidates. I Natta, Murena's step-son, had invited them to a banquet, and this was alleged to have been done with the view of securing their vote.

³ *A studiis ambitionis.* "From the pursuits of ambition."—*Secuti sunt.* "Have courted."

⁴ *Neque hujus eventum fortunamque.* "Nor the fate and condition of my friend," i. e. the hard lot which is his.

⁵ *Unam adscendere gradum, &c.* The father, the grandfather, and others of the progenitors of Murena, had held the office of prætor; but the consulship had not hitherto been attained to by any of the family.

⁶ *Ea, quæ relictæ, &c.* The honourable name left him by his fathers—*Hæc, quæ ab ipso, &c.* The honours conferred for previous services rendered to his country by Murena himself, exclusive of the consulship.

⁷ *Propter studium novæ laudis.* "On account of his eager pursuit of a new honour." Literally, "of a new source of praise." The reference is to the new consulship. Compare note 5.—*Veteris fortunæ.* The honours he had enjoyed previous to the consulship, and which have already been alluded to, in the words, "*hæc quæ ab ipso parta sunt.*"

⁸ *Odio inimicitiarum.* "Through the hatred engendered by private animosity."—*Qui studio accusandi, &c.* Cicero means, that Murena's

t, amittat; deinde, ⁷ propter studium novæ laudis, etiam veteris fortunæ discrimen adducitur. (56.) Quæ cum sint via, judices, tum illud acerbissimum est, quod habet eos isatores, non qui ⁸ odio inimicitiarum ad accusandum, sed studio accusandi ad inimicitias descenderunt. Nam, ut attam Servium Sulpicium, quem intelligo ⁹ non injuria L. renæ, sed honoris contentione permotum, accusat ¹⁰ paternus amicus, Cn. Postumius, vetus, ut ait ipse, vicinus accessarius; ¹¹ qui necessitudinis causas complures protulit, ultatis nullam commemorare potuit: accusat ¹² Ser. Sulpicius, sodalis filii, ¹³ cujus ingenio paterni omnes necessarii nitiores esse debebant: accusat M. Cato, qui quamquam Murena nulla re umquam ¹⁴ alienus fuit, tamen ea condicione nobis erat in hac civitate natus, ut ejus opes et ingem præsidio multis etiam alienissimis vix cuiquam inimico,

friends have, through their ill-timed and misdirected zeal for im-
 ching, been induced to become his accusers.

Non injuria L. Murenæ, &c. "Not by any personal injury re-
 red from Licinius Murena, but by a contest with him for prefer-
 rit."

¹ *Paterus amicus.* "An hereditary friend," i. e. whose father and
 rena's had been friends. The sons inherited the friendship of their
 ents. Some commentators make Postumius himself a friend of
 rena's father, and translate *paterus amicus* "his father's friend."
 a, however, cannot be correct, since Postumius was younger than
 rena the son.

¹ *Qui necessitudinis, &c.* "Who has assigned in fact very many
 unds for intimate friendship between them, has been unable to
 ation a single one for enmity," i. e. in all that he has said on this
 t of the subject, Postumius has only shown the more clearly that
 and Murena were intimate friends, and consequently that he ought
 to be here as his accuser.

¹ *Ser. Sulpicius.* Son of Sulpicius the accuser.—*Sodalis filii.* "The
 panion of his son," i. e. of Murena's son. The son of Sulpicius and
 son of Murena the accused had been companions.

¹ *Cujus ingenio, &c.* "By the exercise of whose talents all his
 ber's friends ought only to be rendered the more safe." The refer-
 e is to the son of Sulpicius, who ought not, according to Cicero, to
 here accusing and endangering the safety of an old friend of his
 ber's, but ought rather to exert himself in behalf of that friend.
 e reproof is extremely delicate. The son of Sulpicius, when he
 ds his father at variance with an old friend, ought to do his best in
 ler to reconcile them to each other.

¹ *Alienus.* "Estranged in feeling."—*Multis etiam alienissimis.* "To
 ny who were even the merest strangers to him," i. e. of whom he
 ew nothing at all.—*Exitio.* "Detrimental." The heathen doctrine

exitio esse deberent. (57.) Respondebo igitur Postumius primum, ¹ qui nescio quo pacto, mihi videtur prætorius candidatus in consularem, quasi desultorius in quadrigarum curriculum, incurrere. ² Cujus competitores si nihil deliquerunt, dignitati eorum concessit, cum petere destitit; sin autem eorum aliquis largitus est, expetendus amicus est, qui alienam potius injuriam, quam suam persequatur. * * * *

XXVIII. (58.) ³ Venio nunc ad M. Catonem, ⁴ quod est firmamentum ac robur totius accusationis; ⁵ qui tamen ita gravis est accusator et vehemens, ut multo magis ejus auctoritatem, quam criminationem pertimescam. ⁶ In quo

of doing our utmost to retaliate upon and injure our private foes needs, of course, no comment here.

¹ *Qui nescio quo pacto, &c.* "Who, I know not how it is, seems to me, being himself a candidate for the prætorship, to run full against a competitor for the consular office, just as if a vaulter on horseback should leap into a four-horse chariot." Postumius, himself a candidate for the prætorship, desists from his own canvass, turns off, and accuses one of the competitors for the consulship. This is strange enough. Why did he not rather accuse some one of his own rival candidates, and not interfere in a case where his presence was unnecessary! This is the same, remarks Cicero, as if a vaulter in the sports of the circus, who is accustomed to leap from the back of one horse to that of another, should on a sudden vault from a steed into the seat of a chariot. What has such a vaulter to do with a chariot? And what has Postumius to do with the present impeachment? With *desultorius* supply *eques*. The *desultorius*, or, as he was more commonly called, *desultor*, leaped from one horse to another as they were both proceeding at full speed.

² *Cujus competitores, &c.* "If his competitors have been guilty of no act of delinquency, he yielded to their superior merit, when he desisted from being a candidate; but if, on the contrary, some one of them has been guilty of bribery, then it seems some friend is to be sought to prosecute another's injuries rather than his own." All this is said to show that Postumius has nothing whatever to do with the present impeachment, and ought to be away. If he yielded to his own opponents for the prætorship, because their claims to personal merit were superior to his, for the very same reason he ought not to be here accusing Murena, since the merit of the latter is equal to that of Sulpicius. If, on the other hand, he abandoned his own canvass because some one of his competitors had been guilty of bribery, and he left it to some one of his friends to prosecute this offence, when he ought to have done it in person, in this case also, he should not have taken part in the present impeachment, because the man who cannot advocate his own rights is a very unfit person to appear as an advocate for those of another.

³ *Venio nunc.* The replies to Postumius and the younger Sulpicius

accusatore, judices, primum illud deprecabor, ne quid L. Murenae dignitas illius, ne quid exspectatio tribunatus, ne id totius vitae splendor et gravitas noceat; denique ne ea huic obsint bona M. Catonis, quæ ille adeptus est, ut illis prodesse posset. Bis consul fuerat ⁷ P. Africanus, et his terrores hujus imperii, Carthaginem Numantiamque, supererat, cum accusavit L. Cottam. Erat in eo summa prudentia, summa fides, summa integritas, auctoritas tanta, tanta ⁸ in ipso imperio populi Romani, quod illius operabatur. Sæpe hoc majores natu dicere audivi, hanc accusatoris eximiam dignitatem plurimum ⁹ L. Cottæ profuisse. Noluerunt sapientissimi homines, qui tum rem illam

not appear in the MSS., and their absence is indicated, in our text, the asterisks after *persequator*. It has been thought by some, that they were suppressed by Cicero himself, in the copies of the speech prepared by him and published. The younger Pliny refers to this tradition with several others, in one of his letters (1, 20), and remarks: *Idcirco apparet illum permulta dixisse; cum ederet, omisisse.*" Cicero wrote down his speeches after delivery, and does not appear to have prepared them in writing beforehand. Compare what he himself says on this subject (*Tusc.* 4, 25): "*Jam, rebus transactis et præteritis, orationes scribimus.*"

¹ *Quod est firmamentum*, &c. "And this forms the main support and strength of the whole accusation," i. e. Cato's weight of character. Sulpicius and his friends regard this as the stronghold of their case.

Qui tamen, &c. "Who, notwithstanding, is so powerful and vehement an accuser, that I fear his weight of character far more than his accusation." The peculiar farce of *ita* is lost, however, in a literal translation. A paraphrase will convey Cicero's meaning more clearly: "Who, notwithstanding the heavy and vehement attacks which he has made against Murena on the present occasion, appears to me far more formidable for his general weight of character, than for any thing he has alleged against my client."

² *In quo accusatore*. "In the case of this accuser," i. e. as far as the accuser is concerned.—*Illius*. Referring to Cato.—*Exspectatio tribunatus*. Cato was then tribune elect.

³ *P. Africanus*. The younger of this name.

⁴ *In ipso imperio*, &c. The pronoun *ipso* is not expressed in some MSS. and early editions. It appears, however, in the best modern editions, and imparts force to the clause.

⁵ *L. Cottæ profuisse*. This prosecution is also referred to in the oration for Fonteius, c. 16, and in that against Cæcilius, c. 21. Some other details are given by *Valerius Maximus*, 8, 1, 11; but the same reason is assigned for his acquittal, although, to quote the words of the aforementioned writer, "*gravissimis criminibus erat confessa.*"

non nimiam gratiam. ⁶ Valeant hæc omnia ad sal-
centium, ad opem impotentium, ad auxilium cala-
in periculo vero, et in perniciæ civium, repudie
Nam si quis hoc forte dicet, Catonem descensuru-
sandum non fuisse, ⁷ nisi prius de causa judicasse

¹ *Cadere in iudicio*. Compare note 10, page 395.—*Abje-*
down." *Abiectus* is here equivalent to *dejectus* or *prostratus*
(Cic. in *Verr.* 7, 54): "*Ad tribunal ante pedes tuos, ad ter-*
verberibus abiectum;" and (SENEC. *de Benef.* 5, 8): "*La-*
jectus perdidit palmam."

² *Ser. Galbam*. Servius Sulpicius Galba was accused
a tribune of the commons, of having slain a large number
tani, in violation of his own plighted word. He was an
emperor Galba. Valerius Maximus says, that, having a
inhabitants of three cities of Lusitania, under the pretext
with them in relation to their common interest, he dis-
and seized nine thousand of the flower of their youth, who
slew and partly sold as slaves. Suetonius says, that
thirty thousand, and that this was the cause of the war
Libo applied for a bill, the object of which was to bring
before the people, although he was not expressly named
then at a very advanced age, supported the passing of the
short time before his death pronounced a long oration in
which he inserted in his work entitled *Origines*. (Cic. *Br.*

³ *Eripuit*. In his *Brutus*, c. 23, Cicero ascribes the
Galba to the commiseration felt by the people at the

udices, et miseram conditionem instituit periculis
n, si existimabit, ⁸judicium accusatoris in reum pro
præjudicio valere oportere.

K. Ego ⁹tuum consilium, Cato, propter singulare
rei de tua virtute judicium, vituperare non audeo;
min re forsitan ¹⁰conformare et leviter emendare pos-
Non multa peccas," inquit ille fortissimo viro senior
:: "sed, si peccas, te regere possum." At ego te
e dixerim peccare nihil, neque ulla in re te esse
odi, ¹²ut corrigendus potius, quam leviter inflectendus
eare. Finxit enim te ipsa natura ad honestatem,
em, temperantiam, magnitudinem animi, justitiam,
es denique virtutes magnum hominem et excelsum.

the safety of the innocent," &c., i. e. when exerted for the

²
prius de causa judicasset. "If he had not previously judged
in his own mind."

rium accusatoris, &c. "That the judgment passed by an ac-
on the accused ought to operate as a judicial precedent against
y *præjudicium* is meant a judgment or sentence which affords
ent to be afterwards followed. Thus ASCONIUS: "*Præju-
icitur res, quæ cum statuta fuerit, affert judicaturis exemplum,
antur.*"

n consilium. "Your determination in the present case," i. e.
accuser against Murena.—*Propter singulare animi, &c.* "On
of the high opinion I entertain," &c.

ormare et leviter emendare. "To mould and slightly amend
aro means to say, that although his high respect for Cato pre-
n from blaming his conduct, still he has a little reproach
against him.

, multa peccas, &c. "'You do not often go wrong,' says the
ceptor in the play to a very valiant hero: 'but when you do,
e to set you right.'" These words are thought to have been
oy Cicero from some well known play of Ennius or Attius,
hoenix, the governor of Achilles, is conversing with and im-
nstruction to his pupil.—*Ille senior magister.* We have endea-
o express the peculiar force of the pronoun *ille* in this clause.
al meaning is "that well known," i. e. he that is known to all
play that we have seen so often represented.

corrigendus, &c. "As to appear to require to be made straight,
han to be only slightly bent," i. e. as to stand in need of cor-
rather than gentle admonition. *Corrigere* is to straighten what
crooked; *inflectere* to bend back to a straight form what is only
urved, and what therefore requires only a slight degree of in-
to restore it to its previous state.

¹ Accessit istuc doctrina non moderata, ² nec mitis, sed mihi videtur, paullo asperior, et durior, quam aut veritas natura patiatur. (61.) Et quoniam non est nobis hæc or habenda aut ³ cum ⁴ imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo ventu agrestium, audacius paullo de ⁵ studiis humanit quæ et mihi et vobis nota et jucunda sunt, disputabo. M. Catone, judices, ⁶ hæc bona, quæ videmus, divina et egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria. Quæ nonnunquam re

¹ *Accessit istuc.* The common text has *accessit his tot*, where *tot* not possibly be correct. One of the MSS. has *istuc*, which E. commends in one of his notes. The peculiar force of *istuc*, as applied to the person who is addressed, makes the correction a very plausible one.

² *Nec mitis, &c.* "Nor yet at the same time mild in its character, but as appears to me a little too harsh, and more intractable than either truth or nature allows."

³ *Cum, &c.* "In the presence of an illiterate multitude." Schæfer has doubts respecting the correctness of this use of *cum*, and suggests *coram* in place of it. In his Latin Lexicon, however, he gives this as one of the meanings of *cum*, and quotes the following passage CÆSAR (*B. G.* 7, 47): "*Legionisque decimæ, quacum erat concionatus.*" All the MSS. of Cæsar confirm this reading, but the editors thought fit to substitute for, *quacum erat concionatus* the lection *tum erat comitatus*. The author of the Greek translation of Cæsar's *Sanctions*, however, the common reading, for he has *πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐρημύην*.

⁴ *Imperita multitudine.* It is curious to observe how Cicero sometimes adapts his language to circumstances, and to the exigencies of the case in hand. The very same individuals, whom he here praises for their intelligence, he actually calls an illiterate class of persons on another occasion, when he was no longer pleading before them. This is in the fourth book of the treatise *De Finibus*, c. 27, where he is supposed to be conversing in private with Cato, about the merits of Stoic philosophy, Cicero remarks: "*Non ego tecum jam ita loquar de iisdem his de rebus, quum L. Murenæ, te accusante, defenderem. Ad imperitos tum illa dicta sunt; aliquid etiam coronæ datum: nunc autem est subtilius.*" On another occasion again, he even makes a point out of this docility of the imagination, and lays it down as a rule, that the first duty of an orator is to please the people. (*Brut.* 50.)

⁵ *Studiis humanitatis.* Compare note 7, page 140.

⁶ *Hæc bona divina et egregia.* "That these divine and admirable qualities." *Bona*, literally "goods," i. e. excellences.—*Quæ nonnunquam requirimus.* The verb *requiro* is here taken in the sense of *relinquendo*. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. and SCHÜTZ, *Ind. Lat.*

⁷ *Fuit enim quidam, &c.* The art with which Cicero manages his attack, not the character and authority, but the doctrines of Cato, have often been a theme of remark. He is highly praised for it by Quintilian (11, 1, 68). In the treatise *De Finibus* (4, 27), already alluded to in a previous note, Cicero acknowledges that he had been too severe in his remarks on the Stoic sect.

mus, ea sunt omnia non a natura, sed a magistro. ⁷ Fuit enim quidam summo ingenio vir, ⁸ Zeno, cujus inventorum multi ⁹ Stoici nominantur. Hujus ¹⁰ sententiæ sunt et præcepta ejusmodi: ¹¹ sapientem ¹² grati^â nunquam moveri, unquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum et levem: viri non esse, neque corari, neque placari: ¹³ solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi

⁷ *Zeno.* Consult Historical Index.—*Cujus inventorum æmuli.* “The followers of whose discoveries.” *Æmulus* is here, not a rival, but zealous follower. Compare LIV. 1, 28: “*Quem juvenum æmulantium odia cæcis habuisse constat,*” where H. Homer, in his *Gloss. Liv.* explains *æmulantium* by *sequentium*. So TACITUS, *Hist.* 3, 81: “*Musonius Rufus, equestris ordinis, studium philosophiæ et placita Stoicorum æmulatus.*”

⁸ *Stoici.* The name is derived from the porch (*στοά*) where Zeno was accustomed to lecture to his pupils. Hence “Stoics” are literally, according to the import of the term, “the men of the porch,” οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ στοᾶς.

⁹ *Sententiæ et præcepta.* “The tenets and maxims.”

¹¹ *Sapientem, &c.* Cicero, in order to throw ridicule on the Stoic doctrines, advances here some of the extravagant assertions which the Stoics were accustomed to make respecting their wise man. For example, that he feels neither pain nor pleasure: that he exercises no duty; that he is free from all faults; that he is divine; that he can neither deceive nor be deceived; that he does all things well; that he alone is noble, great, ingenuous; that he alone is free; that he is prophet, a priest, and a king; and the like. In order to conceive, however, the true notion of the Stoics concerning their wise man, it must be clearly understood, that they did not suppose such a man actually to exist, but that they framed in their imagination an image of perfection, towards which every man should constantly aspire. All the extravagant things which are to be met with in their writings on this subject, may be referred to their general principle of the entire sufficiency of virtue to happiness, and the consequent indifference of all external circumstances.

¹² *Gratia nunquam moveri.* Because all external things are matters of indifference to him.—*Nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere.* Because every fault, great or small, is a deviation from the strict and unerring rule of right reason, which must ever be most implicitly obeyed.—*Neminem misericordem esse.* To show pity is to let feeling triumph over reason, and external things have sway.

¹³ *Solos sapientes, &c.* “That the wise, even though they be most distorted in appearance, are alone beautiful; rich, though in the most abject poverty; though in the lowest degree of slavery, kings.” All this follows from the Stoical premises of the indifference of external things. True beauty, riches, and royalty are the beauty, riches, and royalty of reason and virtue. Horace humorously ridicules these paradoxical vauntings, *Sat.* 1, 3, *sub. fin.*—*Ep.* 1, 1, 106.

sint, formosos ; si mendicissimi, divites ; ¹ si servitute[m] servant, reges : nos autem, qui sapientes non sumus, fugitivos, exsules, hostes, insanos denique esse dicunt : ² omnia peccata esse paria : omne delictum scelus esse nefarium : nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit : sapientem ³ nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam.

XXX. (62.) Hæc homo ingeniosissimus, M. Cato, ⁴ auctoribus eruditissimis inductus, arripuit : neque disputandi

¹ *Si servitute[m] servant.* The accusative is often added to an intransitive verb, like an adverb, especially if the noun be of the same root. The object of this construction is to impart force to the passage. Thus we have, besides the instance in the text, such forms as *vivere vitam*, *somniare somnium*, *pugnare pugnam*. In English the construction is also found, "to live a life," "to dream a dream," &c. So in Greek, *βιῶναι βίον*, &c. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 257, *Kenrick's transl.*)

² *Omnia peccata esse paria.* According to the Stoic doctrine, every virtue being a conformity to nature, and every vice a deviation from it, all virtues and vices are equal.

³ *Nihil opinari.* "Assents to nothing without full conviction." Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. "*Opinari*, h. e. *rei incertæ assentiri*."—*Sententiam mutare nunquam.* This follows of course, from his never making up his mind about any thing until the matter has become perfectly clear to him.

⁴ *Auctoribus eruditissimis.* The various writers on the Stoic doctrines, such as Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, &c.—*Arripuit.* "Has eagerly caught at."—*Sed ita vivendi.* "But of living in accordance with them." *Ita*, literally, "in such a way" as they prescribe.

⁵ *Petunt aliquid publicani?* "Do the farmers of the revenue petition for some abatement?" The allusion is to cases where the farmers of the public revenues have suffered in their contracts by reason of war, or any other calamity, and have requested some abatement in the terms of the agreement. These applications were made to the senate. It seems that such requests were very often negatived by that body, and that Cato's influence was very instrumental in producing such a result. The evil policy of this opposition to the wishes of the equestrian order, who were the farmers of the revenue, soon displayed itself. The equites applied to Cæsar when in power, for relief from a disadvantageous contract respecting the Asiatic revenues, and that artful leader, by granting them the favour which they could not obtain from the regular authority, turned in effect the resources of the republic against itself, the disunion of the senate and equites only serving to strengthen the more his usurped power, and pave the way for the downfall of freedom. Compare *Cic. de Off.* 3, 22 : "*Ego etiam cum Catone meo sæpe dissensi. Nimis mihi præfractum videbatur ærarium rectigaliaque defendere, omnia publicanis negare, multa sacis.*" Consult also HEUSINGER, *ad loc.*

⁶ *Cave quidquam*, &c. "Take care lest favour have any weight with you." A wise man feels no favour or bias towards any individual.

ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi. ⁵ Petunt aliquid cani? ⁶ "Cave quidquam habeat momenti gratia." lices aliqui veniunt, miseri et calamitosi? "Sceleratus farius fueris, si quidquam, misericordia adductus, fe-"
 "Fatetur aliquis se peccasse, et ejus delicti veniam? ⁷ "Nefarium est facinus, ignoscere." At leve delictum
 "Omnia peccata sunt paria." ⁸ Dixisti quidpiam? um et statutum est." ⁹ Non re ductus es, sed opinione. iens nihil opinatur." ¹⁰ Errasti aliqua in re. Maledici
 . ¹¹ Hac ex disciplina nobis illa sunt: ¹² "Dixi in senatu

dixisti quidpiam? &c. "Have you said any thing? It is fixed & terminated." i. e. have you once said a thing, &c. A wise man
 ll things well, and whatever he once says cannot be improved.

non re ductus, &c. "But you were influenced in what you said,
 7 a careful consideration of the case, but only by a casual
 n." This is supposed to be addressed to the Stoic (represented
 by Cato), in order to induce him to change his mind. The
 : is, *sapiens nihil opinatur*, "A wise man never acts from mere
 n;" i. e. never assents to any thing uncertain in its nature, but
 ys guided by the unerring rules of reason. Opinions are liable
 or, because they are based on what is merely speculative; the
 ions of right reason are true and unalterable.

errasti aliqua in re, &c. "You were wrong in something or other;
 ceives himself calumniated by the remark," i. e. does any one
 a Stoic that he has gone wrong in any particular matter? the
 is indignant at a charge which strikes at the very root of his
 r doctrines, and he conceives himself calumniated and called a
 toic. For a wise man can never go wrong.

hec ex disciplina, &c. "From this system of philosophy we obtain
 llowing results:—'I declared in the senate,' says Cato, 'that I
 impeach some consular candidate.' Oh, but you said this, Cato,
 you were angry. 'A wise man,' replies he, 'is never angry.'"
 's object is to lessen the weight of Cato's charge against Murena,
 rwing that the former was induced to come forward as an
 r, not so much on account of any known criminality in Murena,
 obedience to the peculiar doctrines of his sect. Cato accuses
 ot because he had done anything contrary to law, but because
 oic had declared, in the senate, that he was resolved to impeach
 consular candidate. Any other person, not infected with the
 icy of Stoicism, would, according to Cicero's meaning, have
 no scruple of owning, that he was angry when he said this, and
 ore now chose to drop his design. But such an acknowledgment
 y no means to be expected from Cato, who would thereby seem
 riate from the gravity and firmness of a wise man. Murena,
 ore, must be impeached, because the Stoics thought anger incon-
 t with the character of a wise man, and Cato claimed that
 ster as belonging to himself.

Manutius. On account of this form, in the present clause, Manutius

me nomen consularis candidati delaturum." Iratus "Nunquam," inquit, "sapiens irascitur." ¹At t causa. "Improbi," inquit, "hominis est, mendacio mutare sententiam, turpe est; exorari, scelus: n flagitium." (63.) ²Nostri autem illi, (fatebor enim, C quoque in adolescentia, diffusum ingenio meo, quassim menta doctrinae,) nostri, inquam, illi a Platone et Ari moderati homines et temperati, aiunt, apud sapiente lere aliquando gratiam: viri boni esse misereri: di genera esse delictorum, et dispares poenas: esse ap minem constantem ignoscendi locum: ipsum sapientes aliquid opinari, quod nesciat: irasci nonnunquam: eundem et placari: quod dixerit, interdum, si ita rect mutare: de sententia decedere aliquando: ⁶omnes i mediocritate quadam esse moderatas.

XXXI. (64.) ⁷Hos ad magistros si qua te fortun

conjectures *iratus dixi*, in the succeeding one. But the em impairs the force and spirit of the passage.

¹ *At temporis causa.* "Well then, you said it perhaps on of the particular conjuncture," i. e. this threat was uttered perhaps, under particular circumstances; you were very p engaged at the time in speaking for some friend. The answe is in full accordance with the Stoic tenets: a wise man never c never changes his opinion, &c.

² *Nostri autem illi.* "Those masters of ours, however." here proceeds to show how directly opposite to the doctrines Stoics were the milder systems of philosophy from which culled his principles and rules of conduct. And he cites, in pa Plato, the founder of the Academic, and Aristotle the great the Peripatetic sect.

³ *Valere aliquando.* "Does sometimes exercise an influ *Viri boni esse misereri.* "That it is the part of a good man compassion." The substantive verb is emphatic in this and t ceeding clauses.

⁴ *Hominem constantem.* "One that is firm." The idea inter be conveyed by the clause is, that firmness of purpose is not sistent with clemency.

⁵ *Saepe aliquid opinari, &c.* "Oft-times hazards a mere respecting that about which he knows nothing for certain," i quently contents himself with opinions, where he finds it impos arrive at absolute certainty.

⁶ *Omnes virtutes, &c.* "That all virtues are regulated by a degree of moderation," i. e. that moderation is an essential for the character of every virtue; meaning by moderation that beyond which we approximate to what is excessive and immoder This is nothing more than the well known maxim of Horace *modus in rebus,* &c. "There is a mean in all things."

in ista natura, detulisset, non tu quidem vir melior esses, et fortior, nec temperantior, nec justior, (neque enim esses istus,) sed ⁸ paullo ad lenitatem propensior. Non accusares illis adductus inimicitiis, nulla laceratus injuria, ⁹ prudentissimum hominem, summa dignitate atque honestate præditi: putares cum ¹⁰ in ejusdem anni custodia te atque L. Murenam fortuna posuisset, aliquo te cum hoc rei publicæ aculo esse conjunctum: quod atrociter in senatu dixisti, et non dixisses, aut ¹¹ seposuisses, aut mitiorem in partem interpretarere. (65.) Ac te ipsum (quantum ego opinor) nunc et animi quodam impetu concitatum, et virtutis atque ingenii elatum, et recentibus ¹² præceptorum adiis flagrantem, jam usus flectet, dies leniet, ætas mitigabit. Etenim isti ipsi mihi videntur vestri præceptores et virtutis magistri fines officiorum ¹³ paullo longius, quam natura vellet, protulisse: ¹⁴ ut, cum ad ultimum animo contendisse-

¹ *Hos ad magistros, &c.* "If, with those natural advantages that I possess, any lucky fortune had brought you to instructors such as these."

² *Paullo ad lenitatem propensior.* He would have had, according to Murena, less of the austere and rigid character with which the Stoic doctrines had unfortunately invested him.

³ *Pudentissimum hominem.* The epithet *pudentissimum*, besides the idea of modesty, carries with it here the general one also of moral worth.

⁴ *In ejusdem anni custodia.* "In the guardianship of the same year." Murena would be tribune, and Murena consul, during the ensuing year.—*quo rei publicæ vinculo.* "By some political tie."

⁵ *Seposuisses.* "Would have put aside," i. e. would have suppressed. Instead of *aut seposuisses, aut*, Lambinus gives, on the conjecture of Hermannus, *aut si potuisses.*

⁶ *Præceptorum.* The Stoics.—*Jam usus flectet, &c.* "Experience will one day bend, time soften down, age bring to milder views."

⁷ *Paullo longius, quam natura vellet.* It was this that made so many of the Stoic sect philosophers in words, rather than in actions. And so their adversaries found so much room for satirical ridicule and censure against Stoical pride and hypocrisy. Nor is it surprising that this should have happened. For a system of philosophy, which attempts to raise men above their nature, must commonly produce either wretched fanatics or artful hypocrites. (ENFIELD, *Hist. Phil.* l. i. p. 322.)

⁸ *Ut, cum ad ultimum, &c.* "So that, although we should strive in every way to reach the farthest limit, we ought nevertheless to stop where it behoves us so to do," i. e. our desires should prompt us not to aim at the highest perfection, yet we should never stop at the point marked out by reason. The common text has *oporteret*, for which we have substituted *oportet*, with Gruter and Grævius.

ORATIO PRO L. MURENA.

nomen consularis candidati delaturum." Iratus
unquam," inquit, "sapiens irascitur." At
ita. "improbi," inquit, "hominis est, mendacio
itare sententiam, turpe est; exorari, scelus:
igitur." (63.) "Nostri autem illi, (fatebor enim,
uoque in adolescentia, diffusum ingenio meo, quae
nenta doctrinae,) nostri, inquam, illi a Platone et
moderati homines et temperati, aiunt, apud sapi
lere aliquando gratiam: viri boni esse misereri
genera esse delictorum, et dispares poenas: esse
minem constantem ignoscendi locum: ipsum sapi
aliquid opinari, quod nesciat: irasci nonnunquam
eundem et placari: quod dixerit, interdum, si
mutare: de sententia decedere aliquando: 6.
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contents himself with opinions
certainty.

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 themselves." The first
 ividual who hears him,
 ause, from *congrederet*, is
 , "come to action with,"

auctoritatem, quæ in judiciis aut nihil valere, aut ad salutem debet valere : congregare mecum criminibus ipsis. ¹ Quid accusas, Cato ? quid affers in iudicium ? quid arguis ? Ambitum accusas ? Non defendo. ² Me reprehendis, quod idem defendam, quod lege punierim. ³ Punivi ambitum, non innocentiam. ⁴ Ambitum vero ipsum vel tecum accusabo, si voles. Dixisti, senatusconsultum, me referente, esse factum, ⁵ " si mercede ⁶ corrupti obviam candidatis issent, si conducti sectarentur, si gladiatoribus vulgo ⁷ locus tributim, et item prandia si vulgo essent data, contra legem Calpurniam factum videri. " Ergo ita senatus iudicat, contra legem facta hæc videri, ⁸ si facta sint : decernit, quod nihil opus est, dum candidatis morem gerit. ⁹ Nam factum sit, necne, vehementer quæritur. Si factum sit, quin contra legem sit, dubitare nemo potest. (68.) Est igitur ridiculum, quod est dubium, id relinquere incertum : quod nemini dubium potest esse, id

¹ *Quid accusas ?* "What do you accuse him of?"—*Quid arguis ?* "What do you seek to prove?"—*Non defendo.* "I have no defence to urge for such a crime," i. e. if your charge be true, I have nothing to say. But is it true ? can you prove it so ?

² *Me reprehendis, &c.* "You blame me for seeking to defend the very same offence which I have punished by a law," i. e. you blame me for defending bribery, when I myself proposed a law for the punishment of bribery.

³ *Punivi ambitum, &c.* Cicero here draws the proper distinction. My law was for the punishment of the guilty, not of the innocent. Murena is an innocent man : therefore the law can never affect him.

⁴ *Ambitum vero ipsum, &c.* Cicero means, that to such a degree does he disapprove of bribery, as to be willing to turn an accuser of it along with Cato himself.

⁵ *Si mercede corrupti, &c.* "That if persons corrupted by a bribe should go to meet any candidate for office ; if persons hired for that purpose should attend upon them ; if at gladiatorial shows places have been assigned to the people gratuitously, and arranged by tribes ; and also if entertainments had been given to the populace ; all this seemed done in violation of the Calpurnian law."

⁶ *Corrupti.* Some of the Oxford MSS., and a few editions, have *conducti*. Both *corrupti* and *conducti* are probably mere glosses.

⁷ *Locus tributim.* Certain places might be assigned to certain individuals at the games, free of any charge. But this could not be done to the people by tribes, without incurring the suspicion of an attempt to bribe. GRÆVIUS, *ad loc.*

⁸ *Si facta sint.* "Only in case they have been committed."—*Decernit, quod nihil opus, &c.* "They decree what is not needed, when they comply with the wishes of the candidates themselves." The candidates in this very election asked for this senatus-consultum. Of

e. ¹⁰Atqui id decernitur omnibus postulantibus can- : ut ex senatusconsulto, neque cujus intersit, neque quem sit, intelligi possit. Quare doce, a L. Murena e commissa : tum egomet tibi, contra legem commissa concedam.

KIII. ¹¹“MULTI obviam prodierunt de provincia de- consulum petenti.” Solet fieri. ¹²Eccui autem non ir revertent? ¹³“Quæ fuit ista multitudo?” Pri- si tibi ¹⁴istam rationem non possim reddere: quid admirationis, tali viro advenienti, candidato consulari, prodisse multos? quod nisi esset factum, magis um videretur. (69.) Quid? si etiam illud addam, a consuetudine non abhorret, rogatos esse multos? ut criminosum sit, aut mirandum, qua in civitate i infimorum hominum filios, prope de nocte, ex ultima rbe, deductum venire soleamus, in ea ¹⁷non esse gra-

the senate could not be said to have decreed against them, only decreed in order to please them.

factum sit, &c. “For the great question is, whether the act committed or not. If it has been committed, then no one can it that it is in violation of the law.” Cicero insists, of course, Murena has committed no act of bribery in the present case.

id decernitur. “And yet, the decree in question is passed.” Given *atqui*, the conjecture of Pantagathus, as cited by Ursinus the ordinary reading is *atque*.

obviam, &c. Cicero supposes, that Cato here takes him at , and proceeds to show that Murena has employed bribery. The charge is, that many persons went out to meet him, when he came from his province to stand for the consulship. The reply to this is a very customary thing.

autem, &c. “For to whom do not persons go out, on his return from a province!”

fuit, &c. A second objection supposed to be made. “Yes, but how formed that large concourse?”

rationem reddere. “To give you an explanation of that.”—

esset factum. “Indeed, had this not been done,” i. e. had his friends gone out to receive him.

a consuetudine non abhorret. “What is not at variance with the custom of the day,” i. e. what is fully sanctioned by usage.—

esse multos. “That many persons were invited to meet

iti. “On being invited so to do.”—*Infimorum hominum filios* : candidates for office.—*Prope de nocte.* “While it is almost dawn,” i. e. even at the earliest dawn.

esse gravatos. “Think it no trouble.” Literally, “are not weighed down.”—*Hora tertia.* Answering to our nine

vatos homines prodire hora tertia in campum M. præsertim talis viri nomine rogatos? Quid? si ¹ societates venerunt, quarum ex numero multi hic iudices? quid? si multi homines nostri ordinis honesti? quid? si illa officiosissima, quæ neminem patitur non in urbem introire, ² tota natio candidatorum? si ³ ipse accusator noster Postumius obviam cum bene caterva sua venit: quid habet ista multitudo admiranda? Omitto ⁴ clientes, vicinos, tribules, exercitum totum qui ad triumphum per eos dies venerat: hoc dico, ⁵ fiduciam in isto officio gratuitam, non modo dignitatem umquam, sed ne voluntati quidem defuisse. (70.)

o'clock. The first hour commenced at six in the morning, according to our way of computing.

¹ *Omnes societates.* "All the companies of the knights." The several companies or co-partnerships of knights, who contrived to get the farmers general of the provincial revenues.

² *Tota natio candidatorum.* Candidates for the prætorship, quaestorship, &c. They would all come out, in order to see, and possibly the vote of so distinguished a new-comer. Hence it was said to allow no one to enter the city "without paying his mark of respect," or in the words of the text, "*non honeste.*" In the same sense is the epithet *officiosissima* applied to them. (Cicero note 5.)

³ *Noster Postumius.* An amusing hit. Postumius, one of the accusers of Murena, happened to have swelled with his retinue a very crowd whose numbers are now regarded as a sure indication of bribery!

⁴ *Clientes.* The clients of Murena are meant.—*Tribules.* Members of his tribe."

⁵ *Frequentiam in isto officio gratuitam.* "That a disinterested course of friends, on such an occasion, has not only never been paid to the merit, but not even to the wishes, of any individual."—The term *officium* is often employed to denote any compliment paid to an individual, by going forth to meet him, escorting him, &c. ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v.: "*Officium, honos qui ex more alicuius tundo, occurrendo, deducendo, sectando, &c., habetur.*"

⁶ *At sectabantur multi.* A new objection is here supposed to be started. "Aye, but a large concourse escorted him." "Very well," replies Cicero, "show that they did this for hire, and I will allow it to be an offence. But if this be put out of the question, will you do you find fault?" i. e. if you cannot show any bribery, why do you blame him for his numerous escort?

⁷ *Quid opus est, inquit, sectatoribus?* Another objection. "What need is there of a train of followers?" "What good purpose do you expect to answer?"

⁸ *Quo semper usi sumus?* Cicero refers not to himself particu-

itur multi."—Doce, mercede : concedam esse crimen. dem remoto, quid reprehendis ?

IV. 7 " QUID opus est," inquit " sectatoribus ?"—Al quæris, quid opus sit eo, ⁸ quo semper usi sumus ? es tenues unum habent in nostrum ordinem aut ndi aut referendi beneficii locum, hanc in nostris ibus operam atque assestationem. ¹⁰ Neque enim est, neque postulandum est a nobis, aut ab equitibus, ut suos necessarios candidatos sectentur totos dies : us si domus nostra celebratur, si interdum ad forum ur, si uno ¹² basilicæ spatio honestamur, diligenter

candidates heretofore. This custom of having a train of fold been long in general use among the Romans, and it was idle and fault with it. We may here quote the language of Cicero's Quintus, in relation to the propriety of this usage : "*Qui debent, ab iis plane hoc munus exige. . . . Valde ego te volo, et retinere arbitror, semper cum multitudine esse.*"

Men of humble condition, &c. "Men of humble condition have, in the aid and in this species of attendance upon us during our application office, their only opportunity of conferring a favour upon us, or of returning one already received."

enim fieri potest, &c. The senators and equites cannot, from the want of public business and other matters, accompany their friends and candidates for office (*suos necessarios candidatos*) during whole days. This the lower orders can better do, and therefore there is no impropriety in their doing it.

ibus si domus nostra celebratur, &c. "If our dwelling is only frequented by them, if we are occasionally escorted by them down to the forum, if we are favoured with one turn during a walk in some public place, we appear to be sufficiently respected and honoured by them," candidates cannot expect to have the senators and equites attend upon and escorting us all day long, as the lower orders do. It is a sufficient mark of respect and esteem on their part, and will answer precisely the same purpose, if they pay us frequent visits at our houses. The inference from all this is, that they, too, would escort us in all our affairs and engagements permitted them ; and, consequently, the same escorting carries nothing improper with it.

basilicæ. The *basilicæ* were spacious halls around the forum, where the courts of justice sat, and public business was occasionally transacted. They were adorned with columns and porticoes. From these porticoes or piazzas, would be almost tantamount to him about the streets of the capital. The *basilicæ* took their name from their splendid construction (*quasi βασιλικαὶ στοαὶ*), and, when Christianity was introduced, many of them were converted into churches, while other churches were built after their model. Hence in the early ecclesiastical writers, the term *βασιλική* applied to

observari videmur et coli : ¹ tenuiorum et non occupatorum amicorum est ista assiduitas, quorum copia bonis et bene deesse non solet. (71.) Noli igitur eripere ² hunc inferi generi hominum fructum officii, Cato : sine eos, qui on a nobis sperant, habere ipsos quoque aliquid, quod n tribuere possint. ³ Si nihil erit, præter ipsorum suffragi tenue est : si, ut suffragentur, nihil valent gratia. Ipsi d que, ut solent loqui, ⁴ non dicere pro nobis, non spond non vocare domum suam possunt : atque ⁵ hæc a nobis pet omnia, neque ulla re alia, quæ a nobis consequuntur, opera sua, compensari putant posse. Itaque et ⁶ legi Fabi quæ est de numero sectatorum, et senatusconsulto, quod ⁷ L. Cæsare consule factum, restiterunt. ⁸ Nulla est e

a sacred edifice, and so *basilica* in Latin. Thus, “*Mox, usa regni vir basilicam in loco Dominicæ passionis, et resurrectionis, et ascensionis stituet.*” (Sulpic. Sev. 2, 2, 33), and again : “*In basilica Marty extra oppidum sita.*” (Id. *ibid.* c. 38.) The term remains at the pre day in the Italian language : “*La basilica di San Pietro,*” “The ch of St. Peter.” It means, in the Italian, a cathedral church, but is sometimes applied to a royal mansion, or princely palace, and is then e valent to *casa reale*.

¹ *Tenuiorum et non occupatorum*, &c. “That constant attend belongs to well-wishers in humble life, and who are not occupied by calls of business.”

² *Hunc fructum officii*. “This fruit of their good offices.”

³ *Si nihil erit, præter*, &c. “If they shall have nothing to be upon us except their mere vote, this is a thing of but little value ; i the other hand, nothing except to support us by their interest, really have none to exert.” This passage is evidently corrupt. have given Ernesti’s reading as the best that offers. Schütz inserts after *suffragentur*, on conjecture, and opposes their own votes to t of others whom they might gain over, if they possessed any influ With the second *si*, as we have given the passage, *erit* must be supp not *nihil erit*. When Cicero says, that the mere vote of the lower or was of little value, he alludes to the peculiar system of voting w prevailed at the comitia centuriata, where the balloting seldom rea the lower classes, and where of course their suffrages were of comp tively little value. See Exersus at the close of the volume.

⁴ *Non dicere pro nobis*, &c. “Cannot plead for us, cannot go su for us, cannot invite us to their houses.”—*Spondere*. Thus ERNE “*Spondere pro aliquo, est fidem suam interponere pro aliquo in re p niaria. Nam si quis pecuniam mutuam petebat, cui tuto credi non p videbatur, petebat creditor ab eo, ut aliquem daret, qui solutum iri p teret, h. e. sponderet.*”

⁵ *Hæc*. “These services,” i. e. pleading for others, &c.

⁶ *Legi Fabiæ*. Very little is known about this law. Its object to limit the number of followers that were to attend a candidate to

pœna, quæ possit observantiam tenuiorum ab hoc vetere instituto officiorum excludere.—(72.) ⁹“At spectacula sunt tributim data, et ad prandium vulgo vocati.”—Etsi hoc factum a Murena omnino, iudices, non est, ab ejus amicis autem ¹⁰more et modo factum est; tamen admonitus re ipsa, recorder, quantum hæc quæstiones in senatu habitæ ¹¹punctorum nobis, Servi, detraxerint. Quod enim tempus fuit aut nostra aut patrum nostrorum memoria, ¹²quo hæc, sive ambitio est, sive liberalitas, non fuerit, ut locus et in circo et in foro daretur amicis et tribulibus? ¹³Hæc homines tenuiores primum, nondum qui a suis tribulibus vetere instituto aequabantur. * * *

XXXV. (73.) * * * ¹⁴PRÆFECTUM fabrûm semel locum

Campus Martius. The people, however, strenuously opposed it, and could be deterred by no penalties from this mode of expressing their regard for a candidate. The distinction between the *salutatores*, *deductores*, and *sectatores*, is given by QUINTUS CICERO, *de Pct. Cons.* c. 9.

⁷ *L. Cæsare consule factum.* The year previous, when L. Julius Cæsar and C. Marcius Figulus were consuls. This was the year in which Cæsar stood for the consulship. The practice of bribing was carried on so openly and shamefully by Antonius and Catiline, that the senate thought it necessary to give some check to it by a new and more rigorous law. But when they were proceeding with it, one of the tribunes, L. Mutius Orestinus, interposed.

⁸ *Nulla est enim pœna*, &c. “For there is no penalty that can restrain the zeal of the lower classes from this long-established mode of testifying attachment.”

⁹ *At spectacula*, &c. “But seats at the public shows were given to the people by tribes, and they were all invited to entertainments.” We have here another objection of Murena’s accusers, referred to by Cicero.

¹⁰ *More et modo.* “According to established usage, and in a moderate manner.”—*Hæ quæstiones.* “These investigations.” Thus ERNESTI, *Clas. Cic. s. v.*: “*Dicitur et quæstio de qualibet inquisitione publica*; Mur. 34: *quæstiones in senatu habitæ.*”

¹¹ *Punctorum.* “Of votes.” The Romans counted votes by *points* marked on a tablet. Compare *Pro. Planc.* 22: “*Nonnullus tribus punctis pæne totidem tulerunt.*”

¹² *Quo hæc*, &c. “When this, whether it be the result of ambition or of liberality, was not customary among us, namely, that a place,” &c.—*Non fuerit*, literally, “did not exist.”

¹³ *Hæc homines tenuiores*, &c. A chasm occurs in the MSS. after *aquabantur*. The previous part of the clause is also very probably corrupt. In the Wolfenbützel MS., there is a vacant space left for a line between the words *tenuiores* and *qui*.

¹⁴ *Præfectum fabrûm*, &c. “That the prefect of the military artificers.” This is in a great measure analogous to the modern station or

tribulibus suis ¹ dedisse: quid statuent in viros primarios, ² qui in circo totas tabernas, tribulium causa, compararunt? ³ Hæc omnia sectatorum, spectaculorum, prandiorum item crimina, a multitudine in tuam nimiam diligentiam, Sergi, conjecta sunt: in quibus tamen Murena ab senatus auctoritate defenditur. Quid enim? Senatus num obviam prodire crimen putat? "Non; sed mercede." ⁴ Convince. Num sectari multos? "Non; sed conductos." ⁵ Doce. Num locum ad spectandum dare? aut ad prandium invitare? "Minime; ⁶ sed vulgo, passim."—Quid est vulgo? "Universos." Non igitur, si ⁷ L. Natta, summo loco adolescens, qui, et quo animo jam sit, et qualis vir futurus sit, videremus, ⁸ in equitum centuriis voluit esse et ad hoc officium necessitudinis, et ad reliquum tempus, gratosus, id erit ⁹ ejus

"head of the engineer department," excepting that by *fabri*, in a military sense, the Romans meant actual artificers, rather than persons who, like our modern engineers, planned and superintended military works. According to VEGETIUS (2, 11), the legion contained various kinds of artificers: "*Habet præterea legio fabros lignarios, instructores, carpentarios, ferrarios, pictores, reliquosque artifices ad hibernorum ædificia fabricanda; ad machinas, turres ligneas,*" &c.

¹ *Dedisse*. We may suppose this to be governed by *notum est* understood. The corrupt state of the previous part of the text, as well as the lacuna in the MSS., make the true government of *dedisse*, of course, altogether uncertain.

² *Qui totas tabernas compararunt*. "Who have prepared whole booths." These were intended as places from which the games could be seen with more advantage and convenience.

³ *Hæc sectatorum, &c.* "All these accusations, Servius, about retinues, public spectacles, and entertainments, were ascribed by the multitude to your scrupulous exactness," i. e. all these minute charges have only led people to believe that you are over-exact in finding fault.

⁴ *Convince*. "Aye, prove that," i. e. prove that, if you can, against Murena.

⁵ *Doce*. "Show me that Murena has done this."

⁶ *Sed vulgo, passim*. "But indiscriminately, in every quarter.—What is indiscriminately? All without any exception."

⁷ *L. Natta*. Already alluded to in a previous note. He was a member of the old Pinarian line, and Murena's step-son.

⁸ *In equitum centuriis, &c.* "Wished to become possessed of influence among the centuries of equites, both with respect to this duty imposed by relationship, and with reference to the time to come." Cicero means, that L. Natta, by the entertainments which he gave to the equites, merely discharged the ordinary duty of a relative towards Murena, and sought, at the same time, to establish his own interest and popularity as regarded some future application for office.

vitrico fraudi, aut crimini: nec, si ¹⁰ virgo Vestalis, hujus propinqua et necessaria, locum suum ¹¹ gladiatoribus concessit huic, ¹² non et illa pie fecit, et hic a culpa est remotus? ¹³ Omnia hæc sunt officia necessariorum, commoda tenuiorum, omnia candidatorum.

(74.) At enim agit mecum ¹⁴ austere et stoice Cato. Negat verum esse, allici benevolentiam cibo: negat, ¹⁵ iudicium hominum in magistratibus mandandis corrumpi voluptatibus oportere. Ergo ad cœnam, petitionis causa, si quis vocat, condemnetur. ¹⁶ "Quippe," inquit, "tu mihi summum imperium, tu summam auctoritatem, tu gubernacula rei publicæ petas fovendis hominum sensibus, et deleniendis nimis, et adhibendis voluptatibus?" ¹⁷ Utrum lenocinium," inquit, "a grege delicatæ juventutis, an orbis terrarum

⁹ *Ejus vitrico fraudi, aut crimini.* "A source of injury or of accusation unto his step-father." *Fraus* is here used in its old sense, as equivalent to *pœna* or *detrimentum*.

¹⁰ *Virgo Vestalis.* Besides other privileges, the Vestal virgins had a singular one of being present at the gladiatorial combats. For this purpose, they had seats allotted them in front, in a conspicuous place; and the charge referred to in the text was, that one of them, a relation of Murena's, gave up her seat to that individual, in order that he might bestow it on some third person, whose vote he wished to win by this act of courtesy. Compare ERNESTI, *ad loc.*

¹¹ *Gladiatoribus.* Equivalent to *cum ludi gladiatorii fierent*. It would not have been correct Latinity to have said *locum gladiatorium*.

¹² *Non et illa, &c.* "Did both that female not act in the way that affection demanded, and is this friend of mine not far removed from that kind of censure?"

¹³ *Omnia hæc, &c.* "All these things are merely the duties of friends, the means of gratification on the part of the lower orders, the privileges of candidates."

¹⁴ *Austere et stoice.* "Austerely and like a Stoic," i. e. with all the austerity of a Stoic.—*Verum.* "Right and proper." *Verum* is here equivalent to *æquum*.—*Allici benevolentiam cibo.* "That favour should be conciliated by food." *Benevolentiam*, literally, "friendly feelings," well-wishing."

¹⁵ *Judicium hominum, &c.* "The decision of individuals in assigning offices of magistracy," i. e. the votes at elections.

¹⁶ *Quippe, inquit, &c.* "For do you, pray, asks he, seek for," &c. I have paraphrased *mihi* in order to adapt it to our own idiom. Compare note 10, page 407.—*Fovendis sensibus.* "By pampering the senses."

¹⁷ *Utrum lenocinium, &c.* "Were you seeking for some impure gratification from a herd of effeminate youth," i. e. invited by you to entertainment. Compare, as regards *lenocinium*, the remark of

imperium a populo Romano petebas?"—¹ Horribilis oratio sed eam usus, vita, mores, civitas ipsa respuit. Neque ta-
Lacedæmonii, ² auctores istius vitæ atque orationis, qui
tidianis epulis in robore accumbunt, neque vero ³ Cretes
quorum nemo gustavit umquam cubans, ⁴ melius, quam
Romani homines, ⁵ qui tempora voluptatis laborisque dis-
tint, res publicas suas retinuerunt: ⁶ quorum alteri
adventu nostri exercitus deleti sunt; alteri nostri im-
præsidio disciplinam suam legesque conservant.

ERNESTI, *Clar. Cic. a. v.* "Lenocinia corporum, sunt res quibus o-
suaviter officitur."

¹ *Horribilis oratio.* "Horrid speech!" Uttered ironically.
eam usus, &c. "But our usages, our mode of life, our manners
political institutions themselves reject it," i. e. furnish a direct
tation.

² *Auctores istius vitæ atque orationis.* "The authors of that mo-
living and speaking which you have adopted." The student will
the force of *istius* here, as applying to Cato, the person addressed.
Qui quotidianis epulis, &c. "Who, at their daily meals, sit on
boards." The reference is to the public meals or *συσσίτια* of
ancient Spartans, where all ate in common, and the utmost plain-
and frugality prevailed. Their seats were boards, not cushions
the Roman couches were, nor did they recline after the Roman fashion
but sat upright.

³ *Cretes.* The common meals of the Cretans were also of a
and frugal nature.—*Cubans.* "Reclining," i. e. as the Romans
Compare note 8, page 52.

⁴ *Melius, quam Romani homines, &c.* Cicero's object is to show,
their frugal mode of living did not save the Spartans and Cretes
from being subdued, and by the very nation too who were less a-
minious in their diet. This is urged as a kind of argument in favor
a moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of the table, and as an answer
to Cato's harsh remark just quoted, *utrum lenocinium, &c.*

⁵ *Qui tempora voluptatis, &c.* "Who distinguish between the
ments of relaxation and serious enjoyment," i. e. who have times
apart for both pleasure and business.

⁶ *Quorum alteri.* The Cretans.—*Uno adventu nostri exercitus*
we believe the voice of history, Q. Metellus, surnamed Creticus,
three years to conquer Crete. (*Eutrop.* 6, 11.) Cicero then
exaggerates a little the facility of this conquest. As for the Lacedæ-
monians, they had already passed with the rest of Greece under
Roman dominion.

⁷ *Res ipsa.* "The present state of our affairs themselves," i. e.
present flourishing condition of our affairs.

⁸ *Eodem ex studio.* "Of the same school of philosophy," i. e.
Stoic. Literally, "of the same study."

⁹ *Epulum.* This term denotes a banquet connected with a
celebration, such as the dedication of a temple, a triumph

XXXVI. (75.) QUARE noli, Cato, majorum instituta, quæ res ipsa, quæ diuturnitas imperii comprobant, nimium severa ratione reprehendere. Fuit ⁸ eodem ex studio vir eruditus pud patres nostros, et honestus homo et nobilis, Q. Tubero. ⁹ cum ¹⁰ epulum Q. Maximus, ¹¹ Africani patris sui nomine, populo Romano daret, rogatus est a Maximo, ¹² ut triclinium sterneret, cum esset Tubero ejusdem Africani sororis filius.

public games, &c. In the present case it was a funeral entertainment. *Epula*, on the other hand, denotes an entertainment or banquet in the usual form.

⁹ *Africani patris*, &c. "In memory of his uncle Africanus." More literally, "on account of his uncle Africanus." *Nomine patris* is here equivalent to *propter patrum*, i. e. *in memoriam patris*. Lucius Æmilius Paullus (more commonly known by the name of Paullus Æmilus) had two sons by his wife Papiria. One of these was adopted by Quintus Fabius Maximus, and took the name of his adopted father. He had a son himself, who is the Quintus Maximus mentioned in the text. The other son of Paullus Æmilius was adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Africanus Major, and was himself named Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus. This is the younger Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage, and is the one also mentioned in the text. Paullus Æmilius had, by another wife, two daughters, one of whom was married to Quintus Ælius Tubero, father of the Tubero of whom Cicero here speaks.

¹² *Ut triclinium sterneret*. "To make the requisite preparations." We have been compelled to resort to a paraphrase here, in order to convey more clearly the meaning of Cicero. *Triclinium*, in its primitive acceptation, denotes a couch for reclining on at supper, large enough to hold three persons (*τρεῖς* and *κλίνη*). Thus we have in VARRO, *R. 3, 13*: "*Ibi erat locus excelsus, ubi triclinio posito cœnabamus.*" It is then taken to denote the place of entertainment itself, from the circumstance of three couches (*τρεῖς κλῖναι*), each holding three guests, being used at private feasts. For Varro says, that the number of the guests ought not to exceed that of the Muses, nor be less than that of the Graces. (AUL. GELL. 13, 11.) The phrase *triclinium sternere* has in like manner two meanings. The first is to spread a couch, that is, to cover it with what was termed the *stragula vestis*, a species of covering put upon it, previous to a banquet, plain and neat for ordinary entertainments, but sumptuous and highly ornamental when the feast was to be a splendid one. Compare Cic. *in Verr.* 5, 25, "*Cum Apronius e palæstra rediisset, et in triclinio, quod in foro straverat, cubuisset.*" The second meaning of *triclinium sternere* is to arrange the couches in a banqueting room, that is, to prepare the place for an entertainment. Thus we have in VARRO, *L. L. c. 4*: "*Qui triclinium strarunt, si quem lectum de tribus unum imparem posuerant,*" &c. Now, from all that has been here premised, we may ascertain very early, in connexion with the context, the meaning of Cicero on the present occasion. The feast was to be a public one, and Tubero was requested to prepare accommodations for the guests, that is, not only

Atque ille homo eruditissimus, ac Stoicus, ¹ stravit pell hœdinis lectulos Punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia; vero esset Diogenes Cynicus mortuus, et non divini ho Africani mors honestaretur; quem cum supremo ejus Maximus laudaret, gratias egit diis immortalibus, quo vir in hac re publica potissimum natus esset; necesse fuisse, ibi esse terrarum imperium, ubi ille esset. Huius morte celebranda graviter tulit populus Romanus ² hanc versam sapientiam Tiberonis. (76.) Itaque ³ homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum esset L. Paulli nepos, P. Africani ut dixi, sororis filius, ⁴ his hœdinis pelliculis prætura de-

to see that the place itself was got ready in a proper manner, but the tables were supplied with a sufficient number of couches, and these couches, as well as the other articles connected with the banquet were of such a kind as might best comport with the occasion.

¹ *Stravit pelliculis, &c.* "Spread low Carthaginian couches of little goat-skins, and set out vessels of Samian earthenware." Carthaginian couches were low, small, and made of wood. They were also cheap and mean. The little goat-skins were purposely substituted for the more usual and expensive couch-coverings. Cicero alludes to this same circumstance, in one of his letters, where he speaks of the couches as being of wood, on this occasion, and the vessels of earthenware, and where his language also confirms the sense we have taken, in the previous note, of the meaning of *ut triclinia sterneret*. Thus (*Ep.* 95, p. 607, ed. *Ipsii*) he has the following: "*Tiberonis ligneos lectulos, cum in publicum sternerentur, hœdini pro stragulis pelles, et ante ipsius Jovis cellam præposita conviri fictilia: quid aliud est, paupertatem in Capitolio consecrare?*" Cf. ISIDORUS (*Orig.* 20, 11, 3): "*Punicani lecti parvi et humiles, pro a Carthagine advecti, et inde nominati.*" And in relation to the Samian vases, consult PLAUTUS, *Captiv.* 2, 2, 40; and TAUBMANN, *ad loc.*

² *Hanc perversam sapientiam Tiberonis.* "This ill-judged wisdom of Tiberio." *Perversus*, in its literal acceptation here, approaches very closely to our plain English epithets, "wrong-headed," "grained."

³ *Homo integerrimus.* "This most upright man." Referring to Tiberio.—*Cum esset.* "Although he was." As regards the relation between Tiberio and the individuals mentioned in the text, cf. note 10, page 473.

⁴ *His hœdinis pelliculis, &c.* "Lost the prætorship through these same little goat-skins. More literally, "was dislodged from his position for the prætorship by these same little goat-skins." They were so offended at what they considered his parsimony, in the manner of the funeral honours rendered to Scipio, that they would not vote into the prætorship. His Stoical frugality, therefore, like his strictness and simplicity on the present occasion, was completely out of place.

⁵ *Non amat profusas epulas, &c.* "They are not fond of profuse banquets."

. Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit: ⁵ non amat profusas epulas, sordes et humanitatem multo minus: ⁶ distinguit rationem officiorum temporum, vicissitudinem laboris ac voluptatis. Nam, ad ais, nulla re allici hominum mentes oportere ad magistrum mandandum, nisi dignitate; ⁷ hoc tu ipse, in quo prima est dignitas, non servas. Cur enim quemquam, ut deat tibi, ut te adjuvet, rogas? Rogas tu me, ut mihi sis, ut committam ego me tibi. Quid tandem? istuc merari oportet abs te, an te potius a me, ut pro mea salute orem periculumque suscipias? (77.) Quid? quod habes ⁸no-

epasts; but much less of sordidness and meanness." The term *humanitas* is well explained by ERNESTI, *Clar. Cic. s. v.*: "*Inhumanitas est ejus, qui facit abhorrentia a vitæ humanæ cultu et elegantia.*"

Distinguit rationem, &c. "They know how to distinguish between relative bearing of duties and of occasions," i. e. they know very well when a duty is urgent and imperative in its character, and admits no alternative but prompt performance, and when it is of a less binding character, and may be passed by without any impropriety. Again, they know well what occasions are to be strictly attended to, and what to be regarded with less care.

Hoc tu ipse, &c. "You yourself, in whom there is the highest merit, do not adhere to this."—*Cur enim quemquam, &c.* The idea intended to be conveyed by the whole passage is as follows:—If merit alone ought to influence the minds of men, in conferring public honours, why do you, who have so much merit of your own, go about to solicit votes, and not leave the result to be determined by merit alone? Perhaps you will say in reply, that you do not ask any favour of me, when soliciting my vote, but, on the contrary, merely intend nothing for my own good; to have me place myself, namely, under your guardianship and care, in order that you may the better provide for my welfare. Do you not think, however, Cato, that this request would come with more force from me to you? Is it not rather my business to ask you to expose yourself to dangers and fatigues for my sake?

¹ *Nomenclatorem.* "A nomenclator." A slave who accompanied candidates for office, and whispered in their ears the names of the different individuals whom they met, in order that the candidate might salute them by name, and conciliate their favour by this species of compliment, which had always great weight with the Romans. Compare note 2, page 438. Plutarch says, that a law having been passed, ordaining that no man who solicited any office should take a nomenclator with him, Cato was the only one that obeyed it; and that in order not to need such an assistant, he made himself master of the names of all the citizens. (*Vit. Cat. Min.*) Cicero's language, however, is directly the other way, and very probably he is the more correct of the two.

menclatorem? in eo quidem ¹ fallis et decipis. ² Nam, si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi. ³ Sin etiam si noris, tamen per monitorem appellandi sunt, ⁴ cur ante petis, quam insusurravit? aut quid, cum admoneris, tamen, quasi tute noris, ita salutas? quid, posteaquam es designatus, multo salutas negligentius? ⁵ Hæc omnia ad rationem civitatis si dirigas, recta sunt: sin perpendere ad disciplinæ præcepta velis, reperiantur pravissima. Quare nec plebi Romanæ eripiendi ⁶ fructus isti sunt ludorum, gladiatorum, convivorum, quæ omnia majores nostri comparaverunt: ⁷ nec candidatis ista benignitas adimenda est, quæ liberalitatem magis significat, quam largitionem.

XXXVII. (78.) ⁸ At enim te ad accusandum res publica adduxit. ⁹ Credo, Cato, te isto animo atque ea opinione venisse. Sed tu imprudentia laberis. Ego quod facio, judi-

¹ *Fallis et decipis.* "You mislead and deceive." The distinction between *fallere* and *decipere* appears to be as follows: *fallere* implies, that we are misled by something negative or indirect in another's words or actions: *decipere* always denotes, that the person deceived is imposed upon by something positive and express in the person deceiving. (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 424.)

² *Nam, si nomine, &c.* Cicero's argument may be briefly stated as follows: if you employ a nomenclator, Cato, you impose upon and mislead your fellow citizens, whether you yourself actually know their names, or not. If you do not know their names, but obtain them from the nomenclator, you of course deceive others, by saluting them after you have learned their names, as if you had been long acquainted with them. If, on the other hand, you actually know their names, and only take a nomenclator with you because it is customary so to do, here again you are guilty of deception, for you do not merely let him whisper the name of the party into your ear as a matter of form, but you actually ask him first about the name, as if you were quite ignorant of it, although you know very well all the time what the person's appellation is.

³ *Sin, etiam si noris.* The common text has, *Sin etiam noris*. We have adopted the conjectural emendation of Lambinus.—*Tamen per monitorem appellandi sunt.* Namely, as a matter of mere form and custom, the candidate asking and the slave whispering the name, although the former knows very well already what it is.

⁴ *Cur ante petis, quam insusurravit?* "Why do you actually ask the person's name before he has whispered it into your ears?"

⁵ *Hæc omnia, &c.* "If you measure all these things by the usages of the state, they are correct enough: but if you wish to weigh them carefully by the precepts of your own philosophy, they will be found to be very wicked in their nature." More freely, "if you refer all these things to the usages of the state," &c

amicitiæ dignitatisque L. Murenæ gratia facio, tum
is, otii, concordiæ, libertatis, salutis, vitæ denique
nostrum causa facere ¹⁰ clamo atque testor. Audite,
consulem, judices, nihil dicam arrogantius, tantum
otos dies atque noctes de re publica cogitantem.
que eo L. Catilina rem publicam despexit atque
isit, ut ea copia, quam secum eduxit, se hanc civi-
oppressurum arbitraretur. ¹¹ Latius patet illius sceleris
, quam quisquam putat; ad plures pertinet. Intus,
aquam, est ¹² equus Trojanus: a quo nunquam, me
dormientes opprimemini. (79.) Quæris a me, quid
ilinam metuam. Nihil; et curavi, ne quis metueret:
pias illius, quas hic video, dico esse metuendas: nec
endus est nunc exercitus L. Catilinæ, quam isti, qui
ercitum deseruisse dicuntur. Non enim deseruerunt,
llo in speculis atque insidiis relictis, ¹⁴ in capite atque

his isti ludorum, &c. "That gratification which is derived from
ows," &c.—*Comparaverunt.* "Prepared for them," i. e. insti-
their gratification.

candidatis, &c. "Nor are candidates to be deprived of that
of friendly feelings which is a proof rather of their generosity
wish to corrupt." More literally, "which indicates generosity
n bribery."

vim te, &c. The particles *at enim* are here, as elsewhere, ellip-
but all else you will say is of comparatively trifling importance,
interests of the republic lead you in fact to undertake this accu-
e. a regard for the public welfare led you, &c.

o, Cato, &c. "I easily believe, Cato, that you came here with
ings and with that intention. But you make a slip through
eflection," i. e. you go wrong, you defeat your own purpose.

o atque testor. "Loudly proclaim, and call you all to witness."

audite consulem. "Hear, hear your consul."—*Usque eo.* "To
gree." So far.

is patet, &c. Cicero now argues on the importance of having a
energy and military experience in the consulship during the
year.

is Trojanus. A highly figurative allusion to the seeds of the
y that were still lurking at Rome.

is illius. "Those troops of his." His secret partisans, with
vements Cicero was in a great degree acquainted. It will be
mind, that Lentulus and the other accomplices had not yet
ected and punished.

capite atque in cervicibus nostris. Equivalent here to *in*
ue in cervices nostras, with the idea of continuance, or last-
y, annexed. Similar examples occur in many of the ancient

in cervicibus nostris restiterunt. Hi et ¹integrum consulem, et bonum imperatorem, ²et natura, et fortuna cum rei publicæ salute conjunctum, dejici de urbis præsidio, et de custodia civitatis ³vestris sententiis deturbari volunt. Quorum ego ferrum et audaciam rejeci ⁴in campo, debilitavi in foro, compressi etiam domi meæ sæpe, judices, his vos si alterum consulem tradideritis, plus multo erunt vestris sententiis, quam suis gladiis consecuti. Magni interest, judices, id quod ego multis repugnantibus egi atque perfeci, esse ⁵kalendis Januariis in re publica duo consules. (80.) Nolite arbitrari, mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis viis, ⁶aut * *. Non lex improba, non perniciose largitio, non auditum aliquando aliquod malum ⁷rei publicæ quæritur. Inita sunt in hac civitate consilia, judices, urbis delendæ, civium trucidandorum, nominis Romani extinguendi. Atque hæc cives, cives, inquam, (si eos hoc nomine appellari fas est,) de patria sua et cogitant et cogitaverunt; horum ego quotidie consiliis occurro, audaciam debilito,

¹ *Integrum consulem.* "An upright consul," i. e. an honest patriotic consul, and not one contaminated by any union of principle or action with Catiline. Compare MANUTIUS: "Integrum consulem, h. e. *malis consiliis non infectum.*"

² *Et natura, et fortuna.* "In both principles and fortune," i. e. a man of correct principles and ample means. Such a person would, of course, be attached to the interests of the republic, and the existing state of things, and would have no wish for any revolution or change, because not a man of needy fortune.

³ *Vestris sententiis.* "By your sentence," i. e. by your opinions as judges in the present case. For Murena is such a man as has just been described by me, and the partisans of Catiline would rejoice in having him driven from the consulship, by your sentence of condemnation.

⁴ *In campo.* Compare chapter 26 of the present speech, and *Or. in Cat.* 1, 5.—*Domi meæ.* Alluding to the attempt to assassinate him at his own house. *Or. in Cat.* 1, 4.

⁵ *Kalendis Januariis.* Compare note 13, page 389.

⁶ *Aut.* A chasm occurs here in the MSS. Schütz proposes to fill it up, and re-model the whole sentence as follows: "*Nolite arbitrari. Catilinam ejusque socios mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis viis, in rem publicam grassari.*"

⁷ *Rei publica quæritur.* "Is sought for against the republic," i. e. the republic is not sought to be injured by ordinary means, such as "a hurtful law," or "the pernicious influence of bribery," &c.

⁸ *In exitu.* "Near its close." This speech was delivered in the month of November, and the new consuls would be installed on the first of January coming.

⁹ *Vicarium meæ diligentiae.* "Who is to succeed me in my vigilance."

leri resisto. Sed vos moneo, judices: ⁸ in exitu est jam
us consulatus: nolite mihi subtrahere ⁹ vicarium meæ
gentiæ: nolite adimere eum, cui rem publicam cupio tra-
e incolumem, ab his tantis periculis defendendam.

XXXVIII. (81.) ATQUE ad hæc mala, judices, quid ac-
sit aliud, non videtis? Te, te appello, Cato: nonne pro-
is ¹⁰ tempestatem anni tui? jam enim hesternæ concione
nuit vox perniciosa ¹¹ designati tribuni, collegæ tui:
ra quem multum ¹² tua mens, multum omnes boni pro-
runt, qui te ad tribunatus petitionem vocaverunt.
nia, quæ per hoc triennium agitata sunt, jam ab eo
pore, quo ¹³ a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium
tus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in hos menses,
hoc tempus erumpunt. (82.) Qui locus est, judices,
l tempus, qui dies, quæ nox, cum ego non ex istorum
liis ac mucronibus, non solum meo, sed multo etiam
is divino consilio eripiar atque evolem? Neque isti me
eo nomine interfici, sed vigilantem consulem de rei

Tempestatem anni tui. "The storms that impend over your own
" i. e. over your magistracy as tribune.

Designati tribuni. The allusion here is, most probably, to Q. Me-
s Nepos, the same who afterward prevented Cicero from making
customary address to the people, at the close of his consulship.
sti thinks, that *designati* ought to be removed from the text, be-
e, according to him, the new tribunes had already entered on office
a this speech was delivered. He observes, that had they not
red already on office, they could not have held an assembly the day
ious. But the text only speaks of an assembly that had been held,
out specifying by whom. The expression *vox perniciosa*, more-
; does not necessarily imply a speech on the part of the new magis-
s: it may denote a mere remark made by him, on being presented
ie people by the tribunes of the current year. The chief argument,
ever, against Ernesti's emendation, is in the dates. The new tribunes
not enter upon office until the fourth day before the Ides of Decem-
and every thing connected with this speech plainly shows, that it
delivered before the Nones of the same month, for on that day the
pirators arrested by Cicero were condemned.

Tua mens. "Your own foresight."—*Qui te ad tribunatus*, &c.
so requested you to stand candidate for the tribuneship," i. e. in
r that you might thwart the nefarious schemes of Metellus and
re.

A L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone, &c. At the close of the consulship of
epidus and Volcatius Tullus. Compare *Or. in Cat.* 1, 6: "*Potestne
s vitæ lux*," &c.

Meo nomine. "On my own account." Equivalent to *propter me*

publicæ præsidio demovere volunt: nec minus vellent, Cato, te quoque aliqua ratione, si possent, tollere: id quod, mihi crede, ¹et agunt, et moliuntur. Vident, quantum in te sit animi, quantum ingenii, quantum auctoritatis, quantum rei publicæ præsidii: sed cum ²consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliata vim tribuniciam viderint, tum se facilius inermem et debilitatum te oppressuros arbitrantur. Nam ³ne sufficiatur consul, non timent. ⁴Vident te in tuorum potestate collegarum fore: sperant ⁵sibi Silanum, clarum virum, sine collega, te sine consule, rem publicam sine præsidio objici posse. (83.) His tantis in rebus tantisque in periculis, est tuum, M. Cato, qui non mihi, non tibi, sed patriæ natus es, videre quid agatur, retinere adiutorem, defensorem, socium in re publica, consulem ⁶non cupidum, consulem (quod maxime tempus hoc postulat) fortuna constitutum ad amplexandum otium: scientia, ad bellum gerendum: ⁷animo et usu, ad quod velis negotium.

XXXIX. QUAMQUAM ⁸hujusce rei potestas omnis in

ipsum. Compare chapter 36, "*Africani patrui sui nomine.*" Cicero means, that they did not seek his destruction so much out of personal hatred, as in order to remove a faithful guardian of the public welfare.

¹ *Et agunt, et moliuntur.* "They are both attempting, aye, and striving earnestly to effect."—*Quantum animi, quantum ingenii.* "How much courage, how much talent."

² *Consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliata.* By the condemnation of Murena.

³ *Ne sufficiatur consul.* "Lest a new consul be substituted," i. e. in place of Murena, if condemned. Compare, as regards the force of *sufficere*, the explanation of ERNESTI: "*Sufficere, in locum alterius creare: de magistratibus, imprimis consulibus, qui in locum mortui consulis, aut de ambitu damnati, &c., creantur.*"

⁴ *Vident te in tuorum, &c.* We have inserted *te* after *vident* on the conjecture of Matthiæ, who thinks that it has been accidentally omitted by the copyists.

⁵ *Sibi objici posse.* "May be exposed to them," i. e. to their attacks.—*Silanum.* Plutarch says, that after Cato had declared his intention of prosecuting every one who should have recourse to bribery, he took very good care, that Silanus, who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. (*Vit. Cat. Min.* c. 21.) This would seem to imply that Silanus, in common with Murena, lay open to the charge of bribery, for which we find elsewhere no authority whatever.

⁶ *Non cupidum.* "Not ambitious." Manutius understands *rerum novarum*, "not desirous of a change."—*Fortuna constitutum, &c.* Alluding to his private wealth.

⁷ *Animo et usu, &c.* "Of spirit and experience for executing whatever you may wish."

“ *Hujusce rei potestas, &c.* “ The means of accomplishing this result are placed wholly in your hands. You hold, in the present case, the whole republic under your care. You are its pilots,” i. e. the helm is in your hands, and it is for you to guide us safely through the storm.

Petunt rationes illius. "His plans demand."—*Auxilio.* "Of her wanted aid."—*Ut minuatur,* &c. "That the number of her leaders, capable of resisting his fury, be diminished."

¹⁰ *Depulso adversario*. Alluding to Murena, and to the stand he would take against the conspirators, in support of the government and law. Hence he is called the opponent of the turbulent tribunes, and since his condemnation (*depulso adversario*) would leave them more liberty to excite commotions in the state.

¹¹ *Idemne igitur delecti, &c.* "Will men distinguished for integrity and wisdom, men selected from the first orders of the state, come to the same decision with that most audacious gladiator, that he is to the republic?" The address is, to the *judices*, the gladiator is *stiline*.

¹² *Apud Anienem*. "At the Anio." Here, in the second Punic war, Hannibal pitched his camp, at three miles' distance from Rome. Compare Livy, (26, 10): "*Inter hæc, Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium, tria illia passuum ab urbe, castra admovit.*"

¹³ *Non nemo*, &c. "There are some, there are some foes even in that actuary of the republic, I say, in the very senate itself." *Non nemo* here equivalent to *aliquis*, but our idiom requires the plural. It is

sacrario rei publicæ, in ipsa inquam, curia non nem est. Dii ¹faxint, ut ²meus collega, vir fortissim Catilinæ nefarium latrocinium armatus opprimat! gatus, vobis bonisque omnibus adjutoribus, hoc, quæ ceptum res publica periculum parturit, consilio disc comprimam! (85.) Sed quid tandem fiet, si ³hæc emanibus nostris, in eum annum, qui consequitur, irint? Unus erit consul, et is non in administrando sed in sufficiendo collega occupatus. Hunc jam quidituri sint, * * illa pestis immanis, ⁵importuna, pro qua poterit: et jam populo Romano minatur: in suburbanos repente advolabit: ⁶versabitur in castris in curia timor, in foro conjuratio, in campo exercitiis agris vastitas: omni autem in sede ac loco ferrum flammæque metuemus. Quæ jamdiu comparantur, eadem nia, ⁷si ornata suis præsiidiis erit res publica, facile tractuum consiliis et privatorum diligentia comprime

XL. (86.) QUÆ cum ita sint, judices, primum rei

well known that several of the senators were implicated in the conspiracy. Consult SALLUST, *B. C.* c. 17.

¹ *Faxint.* The old form for *fecerint*. The earlier mode of conjugating this verb was *facio*, *faci* (*faxi*), *factum*, *facere*. STRUVE, *über die Lat. Decl. und Conj.* p. 171, *seqq.* This *faxint*, was retained, in common with *faxit* and other similar forms, principally in solemn adjurations, &c.

² *Meus collega.* Antonius. — *Ego togatus.* Compare note 70.—*Hoc, quod conceptum*, &c. “Will dispel and crush the evil which, conceived in its bosom, the republic is now on the point of bringing forth.”

³ *Hæc.* These same dangers.—*Unus erit consul*, &c. If Murena be condemned, Silanus will be the only consul in office; and he will be occupied, not by the affairs and dangers of the state, but by the election of a colleague; for the seditious tribunes will oppose him in all his movements, and in this way much valuable time will be lost to the republic.

⁴ *Impetituri sint.* There is here another chasm in the MS. smaller than the one previously mentioned. Some editors read *videtis*, others *parati sunt*, on conjecture.

⁵ *Importuna.* The common text has *Catilinæ* after *importuna*. Many editors regard it as a mere gloss, and we have therefore omitted it.

⁶ *Versabitur in castris furor.* “Wild fury will reign in you.” — *In campo exercitus.* “An armed force in the Campus Martius.” The allusion is to the partisans of Catiline, who will come armed to the comitia, when Silanus shall convene the people to vote for a consul in the place of Murena.

qua nulla res cuiquam ⁸ potior debet esse, vos, pro
 umma et vobis cognita in rem publicam diligentia,
 , pro auctoritate consulari hortor, pro magnitudine
 li, obtestor, ut otio, ut paci, ut saluti, ut vitæ vestræ
 erorum civium consulatis: deinde ego fidem vestram,
 isoris et amici officio, adductus, oro atque obsecro,
 , ut ne hominis miseri, et cum ¹⁰ corporis morbo, tum
 dolore confecti, L. Murenæ, recentem gratulationem
 amentatione obruat. Modo maximo beneficio populi
 ii ornatus, fortunatus videbatur, quod primus in fami-
 sterem, primus in ¹¹ municipium antiquissimum consu-
 attulisset; nunc idem ¹² squalore sordidus, confectus
 , lacrymis ac mœrore perditus, vester est supplex,
 , vestram fidem obtestatur, misericordiam implorat,
 n potestatem ac vestras opes ¹³ intuetur. (87.) Nolite,
 os immortales! iudices, ¹⁴ hac eum re, qua se hones-
 fore putavit, etiam ceteris ante partis honestatibus
 omni dignitate fortunaque privare. ¹⁶ Atque ita vos

ornatu suis presidii, &c. "If the republic shall be furnished
 her means of protection."

ior. "Dearer," i. e. to exercise a more powerful sway."—*Pro*
ri auctoritate, &c. "I exhort you in consideration of my con-
 uthority," i. e. by my consular office.

ensoris. The common text has *vel defensoris*, but we have
vel, with Ernesti and Schütz. Beck encloses it within brackets.
 is doubts whether it be correct Latinity to say *oro atque*
fidem, and Grævius inclines the same way. But we have in
s (*Amph.* 1, 1, 217), "*obsecro tuam fidem*." Compare ERNESTI,

poris morbo. Murena was then labouring under severe indis-
 .—*Recentem gratulationem*. "His recent felicitations." A
 iving had been decreed, in the name of Murena, for his suc-
 gainst Mithridates.

nicipium antiquissimum. Lanuvium, of which Murena was a
 Consult Geographical Index.

alore sordidus. "Of squalid appearance and in neglected
 It was customary at Rome for those accused of capital or
 fences, to appear in public arrayed in such a manner as might
 calculated to excite compassion.—*Lacrymis ac mœrore perditus*,
 with tears and sorrow."

uetur. "He looks with an earnest eye to."

re. "On that very account," i. e. the consulship to which he
 n elected. Orellius suggests *ac cum cum re*. Schütz proposes
na cum hac cum re, or else *cum hac cum re*. No change, how-
 requisite.

ue ita, &c. "For thus does Murena," &c. i. e. in terms such

L. Murena, iudices, orat atque obsecrat, si injuste tenetur; si nullius aures voluntatemve violavit; si nemini, levissime dicam, odio, nec domi, nec militis, fuit, sit apud vos ¹modestus locus, sit demissis hominibus perflugium, sit auxilium pudori. ²Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus meam habere debet, iudices. ³Una enim eripiuntur cum consulatu omnia. Invidiam vero his temporibus habere consulatus ipse nullam potest. ⁴Obicitur enim concionibus seditiosorum, insidiis conjuratorum, telis Catilinae, omne denique periculum, atque ad omnem invidiam se opponitur. (88.) Quare quid invidendum Murenae, cuiquam nostram sit ⁵in hoc præclaro consulatu, non videt iudices. Quae vero miserranda sunt, ea et mihi ante oculis versantur, et vos videre et perspicere potestis.

XLI. Si (quod Jupiter amen avertat!) ⁶hunc vestra sententia afflixeritis, ⁷quo se miser vertet? domumne? eam imaginem clarissimi viri, parentis sui, quam paucis diebus ⁸laureatam in sua gratulatione conspexit, eandem deformatam ignominia ⁹lugentemque videat? an ad matrem quae ¹⁰misera, modo consulem osculata filium suum, cruciatur et sollicita est, ne eundem paulo post spoli-

as the following, —*Si nullius aures, &c.* "If he has wounded the ear or the feelings of no individual," i. e. if moderation has always distinguished his words, always regulated his conduct.

¹ *Modestus locus.* "An asylum for moderation." — *Demissis hominibus.* "For the dejected."

² *Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus, &c.* "To be stripped of the consulship ought, O judges, to carry with it a strong claim to compassion." Literally, "the being despoiled of the consulship," &c.

³ *Una enim eripiuntur, &c.* Cicero means to express the idea, that in losing the consulship the person referred to loses his all — *facile nullam.* "No claims to envy," i. e. nothing worth enjoying in the office.

⁴ *Obicitur.* "The holder of it is exposed." — *Concionibus seditiosorum.* Referring to the tribunes of the commons.

⁵ *In hoc præclaro consulatu.* "In this distinguished post of consul." *Præclaro* is said with a tinge of irony: in this distinguished post, many call it, and take it to be.

⁶ *Hunc vestra sententia afflixeritis.* "You shall dash this man sorrow to the ground by your decision," i. e. shall condemn him.

⁷ *Quo se miser vertet?* The peroration here is extremely beautiful. — *Locus,* says Manutius, "ad commovendam misericordiam spectat."

⁸ *Laureatam in sua gratulatione, &c.* "Decked with laurel amid his own felicitations."

⁹ *Lugentem.* "Plunged in mourning." Cicero purposely uses this

ni dignitate conspiciat? (89.) Sed quid ego matrem, aut
 num appello, quem ¹¹ nova poena legis et domo, et parente,
 mium suorum consuetudine conspectuque privat? Ibit
 tur in exsilium miser? Quo? ad Orientisne partes, in
 ibus annos multos legatus fuit, et exercitus duxit, et res
 rimas gessit? ¹² At habet magnum dolorem, unde cum
 nore decesseris, eodem cum ignominia reverti. An se in
 strariam partem terrarum abdet, ut Gallia Transalpina,
 sm nuper ¹³ summo cum imperio libentissime viderit.
 ndem lugentem, mœrentem, exsulem videat? In ea porro
 ovincia, quo animo ¹⁴ C. Murenam, fratrem suum, adspi-
 t? ¹⁵ qui hujus dolor? qui illius mœror erit? quæ utri-
 que lamentatio? ¹⁶ quanta autem perturbatio fortunæ atque
 monis, quod, quibus in locis paucis ante diebus factum
 e consulem Murenam, nuntii literæque celebrassent, et
 de hospites atque amici gratulatum Romam concurrerint,
 ente eo accedat ipse nuntius suæ calamitatis? (90.) Quæ
 acerba, si misera, si luctuosa sunt, si alienissima a man-
 tudine et misericordia vestra, judices, ¹⁷ conserve populi
 mani beneficium: reddite rei publicæ consulem: date hoc
 ius pudori, date patri mortuo, date generi et familiæ, date

m of expression, instead of *lugenti similem*, for the sake of greater
 length.

¹¹ *Misera*. "Wretched parent."

¹² *Nova poena legis*. The Tullian law (*lex Tullia*) had only recently
 been passed, which added ten years' exile to the penalties before in-
 flicted by the laws upon the crime of *ambitus*.

¹³ *At habet magnum dolorem*, &c. "Ah! but it brings with it a deep
 pang of sorrow," &c.

¹⁴ *Summo cum imperio*. "When invested with supreme command."

¹⁵ *C. Murenam, fratrem suum*. C. Licinius Murena. He was governor
 of Transalpine Gaul, and is the same individual of whom Sallust
 speaks, *B. C.* 42.

¹⁶ *Qui hujus dolor? Qui illius mœror erit?* Compare ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 249.
 also, *qui illius mœror erit?* The student will note the distinction
 between *hujus* and *illius*. "What anguish on the part of the
 former? What deep affliction on that of the latter?" The same
 mark applies here, that was made in a previous note respecting an
 apparent violation of the rule concerning *hic* and *ille*. *Hujus* refers to
 Murena, Cicero's client, and *illius* to his distant brother.

¹⁷ *Conserve populi Romani beneficium*, &c. "What a reverse of fortune, what
 change of language," i. e. how changed the condition of the one, how
 varied the language of both.

Conserve populi Romani beneficium. "Preserve unto him the
 favour which the Roman people have conferred" i. e. establish by your
 decision his claims to the consulship.

etiam Lanuvio, municipio honestissimo, quod in hac tota causa frequens mœstumque vidistis. Nolite a sacris patriis¹ Junonis Sospitæ, cui omnes consules² facere necesse est, domesticum et suum consulem potissimum avellere. Quem ego vobis, si quid habet momenti commendatio, aut auctoritatis confirmatio mea, consul consulem, judices, ita commendo, ut cupidissimum otii, studiosissimum bonorum, acerrimum contra seditionem, fortissimum in bello, inimicissimum huic conjurationi, quæ nunc rem publicam labefactat, futurum esse promittam et spondeam.

¹ *Junonis Sospitæ.* There was at Lanuvium, whence the family of Murena came, a temple sacred to Juno Sospita. The Romans had a joint right of sacrificing to this goddess, and an annual offering was made by the Roman consuls. According to LIVY (8, 14), the people of Lanuvium were allowed by the Romans to continue the worship of this goddess, on condition that the latter people shared in it along with them. Compare, as regards this same deity, LIV. 40, 19.—OV. MET. 6, 60.—SIL. ITAL. 13, 364, and CIC. N. D. 1, 29. The last-mentioned writer describes the effigy of the goddess, as arrayed in a goat's skin bearing a small shield and a spear, and having on little slippers turned up at the toes. "*Cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutula, cum calceolis repandis.*" Consult also MONTFAUCON, *Antiq. Explic.* lib. ii. c. 5, fig. 10.

² *Facere.* Supply *rem divinam*, or, what is much simpler, *sacra* from the previous *sacris patriis*. The analogy between this usage of *facere*, and that of the Greek *πέζειν* or *ἐρδεῖν* is worth noting.

EXCURSUS TO PHILIPP. II. 33, 82.

(From ORELLI, *Edit. Min.*)

In the examination of the above passage, we should set out with the words of Messala, quoted by Aulus Gellius *N. A.* 13, 15: "*Minoribus sandis magistratibus, tributis comitiis magistratus, sed justius curiata tur lege; majores (i. e. the consuls, prætors, and censors) centuriatis nitiis fuerint.*" From other authorities also, we ascertain that consuls were elected at the *comitia centuriata*, not at the *comitia tributa*; indeed, no one of late years denies that: this point only is maintained by many moderns, that in the time of Cicero the *tribes* exercised a powerful influence even in the *comitia centuriata*, what that influence was, however, is by no means agreed on. I think the opposite, and believe that Boner¹ has approached nearest the truth: for with this scholar and Herman² I now agree, so far as to lay down that the reading from a correction in a very disputed passage, *Cic. de Repub.* 22, is correct, and that therein is described the form of the *comitia centuriata* which existed in the time of Scipio, and even before him probably from A.U.C. 533), and which was observed until the destruction of the republic. The following are the words of Cicero:—

"Quæ descriptio (comitiorum) si esset ignota vobis, explicaretur a me. Nunc rationem videtis esse talem, ut equitum centuriæ cum suffragiis et prima classis addita centuria, quæ ad summum usum his fabris tignariis est data lxxxviii. centurias habeat; quibus extantum quatuor centuriis (tot enim reliquæ sunt) octæ solæ si accesserunt, confecta est vis populi universa; reliquaque multo major multitudo sex et nonaginta centuriarum neque excluderetur suffragiis, neque superbum esset; nec valeret nimis, ne esset periculosum." Accordingly in Cicero no mention is made of tribes in the *comitia centuriata*. But an objector may say, three most important proofs exist in Livy, of the occurrence of *tribes* in the *comitia centuriata*.

Lib. xxiv. 7 (A.U.C. 540, Varr.) *Cum sors prærogativæ Aniensi juniorum exisset eaque T. Oticilium, M. Æmilium Regillum consules diceret, tum Q. Fabius silentio facto tali oratione est usus.* His object was to dissuade the people from electing Oticilius as consul; the concluding words of his speech are: *præco, Aniensem juniorem in suffragium revoca.*

Lib. xxvi. 22 (A.U.C. 544.) When the *Prærogativa Veturia juniorum* was declared as consuls T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Oticilius, and when Manlius had spoken in opposition to this, that same body, the *centuria juniorum*, having deliberated with the *Veturia seniorum*, nominated M. Marcellus, and M. Valerius consuls, and then, "*auctoritatem prærogativæ omnes centuriæ secutæ sunt.*"

Lib. xxvii. 6, (A.U.C. 545.) *Galeria juniorum, quæ sorte prærogativa erat, Q. Fulvium et Q. Fabium consules dixerat, eodemque jure vocatæ*

¹ In *Comment. de comitiis Romanorum centuriatis*, Monasterii, 1833,

² *Epist. ad Steinackerum.*

(from the preceding passage, 26, 22, understand *centuriæ jure vocatae*, not *tribus*) *inclinassent, ni tribuni, pl. C. et L. Arennii se interposuissent*, &c. How these passages of Livy are to be harmonized with our theory, we shall see below. Meanwhile, one other passage remains, cited by Hullman,¹ e. g.

Lib. v. 18, (A.U.C. 358.) *Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium Calvum prærogativa tribunum militum (with consular authority) creant,—omnesque deinceps ex collegio ejusdem anni refici apparebat;—qui priusquam renuntiarentur, jure vocatis tribubus permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit.* However, Niebuhr has correctly decided that this passage refers to the *comitia tributa*, not to the *comitia centuriata*.

As to the passage in Cic. *de Leg. Agrar.* 11, 2, "*Me non extrema tribus suffragiorum, sed primi illi vestri concursus, neque singula voces præconum, sed una voce universus populus Romanus consulem declaravit:*" the difficulty has already been fully explained by Sigonius, Turnebus, and Ferratius.

Some other passages are brought forward by those who attribute important influence to the tribes in the *comitia centuriata*; yet these passages explain the difficulty of the matter no otherwise than by supposing, contrary to the testimony of all antiquity, that the centuries were at one time 70, then 322, then again 350 in number, while we know they always amounted to 193; or the passages refer to the *comitia tributa*, as that in the *Orat. pro Plancio*, c. 20; or to the *convass* for the consulship (which was conducted *tributum* not *centuriatum*) not to the actual *comitia* as Q. Cic. *Petit. Cons.* 8, "*Qui apud TRIBULES suos plurimum gratia possunt, tui studiosos in centuriis habebis.*" In the statement given by the Pseudo-Asconius, *ad Verr.* Act. 1, 9: "*prærogativæ tribus sunt, quæ primæ suffragium ferunt, ante jure vocatas,*" &c. a grammarian of the third or fourth century after Christ has plainly confounded the *prærogative* centuries with the *tribes*.

We think the whole matter should be thus explained. At some period unknown to us; perhaps after A.U.C. 533, from which time the tribes always numbered 35—certainly before 540, to which year the passage above cited from Livy refers (24, 7.)—the ancient form of the *comitia centuriata* was wholly changed, the *classes* only being nominally preserved, and the number (193) of the centuries, as established by Servius Tullius.

Now as Boner has fully shown, the first class contained 70 centuries, i. e. two centuries in every tribe, one of *juniores*, the other of *seniores*. These 70 centuries, with the addition of 12 centuries of knights, and of the *sex suffragia*,² and one century of carpenters (which was merely added lest the lower class should suppose they had no share in the election whatever), made up the whole strength and vital essence of the *comitia*. For if to these 89 centuries were added only 8 centuries of the second class, an absolute majority, numbering 97 centuries, was made up against 96. Of the arrangement of the other classes nothing is certainly known, but we may conjecture they were arranged in either of the following ways:—

¹ Cic. *de Rep.* ii. § 22, Donys. Hal. iv. 17.

² Sex suffragia appellantur in equitum centuriis, quæ sunt adjectæ ei numero centuriarum, quas Priscus Tarquinius rex constituit. — FESTUS.

I.

a
is. { 12 centuriæ equitum.
35 centuriæ juniorum.
35 centuriæ seniorum.
6 suffragia.

Merely for form's sake, to these was added the century of carpenters, taken from some lower class, either third or fourth.

ada { 35 centuriæ juniorum.
is. { 35 centuriæ seniorum.
(two in each of the 35 tribes.)

a
is. { 35 centuriæ, no deduction being made between juniores and seniores; (one century in each of the tribes.)

193 centuriæ.

II.

12 centuriæ equitum.
35 centuriæ juniorum.
35 centuriæ seniorum.
6 suffragia.

35 centuries, without any distinction being made between *seniores* and *juniores*, (i. e. one century from each of the tribes.)

35 centuries, as above.

Quarta }
Classis. } 35 centuries, as above.

193 centuriæ.

this arrangement the fourth
fifth classes had no share.

In this arrangement the fifth
class had no share.

we must particularly remember, that seeing no tribute was paid to public treasury by Roman citizens after the year 587, and the tactics of war were changed, the classification of the last three was of comparatively little importance, since they never were called to give their votes at the election of the three more important magistracies. They had their proper influence, however, in *comitia tributa*, in which the lower magistrates were elected.

See that in this place, the greatest difficulty will arise from the uncertainty, whether there were two centuries of the first class in the *city tribes*; yet it is probable that in later times, not only hand-*men*, workmen, and *libertini* were enrolled in these tribes, but among them men who were worth an estate of 100,000lbs of brass. The testimony of Livy, we know that in the year A.U.C. 577, a very considerable number of *allies*, *Latini nominis*, counted in the census at Rome, removed thither and became Roman citizens (*cives*). These have been enrolled among the city tribes. These eight centuries, however, had little weight in opposition to the number of centuries of the first class from all the other tribes.

From this classification, however, it will appear that there is an extraordinary agreement between the passages of Cicero, *Phil.* ii. 2, and *Rep.* ii. 22. First of all, the century called *prærogativa* was chosen by lot, from all the 70 centuries of the first class. This allot-

82 centuries. The votes of all these being examined, again proclaims who had the majority (*renuntiatur*). Then for more than anything else, the *sex suffragia* were usually summoned. The *sex suffragia*, held a middle place between the first and second and were summoned separately into the ovile. The named consul had 89 votes, (i. e. one from the *prærogative* centuries of first class, and six from the *sex suffragia*). His wanting to form an absolute majority of the whole population 97 centuries against 76. And so the second class was the third ovile. The votes of this class being examined, the result was announced, nor was there any occasion to proceed further.

In interpreting the words, *deinde ita, ut assolet suffragia feruntur, diribuntur*, the words *ut assolet* are useless, and *renuntiatur* after *vocantur* must be erased.

The reading *deinde, ut assolet, suffragatum secunda classis* sufficiently refuted in my larger edition.²

¹ Some suppose that first an allotment was held to select should be the *prærogative* tribe, and that then out of it selected by lot a *prærogative* century.

² For brevity Cicero omits the word *sex* before *suffragia* does not supply *renuntiatur*, at the third or fourth stage of proceedings. He was speaking of matters familiar to all.

³ I here repeat Orelli's note. "*Sed suffragari aliud est suffragia ferre; est 'gratia adjuvare et commendare,' etiam quem pro contraria sententia afferunt, pro Murena, § 71, et ibi observat Mathiæ. Nec magno opere placere poterat, quum facillima sit ellipsis: suffragia, acil. feruntur.*"

HISTORICAL INDEX.

A.

Absyrtus (Apsyrtus, "Αψυρτος), son of Æetes, king of Colchis, and brother of Medea. His sister, when accompanying Jason, who was bearing off the golden fleece, is fabled by the poets to have put to death the young prince, and to have scattered his limbs along the route which her father would take in pursuing her. The stratagem succeeded, and Æetes stopped to collect the mangled remains of his son, thus enabling his daughter and Jason to make their escape. OVID, *Trist.* 3, 9.—JENEO. *Med.* 963.—LUCAN, *Phars.* 3, 190. The scene of this act was Ioni, (from ἰόνω.)

Æmilius, Paullus. Vid. Paullus.

Æmilius, Scaurus. Vid. Scaurus.

Afrānius, a celebrated Roman consul, A.U.C. 694, B.C. 60, and one of Pompey's lieutenants, in the war against Sertorius and Mithridates. After the defeat at Pharsalia, he crossed into Africa, and fought at the battle of Thapsus. Being taken prisoner along with Faustus Sylla, in the rout that ensued of the Pompeian army, he was put to death along with that individual by order of Cæsar. SUET. *Vit. Jul.* 75.—CÆS. *B. Afric.* 95.—DIO CASS. 43, 12.—OROS. 6, 16.

Ahala, Caius Servilius, master of the horse to the dictator Cincinnatus. Spurius Melius, when accused of aspiring to regal power, having refused to appear before the dictator Ahala, who bore the summons to him, slew him in the very midst of the assembled people whom he was endeavouring to excite in his behalf. The dictator commended the act. Ahala was afterwards impeached, and escaped condemnation only by voluntary exile. There is a great variation, as regards the prænomen of this individual in the MSS. and the editions of Cicero. In the first oration against Catiline, c. 1, he is called, in the common text, *Quintus*, where Muretus and Pighius give the true reading *Caius*, which Ernesti adopts. In the oration *Pro Domo*, c. 32, he is styled, on the other hand, *Marcus Servilius Ahala*.

Antiōchus, surnamed the Great, king of Syria, and the third of the name. He came in collision with the Romans, on attempting to reduce under his sway the cities of the Thracian Chersonese. These cities implored the protection of the Romans, who sent deputies to Antiochus, commanding him to give up the conquests he had made in this quarter. Antiochus, urged on by Hannibal, to whom he had given an asylum in his dominions in 195, B.C., paid no regard to these orders, and became, in consequence, involved in war with the republic. Neglecting, however, to follow the plan of operations marked out for him by Hannibal, who urged him to carry the war into Italy, he soon experienced the

fatal effects of his error. Acilius Glabrio defeated him at Thermopylae, B.C. 191, and compelled him to flee into Asia; and Scipio Asiaticus gained a decisive victory over him at Magnesia in the latter country, B.C. 190. Compelled to sue for peace, he only obtained it on very hard conditions, B.C. 188. The Romans made the range of Mount Taurus the limit of his power on the side of Lower Asia, and reduced to the form of provinces all the countries which he had possessed on this side of the mountains just mentioned. They obliged him also to stipulate for the payment of a tribute of fifteen thousand Euboic talents in twelve years. As his treasury could not support this heavy tax, he resolved, in order to replenish his resources, to pillage the temple of Belus, in Elymaïs, but the inhabitants of this country, irritated at the sacrilegious attempt, slew him with his followers, B.C. 187. He had reigned thirty-six years. JUSTIN, 31, 32.—FLORUS, 2, 1.—LIV. 34, 59.

Antōnius, Caius, son of M. Antonius the orator, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir. He was originally in habits of very great intimacy with Catiline, and the arrangement was, that these two should stand for the consulship, and, if they succeeded, commence, while in this high office, their plans of revolution. Cicero defeated this scheme, and being elected consul, with Antonius for his colleague, succeeded in detaching the other from the conspiracy, and from every other design formed against the state. He effected this desirable object by yielding to Antonius the rich province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his own lot. After the conspiracy was crushed, Antonius went to his province of Macedonia, where he continued for two years; but, on his return to Rome, he was brought to trial, and banished, B.C. 59, for having been guilty of extortion, and having made war beyond the limits of his province. He was a man of very dissolute habits, and, before he obtained the consulship, had been expelled by the censors from the senate for immoral conduct, B.C. 70. SALLUST, *B. C.* 26.—LIV. *Epit.* 103.—CIC. *in Vat.* 11.—*Id. pro Cæl.* 31.

Antōnius, Marcus, a celebrated Roman orator, grandfather of the triumvir. Born B.C. 143. After having been prætor, and having, during his prætorship, obtained a victory over the pirates of Cilicia, he was raised to the consulship. A.U.C. 655, B.C. 99. He is more eminent, however, in Roman history, as an orator than a statesman. He was the most employed patron of his time; and, of all his contemporaries, was chiefly courted by clients, as he was ever willing to undertake any cause which was proposed to him. He possessed a ready memory, and a remarkable talent of introducing every thing where it could be placed with most effect. He had a frankness of manner, which precluded any suspicion of artifice, and gave to all his orations an appearance of being the unpremeditated effusions of an honest heart. But though there was no apparent preparation in his speeches, he always spoke so well, that the judges were never sufficiently prepared against the effects of his eloquence. His language was not perfectly pure, nor of a constantly sustained elegance, but it was of a solid and judicious character, well adapted to his purpose. His gesture, too, was appropriate; his voice strong and durable, though naturally hoarse; but even this defect he turned to advantage, by frequently and easily adopting a mournful and querulous tone, which, in criminal cases, excited compassion, and more readily gained the belief of his judges. He left, however, as we are in-

ned by Cicero, hardly any orations behind him, having resolved not to publish any of his pleadings, lest he should be convicted of maintaining in one cause something that was inconsistent with what he alleged in another. During the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, Antonius declared for the latter, and was in consequence proscribed by Marius. His place of concealment having been discovered through the indiscretion of a friend, a party of soldiers were sent to put him to death. The eloquent appeal of the orator, however, checked their murderous purpose, and drew tears from their eyes, when Antonius, their leader, who had remained without, impatient at their delay, was compelled to enter the place himself, and despatch Antonius with his own sword. DUNLOP'S *Hist. Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 211. He is made one of the speakers in Cicero's *Treatise de Oratore*.—CIC. *de Orat.* 2, 2.—*Id. Brut.*—*Id. de Orat.* 3, 3.—VAL. MAX. 7, 3.

Antonius, Marcus, surnamed *Crēticus*, son of Antonius the orator, and member of the triumvir. Having obtained the prætorship, A.U.C. 678, through the interest of the consul Cotta, and the faction of Cethegus, was charged with the war against the pirates. He pillaged, however, the provinces which had been entrusted to his defence, and having advanced towards Crete, was defeated in an engagement off that island. The appellation of Creticus was given him from this circumstance, as a mark of derision. He is said to have died of chagrin at his defeat. PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* 3, 7.—LIV. *Epit.* 99.—CIC. *in Verr.* 2, 3.—*Id. in Verr.* 3, 91.

Archias, Aulus Licinius, a Greek poet, born at Antioch in Syria about 120, and better known by the discourse which Cicero pronounced in his favour, than by any productions of his own. He came to Rome in early age, and passed the greater part of his life there, teaching Greek language and literature, and giving instruction particularly in the department of poetical composition. Among his pupils was Cicero, who has returned the favour by transmitting the name of his preceptor to posterity. Archias lived on terms of great intimacy with several distinguished Roman families, and accompanied the celebrated Lucullus in his expedition against Mithridates, and also in his travels through Asia, Greece, and Sicily. It was during his visit to Magna Græcia, in company with this illustrious patron, that he obtained the rights of citizenship at Heraclea in Lucania, which led subsequently to procuring the same privilege at Rome. This latter point, however, having been contested by a certain individual named Grattius, led to the delivery of the celebrated oration in his favour, by his old pupil, Cicero. His works of Archias are lost, except some epigrams in the *Anthology*. While still quite young, he composed a poem on the Cimbrian war, which gained for him the favour of Marius, who was in general but little alive to the charms of poetic composition. At a later period of life the Mithridatic war became a theme for his Muse. In a third poem he gave a prophetic interpretation to a circumstance which had happened to the infant Roscius; and Cicero speaks also of a poem which he had commenced on the subject of his consulship. The *Anthology* contains thirty-five epigrams under the name of Archias, but some of them are attributed by the commentators to a certain Archias of Cardonia, or another of the same name, a native of Byzantium; others are ascribed to Archias the grammarian, or the younger. Hence it is probable that very few, if any, of them are by Archias of Antioch.

CIC. *pro Arch.*—*Id. de Divin.* c. 36.—JACOBS, *ad Anthol. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 92.—SCHOELL, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 43.

Ariobarzānes, king of Cappadocia, and the first of the name, styled Philo-Romæus. He ascended the throne under the protection of the Romans, about B.C. 91, after the expulsion of the false Ariarathes. Mithridates and Tigranes united against him, and drove him twice from his kingdom; but he was as often restored, once by Sylla, again by Pompey, the latter of whom added to his dominions Sophene, a province of Armenia. Ariobarzanes abdicated in favour of his son, the second of the name. JUSTIN, 38, 2.—APPIAN, *R. S.* 48.—*Id. B. M.* 10, *seqq.*

Aristôtêles, a celebrated philosopher, born at Stagyræ, B.C. 384. Cicero alludes to him in the oration for Murena, as being one of those philosophers from whose writings he had imbibed principles of an opposite nature to those which influenced the conduct of the rigid and stoical Cato. Cicero, though particularly attached to the new Academy, was free from the exclusive spirit of sectarism, and inclined to select whatever he found valuable in the doctrines of the different schools. KUHNER, *Cic. in Phil. Merita*, p. 74, *seqq.*

Attius, less correctly written *Accius*, an early Latin tragic poet, born A.U.C. 584. He pursued the career opened by Livius, Ennius, and Pacuvius, and the ancients give the titles of a large number of tragedies which he had composed, among which was a national piece entitled Brutus. Velleius Paterculus says, that Attius deserved to be ranked among the Grecian poets, in point of talent. Horace also ascribes to him elevation of manner, by which is probably meant sublimity both of sentiment and expression. Attius was held in high estimation by his countrymen. The few fragments, however, that we have of this poet, do not enable us to form any decisive opinion on his merits. BAEHR, *Gesh. Rom. Lit.* p. 79.—VELL. *Paterc.* 1, 17.—*Id.* 2, 9.—HORAT. *Epist.* 2, 1, 55.

Aurēlia Orestilla, a female of great beauty, but of very corrupt principles. Catiline offered her his hand in marriage, which she refused to accept, because he had a son by a former marriage, arrived at man's estate. To remove this obstacle Catiline put his son to death by administering poison. VAL. MAX. 9, 1, 9.—SALLUST, *B. C.* 15.

B.

Brūtus, Dēcimus Jūnius, the colleague of Africanus Minor in the consulship, A.U.C. 615. He distinguished himself in Spain, and obtained a triumph for his successes over the Gallæci. Cicero speaks of his adorning the monuments and temples erected by him, with the verses of the poet Attius. Velleius Paterculus (2, 5) calls him Aulus, in place of Decimus, but the true reading appears in later editions. CIC. *pro Balb.* 17.—SIGON. *Fast. Cons.* p. 339, ed Oxon.—CIC. *pro Arch.* 9.

C.

Cæsar, Caius Julius, son of Caius Cæsar and of Aurelia, the daughter of Cotta. He was born in the sixth consulship of Marius, B.C. 99. When only in his seventeenth year he obtained the office of Flamen

ialis, or High Priest of Jupiter. His marriage with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, excited against him the hatred of Sylla, whose suspicion he had previously incurred from his aunt Julia's being the wife of Marius. He with difficulty escaped being put to death, among the number of the proscribed, and it was only at the intercession of the Vestal virgins, and in consequence of the entreaties of his relations, that Sylla spared his life. The latter, however, had the discernment to behold in him, even when a mere youth, the germs of future talent and ambition; and when he was asked by his friends why he was so anxious to put a mere boy to death, his answer was, "In that boy I see many Mariuses." Of the eventful life of this eminent Roman our limits forbid even any thing like a rapid sketch. His various successes are touched upon by Cicero in the oration for Marcellus, but a full account of his numerous conflicts, and of the remarkable events which have rendered his name so conspicuous in history, will be found in the pages of Plutarch. It will only be necessary here to speak of Cæsar as supposed to be connected with the conspiracy of Catiline. His principal aim, in the accomplishment of his ambitious schemes, was to gain the favour of the populace, and weaken the power of the nobility. This brought him at once in contact with Catiline, and, in favouring the views of that daring conspirator, his object was thought to be to destroy by their means the liberty of his country, and then to crush the conspirators themselves, and make himself master of Rome. The opinion which he gave in the senate, with respect to the punishment of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other accomplices of Catiline; the threatening conduct of the Roman equites, who guarded the temple where the senate met; and his being arraigned as an associate in the conspiracy before the senate itself, all tended to show the opinion of the public respecting his secret movements. But see Introduction to *Cat.* 1. MALLUST, *B. C.* 49, *seqq.*—PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* 20.—*Id. Vit. Cæs.* 7, *seqq.*

Cæsar, Lucius Julius, enjoyed the consulship with C. Figulus, A.U.C. 89. His sister was married to Lentulus the accomplice of Catiline, notwithstanding which relationship he gave his opinion in the senate, in favour of that individual's being put to death. He was uncle also to Mark Antony the triumvir, the latter being his sister's son by a former marriage, previous to her union with Lentulus. *Cic. Or. in Nat.* 4. 6.—*Pro Muren.* 34.—*Ep. ad Fam.* 10, 28.

Cæsar, Lucius, a young Roman, who, though related to Julius Cæsar, attached himself nevertheless to the party of Pompey. He was the son of Lucius Cæsar, who had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in the Gallic war. Cicero calls him in one of his letters to Atticus, "not a man, but an untied broom," intending by this proverbial form of expression to indicate a person of no value whatever. When Cæsar was marching toward Utica after the battle of Thapsus, he surrendered himself to that commander, and, according to the author of the Commentaries on the African war, obtained his life by his own earnest entreaties. According to Dio Cassius, however, he was put to death. *Cæs. Bell. Civ.* 1, 8.—*Bell. Afric.* 89.—DIO CASS. 43, 12.—SÜETON. *Vit. Jul.* 75, and CRUSIUS, *ad loc.*

Cæpio, Publius Gabinus, a Roman of equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls Cimber. He appears to have been one of the most worthless of

the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punishment along with Lentulus and the rest. SALLUST, *B. C.* 55.

Căpito, *Publius Gabinus*, a Roman prætor, A.U.C. 664, the year when Archias the poet was registered. After returning from his government of Achaia, he was accused of extortion by Lucius Piso, and condemned; and hence his disgraceful fall destroyed the credit of his register, which his previous corruption had greatly impaired. *Cic. pro Arch.* 5.—*In Cæcil.* 20.

Carbo, *Caius Papirius*, an eminent Roman orator, contemporary with the Gracchi, and the friend of Tiberius, the elder of the two. He was concerned in some seditious movements the year that Tiberius was slain [i. e. after the death of C. Gracchus], but seems to have changed his sentiments at a subsequent period, [he was one of three commissioners appointed to carry the Agrarian law of Tib. Gracchus into effect,] for we find him, when consul, defending L. Opimius [B.C. 120] before the people, who had slain Caius Gracchus, the brother of his former friend. He is thought to have been concerned in the death of Publius Africanus. Being accused at length by L. Crassus, consul elect, on account of the part he had taken in the sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, he destroyed himself, by swallowing cantharides, in order to escape from the impending trial.—He is spoken of by Cicero, in the oration for Archias, as having proposed in conjunction with Silvanus, a new law respecting the rights of citizenship. *Cic. Brut.* 27, 43.—*Orat.* 1, 34.—*In Verr.* 3, 1.—*Ep. ad Fam.* 9, 21.

Cassius, *Caius*, was consul with M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, and not with Gellius, as Manutius maintains, (*ad Or. pro Rab.* c. 7.) His consulship is to be assigned to A.U.C. 680, the first year of Verres's Sicilian prætorship. He is mentioned by Cicero as having advocated the passing of the Manilian law. *Or. pro L. Manil.* 23.—*Pro Cluent.* 49.—*In Verr.* 1, 23.—*In Verr.* 3, 41.

Cassius, *Lucius*, one of the accomplices of Catiline, and a competitor of Cicero's in suing for the consulship. It is uncertain whether he be the same with the one mentioned in the oration for Cluentius, c. 38.—*Or. in Cat.* 3, 4.

Cătilina, *Lucius Sergius*, a Roman of patrician rank, and the last of the *gens Sergia*. Of his father and grandfather little is known. The former would seem to have been in indigent circumstances, from the language of Quintus Cicero, (*De Pet. Cons.* c. 2,) who speaks of Catiline as having been born amid the poverty of his father. The great grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, or Silo, distinguished himself highly in the second Punic war, and was present in the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, Trasymenus, and Cannæ. Pliny speaks of his exploits in a very animated strain. The cruelty of Catiline's disposition, his undaunted resolution, and the depravity of his morals, fitted him for acting a prominent part in the turbulent and bloody scenes of the period in which he lived. He embraced the interests of Sylla, in whose army he held the office of quæstor. That monster, in his victory, had in Catiline an able coadjutor, whose heart knew no sympathy, and his lewdness no bounds. He rejoiced in the carnage and plunder of the proscribed, gratifying at one time his own private resentments, by bringing his enemies to punishment, and executing at another the bloody mandates of the dictator himself. Many citizens of noble

is said to have fallen by his hands, and, according to Plutarch, assassinated his own brother, during the civil war, and now, to save himself from prosecution, persuaded Sylla to put him down as he proscribed, as a person still alive. He murdered, too, with his own hands, his sister's husband, a Roman knight of a mild and amiable character. One of the most horrid actions, however, of which he was guilty, would seem to have been the killing of M. Marinus, a near relation of the celebrated Marius. Sylla had put the name of this individual on the list of the proscribed; whereupon he entered the dwelling of the unfortunate man, exhausted upon him all the refinements of cruelty and insult, and having at last put an end to his existence, carried his bloody head in triumph through the streets of Rome, and brought it to Sylla, as he sat on his throne in the forum. When this was done, the murderer washed his hands in the lustral water at the door of Apollo's temple, which stood in the immediate vicinity. Catiline was peculiarly dangerous and formidable as his power of dissimulation enabled him to throw a veil over his vices. Such was his art, that while he was poisoning the minds of the Roman youth, he gained the friendship and esteem of the young Catulus. The close of his career is detailed in the pages of Plutarch. Being driven from the city by the eloquence of Cicero, he gathered himself with a body of followers to the camp of Manlius in the mountains, and in the action which ensued with the forces of the republic, his movements had cut him off from all communication with lower Italy. As another army prevented his passage into Cisalpine Gaul, he was finally fighting near the Etrurian town of Pistoria. *PLIN. H. N. LUT. Vit. Syll. c. 32.—Id. Vit. Cic. c. 10,—SALLUST, B. C.*

7.
Marcus Porcius, surnamed, for distinction's sake, "the Elder," "the Censor," was born B.C. 234, at Tusculum, of a family in which he was remarkable. After having passed his earlier years in the country, he came to Rome, through the persuasions of Valerius, a nobleman who had an estate contiguous to Cato's. Valerius introduced him to Cato through his domestics. They told him that he should go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, to defend the causes of such as applied to him; that thence he should return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock if it was winter, and if it was summer, he would labour along with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and partake of their bread and salt. At Rome, Cato's pleadings soon procured him friends and influence; and the interest of Valerius likewise greatly assisted him, so that he was at first appointed tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards quaestor. Among all the more aged senators he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus. He was at first quaestor in Africa, under Scipio Africanus, and afterward prætor in the island of Sardinia, which he brought under the Roman sway. Being elected to the consulship along with his early friend and patron Valerius Flaccus, he was sent for his province the government of Hispania Citerior, where he signalized himself, and for his successes in which country he was honoured with a triumph. He was chosen censor, with Valerius, in 184 for his colleague, B.C. 184, and discharged the duties of the office with such inflexible severity, as to obtain from it one

of the titles usually appended to his name. Cato occupies a conspicuous place in Roman history for his obstinate perseverance in insisting on the destruction of Carthage, and is said to have ended every speech, no matter what the subject was, or with what business the senate might be engaged, by repeating the well known phrase, "*Censeo quoque Carthaginem esse delendum*," or, as it is more commonly given, "*Delenda est Carthago*." His advice was at last followed, but the tide of corruption that flowed in upon Rome, when the fear of her great rival was at an end, shows plainly how feeble, in this respect, were Cato's claims to political sagacity. This distinguished man ended his days, B.C. 149, at the age of 85, and at the very period when the third Punic war had broken out, which ended in the fulfilment of his long-cherished wish concerning Carthage. As a magistrate, a general, a lawyer, and a public speaker, Cato the censor merits a high degree of reputation. His rigour and austerity, brought to bear with no less strictness on his own life than on that of others, obtained for him from his countrymen a degree of consideration fully equal to that which he had acquired by the exercise of his talents. He was the inveterate and sworn foe of luxury, and so keenly did he pursue it under all the various shapes which it assumed, as even to cut off the pipes by which private individuals conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and to demolish all the buildings that projected into the streets. He is well known also for his strenuous opposition to the introduction of the fine arts and the sciences into the capital of Italy, through fear lest the refinements of Greece and Asia might corrupt the principles of his countrymen. He pressed also the departure of the Greek philosophers who had come to Rome as ambassadors from Athens, for he dreaded lest the habit of speaking on both sides of a question, on which Carneades, one of the number, particularly prided himself, might convert the Roman youth into mere sophists, and render them indifferent to glory and virtue. And yet he himself took up the study of the Greek language at an advanced period of life. Cato, by the universal consent of his contemporaries, passed for the best farmer of his age, and was held unrivalled for the skill and success of his agricultural operations. He is the author of a work on husbandry, entitled, "*De Re Rustica*," which has come down to our times, though in a somewhat imperfect state, since Pliny and other writers allude to subjects as treated of by Cato, and to opinions as delivered by him in this book, which are nowhere to be found in any part of the work as we now have it. In its present state, it resembles merely the loose and unconnected journal of a plain farmer, expressed with rude, sometimes with almost oracular, brevity. It consists solely of the driest rules of agriculture, and some receipts for making various kinds of cakes and wines. The most remarkable feature in the work, however, is its total want of arrangement. Cato left also one hundred and fifty orations, which were existing in Cicero's time, though much neglected. They are now lost. Cicero admits that, if number and cadence, and an easier turn of expression were given to his sentences, there would be few who could claim the preference to Cato. He wrote also a book on Military Discipline, a good deal of which has been incorporated into the work of Vegetius. His principal production, however, was an historical

treatise in seven books, entitled. "*De Originibus.*" Its object was to discuss and settle the history and antiquities of the Roman people, with a view to counteract the influence of the Greek taste, introduced by the Scipios. Only fragments of it remain. He wrote also on Orators and on the Medical Art. The former of these productions was a treatise addressed to his son, and entitled, "*De Oratore ad Filium.*" The work on medicine would appear to have been a singular affair; and his great object was to decry the compound drugs of the Greek physicians, whom he accuses of having formed a league to poison all the barbarians, among whom they classed the Romans. Cato finding that their patients lived, notwithstanding this detestable conspiracy, began to regard the Greek practitioners as impious sorcerers, who counteracted the course of nature, and restored dying men to life by means of unholy charms; and he therefore advised his countrymen to remain steadfast, not only by their old Roman principles and manners, but also by the venerable unguents and salubrious balsams, which had come down to them from the wisdom of their grandmothers. Such as they were, Cato's old medical saws continued long in repute at Rome. Aulus Gellius mentions Cato's "*Libri Questionum Epistolicarum,*" and Cicero his "*Apophthegmata,*" (*De Off.* 1, 29,) which was probably the first example of that class of works which, under the appellation of *Ana*, became so fashionable and prevalent in France.—Cato wrote also a work, entitled, "*Carmen de Moribus.*" This, however, was not written in verse, as might be supposed from the title. Precepts, imprecations, and prayers, or any set formula whatever, were called *Carmina*. DUNLOP'S *Roman Lit.* vol. ii. p. 12, *seqq.*

Cato, Marcus Porcius, afterwards surnamed in history, *Uticensis*, on account of his having destroyed himself at Utica, was the great grandson of Cato the censor. His parents died when he was very young, and he was educated under the roof of his mother's brother, Livius Drusus. He was austere in his morals, a strict follower of the tenets of the Stoic sect, and so great a lover of what was virtuous and right, as to pursue every object of such a nature with undeviating steadiness, regardless of the difficulties which he might have to encounter, or of the dangers to which he might be exposed. Cato exerted himself, though in vain, to stem the torrent of Roman luxury and corruption, and in his own person he copied the simplicity of earlier days. He often appeared barefooted in public, and never travelled but on foot. In whatever office he was employed, he always reformed its abuses, and restored the ancient regulations. To the qualities of a virtuous man, and the rectitude of a stern patriot, Cato added the intrepidity of a brave soldier and the talents of an able general. In the affair of the conspiracy of Catiline, he gave Cicero his constant and vigorous support, and it was chiefly through his efforts, in opposition to those of Cæsar, that the accomplices of Catiline were capitally punished. This virtuous Roman put an end to his existence at Utica, after the defeat of Juba and Scipio by Cæsar in the battle of Thapsus. PLUT. *Vit. Cat. Mir.*

Catulus, Quintus Lutatius, a noble Roman, conspicuous for both his love of country and private virtues. He was the colleague of Marius, in the consulship, when the Cimbri and Teutones came down upon the south of Europe, and he was engaged with that commander in the

sanguinary conflict at the Raudii Campi, where the Cimbri were so signally defeated by the Romans. We afterwards find him censor with Crassus : and, subsequently to this, opposing the attempt of Crassus to make Egypt tributary. Catulus was in politics on the aristocratic side, and was of course a warm opponent of Julius Cæsar. He was competitor also with the latter for the office of pontifex, but was unsuccessful in his application. The character of Catulus stood deservedly high. A stranger to flattery and adulation, he reproved, with equal openness, the levity of the multitude, and the misconduct of the senate. After a long life of honourable usefulness, Catulus was compelled to put an end to his days, by order of the sanguinary Marius. In order to effect this, he shut himself up in a narrow chamber, newly plastered, and suffocated himself by the vapour produced by a large fire.

Catulus, Quintus Lutatius, son of the preceding. He obtained the consulship along with Lepidus, B.C. 78, and opposed the views of his colleague, who was in favour of rescinding the acts of Sylla. He dedicated the new capitol, the old one having been destroyed by fire. Catulus was the first that pronounced Cicero "the father of his country," and it was he who accused Cæsar of participation in the conspiracy of Catiline. This is also the Catulus that opposed the passing of the Manilian law, and of whom Plutarch relates the anecdote which we have mentioned under note 9, page 265. His character for patriotism and integrity stood as high as his father's had.

Cethegus, Caius Cornelius, a Roman of corrupt morals and turbulent character. He filled at one time the office of tribune, and was also a warm partisan of Sylla, after having originally sided with Marius. Subsequently, however, losing the influence which he had possessed, he joined in the conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero informs us, that in rashness and daring he surpassed Catiline himself, and almost equalled him in strength of body, love of arms, and dignity of birth. In arranging the details of the plot, the conspirators assigned to Cethegus the task of posting himself at the door of Cicero's house, and, after he had forced an entrance, of murdering that illustrious Roman. The vigilance of Cicero frustrated this design. Cethegus was apprehended along with Lentulus and the rest, and strangled in prison.

Cicero, Quintus Tullius, brother of the orator. He attained to the dignity of prætor, A.U.C. 693, and afterwards held a government in Asia, as pro-prætor, for four years. Quintus returned to Rome at the moment when his brother was driven into exile ; and for some time after was chiefly employed in exerting himself to obtain his recall. Subsequently to this, we find him serving as one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul, and displaying much courage and ability on many trying and important occasions. During the civil war, however, he abandoned the side of Cæsar, and espoused the party of Pompey. But, after the battle of Pharsalia, he followed Cæsar into Asia, in order to obtain a pardon ; and that he might the more easily accomplish this, he threw all the blame of his defection upon his brother the orator. For this purpose, he made it a point in all his letters and remarks to Cæsar's friends, to rail at the orator in a most unfeeling and disgraceful manner. At a subsequent period he was proscribed by the triumvirate, and concealed himself at Rome, but was discovered and put to death

together with his son. We have remaining, at the present day, the correspondence of Cicero, the orator, with his brother Quintus. The first letter in the collection is one of the noblest productions of the kind that has ever been penned. It is addressed to Quintus on occasion of his government in Asia being prolonged for a third year. Availing himself of the right, of an elder brother, as well as of the authority derived from his superior dignity and talents, Cicero counsels and exhorts his brother concerning the due administration of his province, particularly with regard to the choice of his subordinate officers, and the degree of trust to be reposed in them. He earnestly reproves him, but with much fraternal tenderness and affection, for his proneness to resentment; and he concludes with a beautiful exhortation, to strive in all respects to merit the praise of his contemporaries, and to bequeath to posterity an untainted name. Along with Cicero's letters to Quintus there is usually printed an epistle or memoir, which the latter addressed to his brother when he stood candidate for the consulship, and which is entitled "*De Petitione Consulatus*." It gives advice with regard to the measures he should pursue to attain his object, particularly inculcating the best means to gain private friends and acquire general popularity. But though professedly drawn up merely for the use of his brother Marcus, it appears to have been intended by the author as a guide or manual, for all who might be placed in similar circumstances. It is written with considerable elegance, and great purity of style, and forms an important document for the history of the Roman republic, as it affords us a clearer insight than we can derive from any other work now extant, into the intrigues resorted to by the heads of parties to gain the suffrages of the people. We have also remaining a small poem by Quintus Cicero, in twenty-one verses, on the signs of the zodiac, and two epigrams preserved in Burmann's anthology. He is said to have composed tragedies, which are now lost.

Cinna, Lucius Cornélius, a Roman nobleman of considerable influence and personal bravery. He was consul with Cn. Octavius, B.C. 91, but was deprived by his colleague of his consular authority, and driven by him out of the city, because he had by force procured the enactment of several injurious laws. Obtaining possession of the army of Appius Claudius, he declared war on the government, and called to his assistance Marius and other exiles from Africa. Cinna and Marius eventually triumphed, Rome opened her gates, and the most cruel excesses were committed by the victors. All the leading men of the party of Sylla were put to death, and their property confiscated. Cinna and Marius then declared themselves consuls, and the latter died on the very first day of his entering upon office. L. Valerius Flaccus succeeded him. In his third and fourth consulships, Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo for his colleague, with whom he made preparations for a war against Sylla, who was then engaged in the operations against Mithridates. During the fourth consulship of Cinna, Julius Cæsar married his daughter Cornelia. Cinna eventually, after raising a powerful armament against Sylla, was slain by a centurion of his own army, a rumour having been spread among his soldiers that he had put Pompey, then quite a young man, to death. Haughty, violent, always eager for vengeance, addicted to debauchery, precipitate in his designs, but nevertheless pursuing them with courage, Cinna had

passions that caused him to aspire to tyranny, and but few of those talents that would otherwise have led to it.

Claudius, Appius, called for distinction's sake "*Minor*," or "the younger," having a brother of the same name, who was called, for a similar reason, "*Major*," or, "the elder." He was prætor in the year when Archias was registered, and afterwards consul with P. Servilius Isauricus. *Cic. pro Arch.* 5.

Clodius, Publius, a Roman of noble birth, but infamous for the corruption of his morals. Among other offences, he is said to have violated the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, by penetrating into the house of Cæsar, during their celebration, disguised in female attire. He was led to the commission of this act by a guilty attachment for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. Being tried for this impiety, he managed to escape by corrupting the judges. Clodius caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family, for the purpose of being elected tribune of the commons, and while holding this office had a number of laws passed, favourable to the people, but contrary to the principles of the Roman constitution. He caused the command of an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to be given to Cato, whom he detested, in the hope that he might fail in this enterprise, and lose in consequence the credit and influence which he enjoyed at Rome. He cherished also a bitter hatred against Cicero, and procured his banishment from Italy, on the ground that he had violated the laws in the punishment inflicted upon the accomplices of Catiline. He even caused his house to be demolished, and put up his effects at auction, but no one would purchase them. Clodius was eventually assassinated by the retinue of Milo, on an accidental (?) rencontre having taken place between the two, as Milo was journeying towards Lanuvium, his native place, and Clodius was on his way to Rome. *Cic. pro Milone*.

Copārius, Quintus, a native of Terracina, and accomplice in the conspiracy of Catiline. He was preparing to set out for Apulia, to rouse and arm the slaves against the state, at the time the conspiracy was discovered. Having learned that the plot was detected, he fled from Rome, before the officers, sent by the consuls to apprehend him, arrived at his house, but was afterward taken and strangled in prison. *SALLUST, B.C.* 46.

Cotta, Lucius, the colleague of Lucius Torquatus in the consulship. During his magistracy the capitol was struck with lightning, *A.U.C.* 638. *Cic. Or. in Cat.* 3, 8.

Crassus, Lucius Licinius, a celebrated Roman orator, highly commended by Cicero, who has made him one of the principal interlocutors, in his dialogue *De Oratore*. He commenced his oratorical career at the early age of nineteen, when he acquired much reputation by his accusation of Caius Carbo; and he not long afterward greatly heightened his fame, by his defence of the virgin Licinia. Another of the best speeches of Crassus, was that addressed to the people in favour of the law of Servilius Cæpio, restoring in part the judicial power to the senate, of which they had recently been deprived, in order to vest it solely in the equites. But the most splendid of all the appearances of Crassus was the immediate cause of his death, which happened *A.U.C.* 662, a short time before the commencement of the civil wars of Marius and Sylla; and a few days after the period in which he is supposed to

ve borne a part in the dialogue *De Oratore*. The consul Philippus had declared, in one of the assemblies of the people, that some other device must be resorted to, since, with such a senate as then existed, it could no longer direct the affairs of the government. A full senate-house being immediately summoned, Crassus arraigned, in terms of the most glowing eloquence, the conduct of the consul, who, instead of acting as the political parent and guardian of the senate, ought to deprive its members of their ancient inheritance of respect and dignity. Being farther irritated by an attempt on the part of Philippus to force him into compliance with his designs, he exerted on this occasion the utmost effort of his genius and strength; but he returned home with a pleuritic fever, of which he died seven days later. This oration of Crassus, followed as it was by his almost immediate death, made a deep impression on his countrymen; who, long afterward, were wont to repair to the senate-house, for the purpose of swinging the spot where he had last stood, and where he fell, as it may be said, in defence of the privileges of his order. Crassus left hardly any orations behind him, and he died while Cicero was still in his youth; yet that author, having collected the opinions of those who had heard him, speaks with a minute, and apparently perfect, intelligence of his mode of oratory. He was what may be called the most monumental speaker that had hitherto appeared in the Forum. He was master of the most pure and accurate language, and of perfect sequence of expression, without any affectation, or unpleasant appearance of previous study. Great clearness of exposition distinguished his harangues, and while descanting on topics of law or equity, he possessed an inexhaustible fund of argument and illustration. In speaking he showed an uncommon modesty, which went even to the length of bashfulness. This diffidence never entirely forsook him; and, after the practice of a long life at the bar, he was frequently so much intimidated in the exordium of his discourse, that he was observed to grow pale, and to tremble in every part of his frame. Some persons considered Crassus as only equal to Antonius; others preferred him as the more perfect and accomplished orator. Crassus possessed a greater acquaintance with literature, and showed off his formation to the most advantage. His language was indisputably preferable to that of Antony; but the action and gesture of Antony were as incontestably superior to those of Crassus. DUNLOP'S *Roman literature*, vol. ii. p. 215.

Crassus, M. Licinius, a celebrated Roman, surnamed "the Rich," on account of his great opulence. At first he was very circumscribed in his circumstances, but by educating slaves, and selling them for a high price, he soon enriched himself. Crassus distinguished himself in the war against Spartacus, after which he was chosen consul with Pompey, and on laying down the consulship obtained after a short interval the office of censor. His supposed participation in the conspiracy of Catiline was probably without any foundation in truth. What purpose could Crassus, in fact, propose to himself, by entering into a plot to burn a city, in which his own property was so considerable? The enmity which arose between Cicero and Crassus, in consequence of the alleged guilt of the latter, was so bitter, that, according to Plutarch, it could have shown itself by some act of violence on the part of Crassus,

had not his son Publius, who was very intimate with Cicero, prevented him. He even prevailed on his father, eventually, to become reconciled to the orator. Crassus became afterward a member of the first triumvirate; and, obtaining Syria for his province, marched against the Parthians, by whom he was defeated and slain. *PLUT. Vit. Crass.*

Crassus, P. Licinius, held the consulship with Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, A.U.C. 656. He was afterwards censor, A.U.C. 664, along with L. Julius Cæsar, and during his censorship no part of the people were rated. This Crassus was father of the preceding. In an ancient inscription his prænomen is given as Marcus. *ERNESTI, Ind. Hist. s. v.*

Curius, Quintus, a Roman of good family, whose disgraceful and immoral conduct had caused his expulsion from the senate by the censors. He was connected with the conspiracy of Catiline, but divulged the secret to Fulvia, a female of high rank but corrupt principles, with whom he was intimate. Fulvia communicated the danger which threatened the state and the lives of the citizens; and the alarm which this occasioned caused the election of Cicero to the consulship. Cicero subsequently prevailed upon Curius, through the means of Fulvia, to discover to him all the movements of Catiline, and was thus enabled to baffle the schemes of that daring conspirator. In return for these services, rewards were voted him from the public treasury; but Cæsar, whom Curius had named among the conspirators, exerted himself against the fulfilment of the public promise, and the rewards were not given. *PLUT. Vit. Cic. 11.*

D.

Didius, Titus, a Roman, who, although of lowly origin, rose notwithstanding to the highest offices in the state. In his prætorship he triumphed over the Scordisci. He was afterward consul, along with Q. Metellus, A.U.C. 655. *Cic. Or. pro Planc. 25.*

Diogenes, a celebrated philosopher of the Cynic sect, born in the third year of the ninety-first Olympiad, at Sinope, a city of Pontus. He was a pupil of Antisthenes, and perfectly adopted the principles and character of his master. Renouncing every other object of ambition, he determined to distinguish himself by his contempt of riches and honours, and by his indignation against luxury. He wore a coarse cloak; carried a wallet and a staff; made the porticoes and other public places his habitation, and depended upon casual contributions for his daily bread. He practised the most rigid self-control, and the strictest abstinence, exposing himself to the utmost extremes of heat and cold, and living upon the simplest diet. He died in the 90th year of his age. Diogenes left behind him no system of philosophy. After the example of his master, he was more attentive to practical than theoretical wisdom. *ENFIELD'S Hist. Phil. vol. i. p. 305, seqq.*

Drusus, Marcus Livius, a Roman tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 662, who, among other ordinances, proposed a law that the allied states of Italy should be admitted to the freedom of the city. Drusus was a man of great eloquence, and of the most upright intentions; but endeavouring to reconcile those whose interests were diametrically opposite, he was crushed in the attempt, being assassinated at his own house, by Quintus Varius, as was thought, and as Cicero expressly states, although

ers omit the name. The states of Italy considered his death al of a revolt, and endeavoured to extort by force what they obtain voluntarily. In other words, the Social war arose. ERC. 2, 13, *seqq.*

E.

a native of Rudiaë, in Calabria, who lived from A.U.C. 515 to 100, was generally received the glorious appellation of the Father song. In his early youth he went to Sardinia; and, if Silius may be believed, he served in the Calabrian levies, which, in 538, followed Titus Manlius to the war which he waged in that inst the favourers of the Carthaginian cause. After the termination of the campaign, he continued to live for twelve years in Sardinia, until he was at length brought to Rome by Cato the censor, who, in 511, returned from Sardinia, on returning as quæstor from Africa. At Rome, he educated the patrician youth in Greek, and acquired the friendship of the most illustrious men in the state. Being distinguished as well as in letters, he followed M. Fulvius Nobilior, during his mission to Ætolia in 564; and in 569 he obtained the freedom of the city, through the favour of Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, the son of his patron, Marcus. He was also protected by the elder Africanus, who is said to have been intemperate in drinking, which brought on a disease called *Morbus Articularis*, a disorder resembling the gout, and he died at the age of seventy. A bust of the poet was placed in the family tomb of the Scipios. (?) To judge by the fragments of his works which remain, Ennius greatly surpassed his predecessors, not only in genius, but in the art of versification. By this time, indeed, the models of Greek composition had begun to be studied at Rome. Accordingly, in the works of Ennius, innumerable imitations of Homer and Odyssey. It is, however, the Greek tragic writers whom he chiefly imitated; and indeed it appears from the fragments which remain, that all his plays were rather translations from the Sophocles, on the same subjects which he has chosen, than original comedies. Ennius was also a satirical writer, and the first who introduced this species of composition into Rome. His satires, however, do not appear to have been merely a kind of *cento*, made up from passages of other poems, which by slight alterations, were humorously or ironically applied, and chiefly to the delineation of character. It is much to be regretted, that we possess such scanty fragments of these works, which would have been curious as the first attempts at a species of composition, which was carried to such perfection by succeeding writers, and which has been regarded as almost peculiar to the Romans. But the great work of Ennius, and of which we have still the greatest remains, was his Annals, or metrical chronicles, devoted to the narration of Roman exploits, from the earliest periods to the time of the Istrian war. These annals were written by him in his 67th year. At least Aulus Gellius informs us, on the authority of Varro, that the 18th book was finished by him in his 67th year. We have also of some other works of his. On the whole, the productions of Ennius are rather pleasing and interesting, as the early blossoms of poetry, which afterward opened to such perfection, than

estimable from their intrinsic beauty. DUNLOP'S *Rom. Lit.* vol. i. p. 84, seqq.

F.

Falcidius, Caius, a tribune of the commons, who is mentioned in the oration for the Manilian law, as having been appointed to a lieutenancy the year after he had filled the tribuneship. *Or. pro M. L.* 19.

Flaccus, Lucius, was one of the prætors during the consulship of Cicero, and arrested, by order of the latter, in conjunction with Caius Pomptinus, the retinue of the Allobroges, at the Mulvian bridge. He was also military tribune, under P. Servilius, in Cilicia, and quæstor with M. Piso in Spain. We have an oration remaining, which Cicero delivered in his behalf, when he was accused of extortion in his government of Asia, by D. Lælius. He had obtained this government after going through the quæstorship at home. *Or. pro Flacc.* 1, &c.

Flaccus, Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, who was charged with the execution of the Agrarian law, proposed by the Gracchi, and who seconded the efforts of Tiberius Gracchus, to procure for all the Italians the rights of Roman citizenship. Having been sent against the Gauls, he defeated them and obtained the honours of a triumph. Four years after this, he was cited by the consul Opimius, along with Tiberius Gracchus, to render an account of his conduct. Flaccus refused to answer the summons, but seized on mount Aventine. Opimius attacked him here, and having put to flight his followers, forced him to take refuge in an old and neglected public bath, where he was slain with his eldest son. VELL. PATERC. 2, 7.—PLUT. *Vit. C. Gracch.*

Flamininus, Titus Quintius, a celebrated Roman commander, who obtained the consulship A.U.C. 556, before he was thirty years old. Macedonia and the war with Philip fell to his lot. He defeated the enemy on the banks of the Aous, detached the Achæan league from the party of Philip, and crowned his successes by the victory at Cynoscephalæ, after which the king of Macedon found himself compelled to give freedom to the Greek cities in Europe and Asia. Flamininus announced this intelligence, kept secret till then, to the multitude assembled at the Isthmian games, and it was received with the loudest acclamations. Flamininus respected the laws, and adopted the usages and manners, of the Greeks, and by this wise course of conduct merited the name of their father and liberator. He was afterwards sent as ambassador to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, where Hannibal had taken refuge, with a demand that the latter should be put to death, and his prudence and address contributed not a little to remove from existence a man who had so long been a terror to the Romans. After having held the consular office a second time, Flamininus was found dead in his bed. PLUT. *Vit. Flam.*

Flāvius, Cneius, the son of a freedman, but an artful and eloquent man. Livy calls him Caius Flavius, and makes his father's name to have been Cneius, but Cneius is given as the true prænomen by Drakenborch (*ad Liv.* 9, 46). He was scribe to Appius Cæcus, the ædile, and published for the use of the people, an account of the *dis fasti*, or days on which legal proceedings could be had, which was called from him *Jus Flavianum*. The people in return made him

rule ædile. The mode which he adopted of making the days in question known to all, was to hang up to public view, round the forum, the calendar on white tablets. His elevation was, of course, extremely unpalatable to the patricians, nor did his own behaviour towards them at all tend to diminish this feeling. To the great dis-
 pleasure of the nobles, he performed the dedication of the temple of Concord, and the Pontifex Maximus was compelled to dictate to him the form of words, although he affirmed, that, consistently with the practice of antiquity, no other than a consul, or commander-in-chief, could dedicate a temple. Livy says, that Flavius owed his appointment to the ædileship to a faction composed of the lowest of the people, which had gathered strength during the censorship of Appius Claudius: for Appius was the first who degraded the senate, by electing into it the sons of freedmen; and when he found that no one would follow that election to be valid, and that his conduct in the senate-house had not procured him the influence in the city, which it had been his principal object to attain, he distributed men of the meanest order among the different tribes, and thus corrupted the assemblies both of the forum and Campus Martius. To these men Flavius owed his preferment. Liv. 9, 46.

Fulvia, a Roman female of high rank, but corrupt principles, who gave Cicero secret information of all the movements of Catiline's party. Her informant was Curius. SALLUST, *B. C.* 23.

Fulvius, Marcus. Vide *Nobilior*.

Furius, Lucius, was consul A.U.C. 617, along with Sextus Atilius Curianus. He was distinguished in some degree by a taste for literature, and Cicero remarks of him, "*perbene Latine locutus est, et literarius quam ceteri.*" Brut. 28.

Furius, Publius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, remarkable for his active and daring spirit. He is supposed to be the one to whom Horace alludes under the epithet *Fesulanus*. He fell fighting among the foremost, at the battle of Pistoria, where Catiline was defeated by the forces of the republic. SALLUST, *B. C.* 60.

G.

Gabinus, Aulus, a tribune of the commons, who proposed the law which Pompey was invested with supreme command in the war against the pirates. He appears to have been a man of very corrupt and profligate character. For an account of the provisions of this law, consult note 12, page 243; and for some remarks respecting the private character of Gabinus, note 13, p. 261. Cicero states, that Gabinus was the only one to whom a "*supplicatio*" had not been awarded. Philipp. 14, 8.

Gabinus, Publius, a Roman of equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls a member. This individual appears to have been one of the most worthless among the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punishment with Lentulus and the rest. Or. in Cat. 3, 3.

Gabinus. Vide *Capito*.

Galba, Publius Sulpicius, a Roman senator, who held also at one time the office of Pontifex Maximus. He was a competitor of Cicero for the consulship, but did not succeed. Or. in Verr. 7.

Galba, Servius Sulpicius, was consul along with Marcus Æmilius Scaurus. Cicero speaks highly of his power, as an orator, in arousing and swaying the feelings of his auditors. He was accused by L. Libo, a tribune of the commons, of having cruelly slain a large number of the Lusitani, in his government of Spain, contrary to his own plighted word, and was only acquitted by exciting in his behalf the commiseration of the people. (Consult note 2, p. 454.) He was an ancestor of the emperor Galba. *Cic. de Or.* 2, 65.

Gallus, Caius Acilius, an eminent lawyer, highly praised by Cicero. *Brut.* 23.

Gellius, Lucius, held the censorship A.U.C. 683, along with Cn. Lentulus, who had also been his colleague in the consulship, 681. It was he who declared that a civic crown ought to be voted to Cicero, for his preservation of the republic. *Cic. pro. Cluent.* 42.

Glabrïo, Manius Acilius, held the consulship A.U.C. 684. He was named as the successor of Lucullus, in the government of Bithynia and Pontus, and in the management of the Mithridatic war, but was soon after superseded by Pompey. He appears to have been a person of very little military talent, and not very upright in the discharge of his duties as commander. *Or. pro Man. Leg.* 9.

Glaucia, Caius, a seditious and profligate individual, put to death while holding the prætorship, when Marius and Valerius were consuls. The senate had passed the usual decree, directing the consuls to see that the republic sustained no injury. Saturninus and Glaucia, who were acting in concert, fled into the capitol, with a number of their followers. Here they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. Marius tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail. They no sooner came down into the forum, than they were all put to the sword. Such, at least, is the account of Plutarch. Florus, however, says that the people despatched them with clubs and stones. Cicero indulges in some degree of oratorical exaggeration, when he makes Glaucia to have been put to death by the immediate act of Marius. *PLUT. Vit. Mar.* 30.

Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. He was twice consul, and once censor, and was distinguished as well for his integrity, as his prudence and superior ability, either in the senate or at the head of armies. He carried on military operations in Gaul and Spain, and met with much success in the latter country. He married Cornelia, daughter of the elder Africanus, by whom he had the Gracchi. *PLUT. Vit. Gracchorum.*

Gracchi. There were two brothers of this name, Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus, sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major. Tiberius, the elder, was of a mild and unruffled temper, but Caius, violent and irascible. The object of the two brothers, in succession, was to have the public lands divided among the citizens. Appian says that the nobles and rich men, partly by getting possession of the public lands, partly by buying up the shares of indigent owners, had made themselves masters of all the lands in Italy, and had thus, by degrees, accomplished the removal of the common people from their possessions. This abuse

Tiberius Gracchus to revive the Licinian law, by which no one could hold more than 500 *jugera*, or about 350 acres of land. The owners, however, were to be indemnified for the land they had thus lost. The attempts of the Gracchi cost them their lives. Tiberius died in a collision between his adherents and the party of the nobles headed by Scipio Nasica. Caius was slain some years afterwards by the consul Opimius and his party. PLUT. *Vit. Gracch.* Caius was the accuser of Archias, probably some obscure individual. The reading was *Gracchus*, which induced Ilgen to think that Caius Quinctius Gracchus was meant, who was tribune of the A.U.C. 697, but consult note 10, page 147.

H.

Horatius, Marcus, a public speaker of only moderate ability, who triumphed over L. Philippus in a contest for the consulship in 660.—*Brut.* 45.—*Pro Muren.* 17.

Horatius, Quintus, an orator and statesman, whose name has been known to us by Cicero, with great commendation. He filled in turn the offices of prætor and consul, and died B.C. 50, in the prime of his age. His first appearance at the bar was at the early age of 20, and his excellence, says Cicero, was immediately acknowledged. He foresaw the imminent perils of the Social war, which broke out in 91, about four years after his first appearance, interrupted, in consequence, the business of the forum, and hence we find Horatius serving in this alarming contest for one year as a volunteer, and the following season as military tribune. When, on the re-establishment of peace in Italy, in 86, he returned to Rome, and resumed the useful avocations to which he had been destined from his youth, he found himself without a rival. Crassus died in 82, before the fall of Marius and Sylla; Antonius, with other orators of note, perished in 82, during the temporary and last ascendancy of Marius, in the absence of Sylla. Sulpicius was put to death the following year, and Cotta driven into banishment, from which he was recalled until the return of Sylla to Rome, and his elevation to dictatorship in 81. Hortensius was thus left, for some years, the chief competitor; and after 81, with none of eminence but whom he soon outshone. His splendid, warm, and animated manner, was preferred to the calm and easy elegance of his colleague. Cordingly, when engaged in a cause on the same side, Cotta, 11 years his senior, was employed to open the case, while the important parts were left to the management of Hortensius. He remained the undisputed sovereign of the forum, till Cicero resumed his quaestorship in Sicily, in 65, when the talents of that statesman displayed themselves in full perfection and maturity. Horatius was thus, from 82 till 65, a space of thirteen years, at the head of the Roman bar; and being in consequence engaged, during that period, on one side or other, in every cause of importance, he amassed a prodigious fortune. He lived, too, with a magnificence corresponding to his wealth. His house at Rome, which was richly furnished, formed the centre of the chief imperial palace, increased from the time of Augustus to that of Nero, till it

nearly covered the whole Palatine mount, and branched over other hills. Besides his mansion in the capital, he possessed sumptuous villas at Tusculum, Bauli, and Laurentum, where he was accustomed to give the most elegant and expensive entertainments. Hortensius was prætor in 682, and consul two years afterward. The wealth and dignities he had obtained, and the want of competition, made him gradually relax from that assiduity by which they had been acquired, till the increasing fame of Cicero, and particularly the glory of his consulship, stimulated him to renew his exertions. But his habit of labour had been in some degree lost, and he never again recovered his former reputation. Cicero partly accounts for his decline from the peculiar nature and genius of his eloquence. It was of that showy species called Asiatic, which flourished in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and was infinitely more florid and ornamental than the oratory of Athens, or even Rhodes, being full of brilliant thoughts and sparkling expressions. This glowing style of rhetoric, though deficient in solidity and weight, was not unsuitable in a young man; and being farther recommended by a beautiful cadence of periods, met with the utmost applause. But Hortensius, as he advanced in life, did not correct this exuberance, nor adopt a chaster eloquence; and this luxury and glitter of phraseology, being totally inconsistent with his advanced age and consular dignity, caused his reputation to diminish with the increase of years. His elocution, too, became eventually much impaired by a constant toothache, and swellings in his jaws, and this complaint became at length so severe as to accelerate his end. The speeches of Hortensius suffered greatly by being transferred to writing, his chief excellence consisting in action and delivery. None of his speeches have come down to us. DUNLOP, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 222.

J.

Jūlius. Vide *L. Julius Cæsar*.

Jūlia, a Roman female, of the house of the Cæsars, but of a different branch from that whence sprang Julia, the aunt of Julius Cæsar, and wife of Marius. She was first married to M. Antonius Creticus, by whom she had Antony the triumvir; and, after the death of Creticus, she was united to Lentulus, the accomplice of Catiline. The punishment of her second husband was the origin, according to Plutarch, of the enmity that prevailed between Mark Antony and Cicero. *PLUT. Vit. Anton.* c. 2.

L.

Læca, *Marcus Porcius*, an accomplice of Catiline's, who, in the dead of night, convened the leading members of the conspiracy at his own house, just before the discovery of the plot. He was a descendant of M. Porcius Læca, tribune of the commons, who had a law passed prohibiting magistrates from punishing a Roman citizen with death, and substituting for capital punishment, banishment and confiscation of property. SALLUST, *B. C.* 27.

Lælius, *Caius*, a Roman, celebrated for his intimate friendship with the elder Africanus, and which commenced in early life. He followed

that eminent commander in all his campaigns, and was the confidant of all his secrets. Lælius commanded the Roman fleet which blockaded the port of Carthage, while Scipio pressed the siege by land; and after the capture of the place he was presented by Scipio with a golden crown and thirty oxen, besides receiving the highest encomiums for his signal services. He was afterward elected ædile, and finally attained to the consulship, B.C. 190. Liv. 26, 42.

Lælius, Caius, surnamed *Sapiens*, or "the Wise," was the son, or, according to some, the grandson of the preceding, and equally celebrated for his friendship with the younger Africanus. While prætor, he successfully prosecuted the war against Viriathus, B.C. 146, and subsequently, B.C. 140, was chosen to the consulship. Lælius was more eminent, however, for private virtues and intellectual endowments than military abilities; and it is to him that Cicero assigns the eulogium on friendship, in his dialogues "*De Amicitia*." Scipio and Lælius were reported, though without any truth, to have aided Terence in the composition of his dramatic pieces. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 19.

Lentulus, Cneius Cornelius, was consul with L. Gellius, A.U.C. 681, and afterward censor with the same. He is described by Cicero as producing considerable effect, in public speaking, by the management of his tones and look, but by no means a solid or fluent speaker. *Or. pro Man. L.* 23.

Lentulus, Cneius, was tribune of the commons, and the next year enjoyed a lieutenancy. *Or. pro Man. L.* 19.

Lentulus, Lucius, was prætor, when P. Gabinius was condemned for extortion. *Or. pro Arch.* 5.

Lentulus, Publius Cornelius, was consul A.U.C. 591, and subsequently *princeps senatus*. He was the grandfather of Lentulus, the accomplice of Catiline, and is highly commended by Cicero for his patriotism. *Cat.* 3, 5.

Lentulus, Publius Cornelius, surnamed *Sura*, a Roman nobleman, possessed of some share of talent, but extremely corrupt in his private character. The interest of his family, and the affability of his manners, proceeding from a love of popularity, raised him through the usual gradations of public honours to the office of consul, which he obtained A.C. 73, in conjunction with Cn. Aufidius Orestis. Expelled from the senate on account of his immoral conduct, he had procured the prætorship, the usual step for being again restored to that body, when Catiline formed his design for subverting the government. Poverty, the natural consequence of excessive dissipation, added to immoderate vanity and extravagant ambition, induced him to join in the conspiracy. The soothsayers easily persuaded him that he was the third one of the *gens cornelia* destined by the fates to enjoy the supreme power of Rome. L. Cornelius Sylla, and L. Cornelius Cinna, had both attained to that elevation. His schemes, however, all proved abortive, and he was ranged in prison with the other conspirators who had been arrested. Plutarch informs us, that he received the name of *Sura*, in consequence of his having wasted a large sum of public money, in his quæstorship, under Sylla, who, enraged at his conduct, demanded a statement of his accounts in the senate; when Lentulus, with the utmost indifference, declared he had no accounts to produce, and contemptuously presented him the *calf* of his leg (*sura*). Among the Romans, particularly

among the boys, the player at tennis, who missed his stroke, presented the calf of his leg to receive as a punishment a certain number of blows upon it. Lentulus, in allusion to that game, acted in the manner just described, which accounts for the surname, or rather nickname, of *Sura*. Such is the account of Plutarch; but it may be doubted whether the explanation be correct as regards the conspirator Lentulus; the name, as appears from LIVY (22, 31), being one of earlier date. PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 17.—SALLUST, *B. C.* c. 55.

Læpidus, Manius, was consul with L. Volcatius Tullus, A.U.C. 687. Consult note 2, page 22.

Læpidus, Marcus, was consul with Catulus, A.U.C. 675. Consult note 3, page 98.

Lūcullus, Lucius Licinius, a Roman noble, celebrated both for his munificence and military talents. He distinguished himself at first by his rapid progress in literary pursuits, and particularly in eloquence and philosophy. His first campaigns were made in the war with the Marsi, where he acquired considerable reputation by his valour. He conciliated the favour of Sylla by his agreeable disposition, and by his constancy in friendship. This new connexion procured for him in succession the offices of quæstor in Asia, and prætor in Africa. In this latter province he won two naval victories over Hamilcar, and gained the affections of all by his justice, moderation, and humanity. Raised to the consulship, B.C. 74, and charged with the prosecution of the war against Mithridates, he commenced by delivering his colleague Cotta, who was besieged in Chalcedon. This success was followed by a great victory gained over the forces of Mithridates, on the banks of the Granicus, and by the reduction of Bithynia. Similar success attended the Roman arms by sea: and Mithridates, stripped of his former power, was compelled to flee for refuge to his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia. Lucullus, on ascertaining his flight, hastened to cross the Euphrates, gave battle to a numerous army of the Armenian monarch, and gained a signal victory, although his own forces were far inferior in point of number to those of the foe. The capture of Tigranocerta, and the seizure of the royal treasures contained in it, were the fruits of this brilliant success. The following year was marked by the capture of Nisibis. The pride and severity of Lucullus, however, alienated from him the affections of his soldiers, and proved injurious to his interests at home. The defeat of Triarius, his lieutenant, furnished a pretext for the attacks of the malevolent, and Pompey was appointed to succeed him in the command, and to continue the war against Mithridates. Their common friends brought Lucullus and Pompey to an interview. They met at first upon polite terms, but soon broke out into open variance, and parted greater enemies than ever. Lucullus upon this set out for Rome, with but 1600 men, which were all that Pompey allowed him to take home with him in order to attend his triumph, and even the triumph itself he obtained with difficulty, such was the coldness with which he was received in the capital. The days of his glory terminated with this ceremony; and he lived after this in complete retirement, without taking any part in those civil disorders which soon after took their rise at Rome, and in which, if he had been possessed of a little more ambition, he might have taken a very prominent place. He devoted

under of his days to literary pursuits, and to the society of late friends, and had a large and valuable library, to which he was sure in admitting the wise and learned of the day. He himself was with equal excellence in both Greek and Latin, and composed the history of the Marsic war, in which he had served. Lucullus was remarkable for his lavish and expensive style of living, the means of which he had obtained in abundance from his Asiatic conquests. He died at the age of 67 or 68 years. The people rendered justice to his merits, insisted on burying him in the Campus Martius, and it was with great difficulty his brother obtained leave to bury him, in accordance with his own wish, on his estate at Tuscanum. *PLUT. Vit. Lucull.*

M.

M. Spurius, a Roman of Equestrian rank, A.U.C. 315, who was distinguished by extraordinary wealth for the times in which he lived, and made it the means of attaining to sovereign power. Having, by his connexions and dependants, bought up a large quantity of land in Etruria, which very step, most probably, obstructed the endeavours of the magistrates to lower the price of provisions, he began the practice of bestowing largesses of corn; and having gained the favour of the commons by this munificence, he became the object of public attention. Assuming thence a degree of consequence, he, who at first belonged to a private citizen, he drew the people after him wherever he went; and they, by the attachment which they bore towards him, encouraged him to look up to the consulship as a certain prospect of success. He was disappointed, however, in his nomination for this office, and T. Quintius Cincinnatus and Agrippa were elected. The designs of Mælius becoming gradually known, he was denounced to the senate, by Minucius, president of the senate, who stated that arms were getting collected in the dwelling of Mælius, that he held assemblies in his house, and that there remained no doubt of his having formed a design to possess himself of absolute power. On this information being received, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, and the latter named Caius Servilius his master of the horse. The next day, after fixing proper laws, the dictator went down to the forum, and despatched Ahala to summon Mælius to appear before him. Mælius declined the mandate, and endeavoured to excite the bystanders in his favour, who actually rescued him from a lictor sent by the master of the horse to seize him. Betaking himself thereupon to flight, he was overtaken and slain by Ahala in person; and the deed was highly approved by the dictator, who declared to Ahala, that he had preserved the commonwealth. *LIV. 4, 13, seqq.*

M. Manlius, Caius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, whom the latter sent into Etruria to levy troops, and adopt whatever measures he deemed necessary for the success of the plot. He commanded the rear of Catiline's army in the final encounter, and fell fighting with most desperate valour. Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired considerable experience as an officer, and had accumulated great wealth, which,

however, he soon squandered away. He engaged in the conspiracy to retrieve his ruined fortunes. SALLUST, *B. C.* 27.

Manlius, Cneius, a man of humble origin, who is alluded to by Cicero as having triumphed over Catulus in an application for office. The orator describes him, as not only a person of ignoble birth, but also without merit, without talents, and sordid and contemptible in private life. He was defeated by the Cimbri, along with his colleague Cæpio, and was defended by Antonius when accused on this account by Sulpicius.

Marcellus, Caius, the brother of Marcus Marcellus whom Cæsar pardoned. He was consul with Cn. Lentulus, at the beginning of the civil war, and is not to be confounded with the Marcellus who held the consulship along with Lucius Paullus.

Marcellus, Marcus, an accomplice and intimate friend of Catiline. *Or. in Cat.* 1, 8.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, held the consulship with Servius Sulpicius, B.C. 51. He was remarkable for his attachment to republican principles, and his uncompromising hostility towards Cæsar; and it was he who proposed to the senate to recall that commander from his province in Gaul. After the battle of Pharsalia, Marcellus went into voluntary exile, and was not pardoned by Cæsar until some considerable interval had elapsed, and then only at the earnest intercession of the senate. It was on this occasion that Cicero delivered his speech of thanks to Cæsar. Marcellus, however, did not long survive to enjoy the pardon thus obtained, having been assassinated by an adherent of his, P. Magius Cilo. Consult the concluding note to the oration for Marcellus, page 205. *Cic. pro Marcel.*

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, the celebrated opponent of Hannibal, mentioned incidentally in the oration for the Manilian law, c. 16. He is famous for the check which he gave Hannibal at Nola, for the capture of Syracuse, and for his subsequent successes against the Carthaginians in Southern Italy. He lost his life, by being entrapped into an ambuscade, at the age of 70, and in his fifth consulship. Marcellus was no less celebrated for his private than his public virtues. *Liv.* 22, 35.

Marius, Caius, a native of Arpinum, remarkable for his military talents, but still more for his cruel and vindictive disposition. Having preserved the state by his bravery, he afterwards brought it to the brink of ruin by his reckless and uncompromising violence. In early life he was a ploughman, and wrought for hire. Quitting that employment, he entered the ranks of the army, and distinguished himself under Scipio at the siege and capture of Numantia. From the condition of a common soldier, he gradually rose to the command of the Roman forces, and the office of consul. After bringing the war with Jugurtha to a close, he defeated, in two terrible encounters, the Teutones and Cimbri, slaying an immense number, and taking a vast multitude of prisoners. After these signal victories, his ambitious feelings brought him into collision with Sylla, and a desolating civil war was the consequence. To crush the power of his rival, Sylla marched the troops, which he had raised to carry on the war against Mithridates, to the Roman capital, and Marius was obliged to flee. In his banishment he underwent uncommon hardships; from which he

he end released by Cinna's embracing his interests. He then to Rome to satiate his inhuman resentment, and butchered thousands of the citizens. Tired at last with murder and civil war, he and Cinna appointed themselves consuls. But Marius, by infirmities, age, and excessive intoxication, to which he had recourse in order to blunt the stings of a guilty conscience on the first day of his being invested with the consulship for the twentieth time. PLUT. *Vit. Mar.*

Quintus Fabius, an illustrious Roman, the well-known opponent of Hannibal, and styled *Cunctator*, from his having saved his country by his wise delay and cautious operations. He is incidentally mentioned by Cicero in the oration for the Manilian law, c. 16. PLUT. *Max.*

Quintus Cæcilius, surnamed *Numidicus*, enjoyed the command with M. Junius Silanus, B.C. 111. He obtained Numidia as his province, and had nearly brought the war against Jugurtha to a close by his military talents and incorruptible integrity, when he was removed from the command by the intrigues of Marius. For defeating and desolating Numidia, Metellus received the surname of *Numidicus*, and, according to EUTROPIUS (4, 27), a triumph. Some time afterwards he was summoned to trial by Saturninus, a tribune, for having sworn to observe the Agrarian law, which this individual had enforced by force; and, although the good citizens supported him, he was ordered to prevent any commotion, into voluntary exile at the instance of Marius pronounced sentence of banishment against him, B.C. 103. Three years after which, however, he was honourably recalled. B. J. 30.

Quintus, surnamed *Pius*, was the son of Metellus Numidicus. He followed under his father in Numidia, and is alluded to by Sallust in the story of the Jugurthine war. He obtained the consulship, and was sent against Sertorius into Spain. The latter, however, was far superior to him in talents and activity, though Metellus occasionally gained some advantages over him. The surname *Pius* was given him on account of the sorrow he testified at the death of his father, and his eager efforts to have him recalled. PLUT. 22.

Quintus, surnamed *Creticus*, was consul, B.C. 70, along with C. Cæsar. On the expiration of his consulship, he obtained, as his province, the island of Crete for his province, and reduced it beneath Roman sway, for which he obtained the surname above mentioned. He was honoured besides this with a triumph, notwithstanding the opposition of Pompey. Consult note 7, page 245.—SALLUST,

Mithridates, a celebrated king of Pontus, in Asia Minor, surnamed *the Great*, and the seventh in succession. He was distinguished for his bravery and military talents, and for the long resistance which he made to the armies of Rome. At last, however, being deserted by his subjects, and betrayed by his son Pharnaces, and frequently defeated by the Romans, he was, at his own request, slain by a Gaul, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies. The constitution of this king was so fortified by antidotes, of many of which he is said to have been the inventor, that the strongest and most active poisons had

no effect upon him. The true form of the name appears to be *Mithradates*, the root being the appellation of the solar deity among the Persians, i. e. *Mithras* or *Mithra*. Custom, however, has sanctioned the other form. APPIAN, *Bell. Mithrid.*

Mummius, Lucius, surnamed *Achaicus*, from his overthrow of the Achæan league, and reduction of Southern Greece, was consul, B.C. 146. He was sent into the Peloponnesus, against the Achæans, defeated their general Diæus, put an end to the famous league which bore their name, took and burnt Corinth, and reduced the whole of Southern Greece to a Roman province under the name of Achaia. He received the honours of a triumph, and the surname above mentioned. Mummius is celebrated for his disinterestedness, and his ignorance of the fine arts. He would not enrich himself with the spoils of Corinth; while so little acquainted was he with the value of paintings and statues and other masterpieces of art obtained from the captured city, as to enjoin upon those who were to convey them to Rome, that they should supply their places by others at their own expense, in case these were lost. FLOR. 2, 6.

Munatius, Titus, one of the associates of Catiline, described by Cicero as of dissolute habits, and deeply involved in debt. *Or. in Cat.* 2, 2.

Mūrēna, Lucius Licinius, an eminent Roman general, who commanded one of the wings of the army of Sylla, in the battle with Archelaus, general of Mithridates, near Chæronea, B.C. 87. Sylla, shortly after this, having made an armistice with Mithridates, returned to Rome, leaving Murena in command of the Asiatic forces. This officer pretending ignorance of the treaty, which had only been orally made between Sylla and Mithridates, invaded the territory of that monarch, and took and plundered Comana; but was subsequently defeated by Mithridates, and compelled to retire into Phrygia. These contests form in history what is termed the second Mithridatic war. Murena subsequently obtained a triumph at Rome, which, in the opinion of historians, was granted him by Sylla for no other reason than to match it against the trophies raised by Mithridates. His movements in Asia certainly do not appear to have entitled him to one. APPIAN, *B. M.* 63, *seqq.*

Mūrēna, Lucius Licinius, son of the preceding, was one of the lieutenants of Lucullus in Asia, and distinguished himself in the war against Mithridates. Not long after he stood candidate for the consulship, and was successful in his application, but was accused of bribery. Cicero defended him, and succeeded in procuring his acquittal. *Or. pro Muren.*

Mūrēna, Caius Licinius, brother of the Murena whom Cicero defended. He was governor of Transalpine Gaul when Catiline's conspiracy broke out, and secured a number of the malcontents, who were endeavouring to excite commotions in his province. SALLUST, *B. C.* 42.

N.

Natta, Lucius, a member of the old Pinarian line, and step-son to Murena. He is praised by Cicero, in his oration for that individual; but far different language is used by the orator concerning him in one

of his letters to Atticus. Natta, it seems, subsequently to the period of Cicero's pleading for Murena, was Pontifex Maximus, and dictated the form of words, when Clodius consecrated, for the erection of a temple, the ground on which Cicero's house had stood. *Or. pro Muren.* 35.

Nævius, Cnæus, a native of Campania, and the first imitator of the regular dramatic works which had been produced by Livius Andronicus. He served in the first Punic war; and his earliest plays were represented at Rome, A.U.C. 519. The names of his tragedies are still preserved, and a few fragments of the pieces themselves. He was accounted, however, a better comic than tragic poet. Nævius, unfortunately indulged, in the course of his productions, in personal and offensive sarcasms against some of the most distinguished patricians of the day. The Metelli, in particular, were the objects of his satire, and retaliated upon the poet by having him thrown into prison. Here he wrote some comedies, which were intended, in some measure, as a recantation of his former invectives, and he was accordingly liberated. But relapsing soon after into his former courses, and continuing to persecute the nobility in his dramas and satires with implacable dislike, he was at length driven from Rome by their influence, and having retired to Iutica, died there, according to Cicero, in the year 550; but Varro fixes his death somewhat later. Besides his comedies, Nævius was also author of the Cyprian Iliad, a translation from a Greek poem, called the Cyprian Epic. He likewise wrote a metrical chronicle, relating chiefly to the events of the first Punic war. DUNLOP, *Rom. Lit.* vol. i. p. 74, *seqq.*

Nicomēdes, king of Bithynia, and the third of the name, succeeded his father, Nicomedes 2nd, B.C. 92. He was at first dethroned by Socrates, his brother, and then by Mithridates, who protected Socrates. The Romans, however, re-established him in his dominions. Having in his turn attacked the king of Pontus, he was defeated, and driven once more from his dominions, but was replaced upon the throne by Sylla. He governed for the space of ten years after this, and then died without issue, leaving the Roman people his heirs.

Nobilior, Marcus Fulvius, was prætor in Spain, A.U.C. 558, and carried his arms as far as the Tagus, making himself master of Toletum, until then regarded as impregnable. Being appointed to the consulship in the year 565, he was entrusted with the war in Greece. Having with the aid of the Epirots taken the city of Ambracia, considered as the key of the neighbouring country of Ætolia, he compelled the Ætolians to sue for peace, which was only granted them on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the cities and territories which they had conquered since the consulship of Flaminius; of paying the expenses of the war; of sending forty hostages, and of engaging to have no other friends and enemies than those of Rome. Two years after this he was accused before the senate of having inflicted injuries on the allies of the Roman people, but his only reply to the charge was to demand a *supplicatio* and triumph, which were actually awarded him. He was appointed censor, A.U.C. 575, with Æmilius Lepidus, his mortal enemy, and consented for the good of the state to become reconciled to him. LIV. 33, 42.

O.

Octavius, Cncius, a partizan of Sylla's, who held the consulship, A.U.C. 667, and drove out his colleague Cinna from the city. Consult note 10, page 97.

Opimius, Lucius, a Roman nobleman, who held the consulship with C. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, and who, while in that office, overpowered Caius Gracchus, the advocate of the Agrarian law. No fewer than three thousand persons were slain on this occasion, according to Plutarch, and along with Gracchus perished M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular dignity. Opimius subsequently allowed himself to be bribed by Jugurtha; and being brought to trial for this offence, was condemned, and went into banishment at Dyrrhachium, where he died in great poverty. The name of this individual has also descended to later times in another way. The wine made during his consulship was remarkable for having attained to a very great age, and was called *Vinum Opimianum*. There appears to have been an uncommon vintage during the year in which he was consul. Cicero states that he tasted some Opimian wine seventy-five years after; and Pliny informs us, that it was still to be found when he wrote, at the distance of two hundred years, and that it had the appearance of candied honey. HENDERSON'S *Hist. Anc. and Mod. Wines*, p. 69, *seqq.*

Otho, Lucius Roscius, was tribune of the commons during the consulship of Cicero, and had a law passed by which seats were set apart for the equites at the public spectacles. On his appearance in the theatre, after this ordinance had been made, a serious disturbance ensued, the knights applauding, and the people hissing him: Cicero, on being informed of the tumult, hastened to the spot, and, calling out the people to the temple of Bellona, he so calmed them by the magic of his eloquence, that, returning immediately to the theatre, they clapped their hands in honour of Otho, and vied with the knights in giving him demonstrations of respect. DUNLOP, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 332.

P.

Paullus, Lucius Æmilius, more commonly called Paullus Æmilius, a celebrated Roman commander, was the son of L. Æmilius Paullus, who was slain at Cannæ. He rendered himself famous by his victories, and was surnamed *Macedonicus*, from his conquest of Macedonia. He distinguished himself, from early youth, by his zeal for military discipline, and it was to his valour and skill that the Romans owed the great success which attended their arms in Spain, during his prætorship, B.C. 190, when he was employed in reducing some of the revolted tribes of that country. Being elected consul, B.C. 182, he reduced the Ligurians, and obtained a triumph. Having failed, however, in a second application for the consulship, he for a long time renounced public affairs entirely, and turned his attention to the education of his children. But in the year 168, B.C., he was, almost in spite of himself, elected consul a second time, and was sent against Perses, king of Macedonia. Although now sixty years of age, he nevertheless prosecuted the war with the greatest vigour, and, at the decisive battle of Pydna, destroyed the power of Perses, and overthrew the empire of Macedon. His triumph at Rome was a most brilliant one, and not the least remarkable object

Perses himself, led along as a prisoner, and accompanied by members of his family. The conquest of Macedonia enriched the treasury to such a degree, that the people were exempted from taxes and continued so until the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. Æmilius alone remained poor in the midst of so much wealth, and he merely appropriated to his own use the library of the fallen king.

Elevated some time after to the dignity of censor, he conducted himself in that office with the greatest moderation. His death, which happened B.C. 158, was the signal for general mourning, not among the Romans, but the inhabitants also of the countries which he had conquered. Paullus Æmilius had by his first wife Papiria, subsequently repudiated, two sons, one of whom was adopted into the Fabian family, and the other by the son of Africanus Major. With his second wife he had two other sons, the sudden death of whom was held by the Romans a strong proof of the firmness of his character. He died the older one expired five days before his triumph, and the younger some days after.

Lucius, mentioned in the oration for Murena, c. 14, the same as the preceding.

na, Marcus, a Roman proscribed by Sylla. He passed, upon the death of Sertorius, into Spain, and became one of the lieutenants of Sertorius, but jealous of the glory of that commander, and irritated at playing a secondary part himself, he conspired against him and assassinated him at a banquet. Being taken prisoner after this, he was put to death by Pompey. *PLUT. Vit. Sert.*

king of Macedonia. He was the son of Philip V., by a concubine, and therefore inferior to Demetrius, the legitimate son of that king.

By a false accusation, however, he induced the monarch to order Demetrius to death. Philip, on being informed of the truth, sought to disinherit Perses, and secure the crown to his younger son Perseus; but his own death, which happened soon after, frustrated his plan. One of the first acts of Perses, on coming to the throne, was to order Antigonus to death, both because he had been intended as a rival to Philip, and because it was through him that the innocence of Perseus was made known. Becoming involved, however, in war with the Romans, he was conquered, and stripped of his kingdom by Æmilius, who led him in triumph through the streets of Rome. He afterwards sent as prisoner to Alba, where he ended his days. The Romans treated him with more kindness than he deserved, allowing him to retain his attendants, money, &c. With Perses fell the kingdom of Macedonia. He was the twentieth monarch, reckoning in from Caranus, the first king of the country.

us, Lucius, a distinguished Roman orator, considered the best of his time after Crassus and Antonius. In applying for the consulship he was defeated by M. Herennius, a man of low origin and inferior character. He afterward, however, obtained the consulate in conjunction with Sextus Julius Cæsar. In his consulship, he opposed the proceedings of the tribune Drusus, and sided with the equites.

has already been made, under the article *Crassus*, of his having weighed against the senate, and been replied to with great boldness and eloquence by that orator.

pus, the 5th of the name, king of Macedonia, became emperor.

broiled in a war with the Romans, by allying himself to Hannibal, who was then in Italy. The consul Lævinus was charged with the war against him, and, having surprised him near Apollonia, caused him to flee, and destroyed his fleet by fire. This defeat was followed by a peace of but short continuance. The Romans, having learned that Philip had furnished succours to Hannibal, declared war anew against him; a contest which is known in history as the second Macedonian war, the previous one having been the first. Philip lost successively the battles of Astacus, Aous, and Cynoscephalæ, the last of which was decisive in its nature, and compelled him to sue for peace. This was only granted him on the most humiliating conditions. Domestic sorrows came to increase the chagrin occasioned by these disasters. The merits of Demetrius, one of his sons, excited the jealousy of Perses, his eldest offspring, but illegitimate in origin. Perses accused the young prince to his father of having designs upon the crown. Philippus lent a credulous ear to the charge, and destroyed Demetrius by poison. But he soon became convinced of the treachery of Perses, and, to punish him, resolved to bestow the crown on Antigonus, his younger son, when a sudden death carried him off, and frustrated his well-meant intention. He ended his days, B.C. 179, in the 42nd year of his reign, and was succeeded by Perses.

Philus, Lucius Furius, a Roman, distinguished for the advances he had made in learning and philosophy. Consult note 9, page 462, and compare Cic. *de Am.* 4, 7, 19.

Piso, Caius Calpurnius, Cicero's son-in-law. He neglected the quaestorship of Pontus and Bithynia, in order to have more time to devote to the interests and safety of his father-in-law. He is praised as a good speaker, in the *Brutus*. Compare *Or. ad Quir. post Red.* 3.

Piso, Cneius, a Roman of good family, but profligate and needy. The urgency of his wants, uniting with the depravity of his disposition, instigated him to any measures which had for their object the convulsion of the state, as the only remedy which could free him from his difficulties and embarrassments. He readily entered into the conspiracy of Catiline, and, in the execution of the plot, he was to be at the head of an army to hold the Spaniards in subjection. The design transpired, and necessarily prevented its execution. Soon after, although only quaestor, he obtained the government of Hither Spain, with the authority of pro-prætor, by the interest of Crassus, who wished to set him up in opposition to Pompey. The senate assented, in order to have so dangerous a citizen at a distance from the seat of government. Some of the Spanish cavalry, however, who formed part of his train, assassinated him soon after his arrival in that country. SALLUST, *B. C.* 18, *seqq.*

Plotius, Lucius, a Roman poet, contemporary with Marius, whose praises he sang. He is supposed by some to be the same with the Plotius, who was born at Lugdunum, and who was the first that taught rhetoric at Rome in the Latin language. In this he was very successful, and had Cicero among his hearers. *Or. pro Arch.* 9.

Pompeius, Cneius, son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and the well-known opponent of Cæsar. His earlier movements, down to the period of the Mithridatic war, have been so fully detailed in the notes to the oration on the Manilian law, as not to need recapitulation here. A sketch of

his character will be found in the dialogue on the life and writings of Cicero.

Pompeius, Quintus, surnamed *Nepos*, an individual of humble origin, the son, according to Plutarch, of a flute-player. He attained, however, to the highest honours of the state, and was consul. A.U.C. 612, and afterwards censor with Metellus Macedonicus.

Pomptinus, Caius, a prætor during Cicero's consulship. He was one of the officers appointed by the latter to arrest the Allobrogian ambassadors and their retinue. On the expiration of his prætorship, Pomptinus obtained the government of Gallia Narbonensis, defeated the Allobroges, who had revolted, and reduced their country to tranquillity, for which he was honoured with a triumph. Cicero employed him as one of his lieutenants in the government of Cilicia, where he distinguished himself by his bravery.

Postūmius, Cneius, one of the assistant accusers (*subscriptores*) against Verena, and an unsuccessful applicant for the prætorship in the consulate of Cicero. *Or. pro Muren.* 27.

Publicius, one of the dissolute companions of Catiline. *Or. in Cat.* 2.

R.

Roscius. Vid. Otho.

Roscius, Quintus, a celebrated Roman actor; from his surname Gallus, supposed to have been a native of Gaul, north of the Po, although located in the vicinity of Lanuvium and Aricia. His acting is highly commended by Cicero, who, according to Plutarch, studied the art of gesticulation under him. Valerius Maximus informs us that Roscius practised with the utmost care the most trifling gesture which he was to make in public, and Cicero relates, that, though the house of this actor was a kind of school where good performers were trained, yet Roscius declared that he never had a pupil with whom he was completely satisfied. Roscius died about 62, B.C. *Cic. pro Q. Rosc.* 7.

S.

Sāturninus, Lucius, a tribune of the commons, and violent partisan of Marius, who abetted him in his numerous misdeeds. It was Saturninus who proposed the Agrarian law, for refusing to take the oath prescribed, by which Metellus was sentenced to banishment. He it was also that hired assassins to take away the life of Caius Memmius, when the latter was seeking the consulship, B.C. 102. Memmius fell under repeated strokes by the bludgeons of these miscreants, in open assembly; and the motive of Saturninus in causing the deed to be perpetrated was an apprehension lest Memmius would oppose him in his vil career. At last, however, strong measures were taken against him. He was driven into the capital with his adherents (*vid. Glaucia*), where he was compelled to surrender. On coming down into the forum he was put to death. *PLUT. Vit. Mar.* 30.

Scaurus, Marcus Æmilius, a Roman nobleman, of great ability, who held the consulship with M. Cæcilius Metellus, B.C. 116. He triumphed over the Carni; and made the road from Placentia to Parma,

hence called the *Æmilian Way*. He had the honour of being appointed *Princeps Senatus*, and would have ranked in history with the very first characters of the Roman state, had not his splendid talents been tarnished by cupidity. Pliny agrees with Sallust in giving the unfavourable side of the picture. On the other hand, Cicero highly extols his virtues, abilities, and achievements. It is more than probable that Sallust endeavours to depreciate the merits of Scaurus, because the latter was a member, and strong advocate for the power, of the nobility; while Cicero, on the other hand, strives for this same reason to exalt his character. The truth undoubtedly lies between either extreme. Scaurus afterward held the office of censor, and the consulship a second time. His name often occurs in the writings of Cicero, who speaks in great praise of a work of his, in three books, recording the principal occurrences and transactions of his life. The orator considers it equal to Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. SALLUST, *B. J.* 15.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius, surnamed *Africanus Major*, the celebrated conqueror of Hannibal, in the battle of Zama. He is only alluded to incidentally by Cicero, in the course of this volume.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius, surnamed *Æmilianus*, from having been the son of Paullus *Æmilius*, adopted into the Scipio line. He is also known by the additional agnomen of *Africanus Minor*, from his having destroyed the city of Carthage, which ended the third Punic war. He was likewise the conqueror of Numantia.

Scipio Nasica, Publius Cornelius, son of Scipio Nasica, surnamed *Corculum*, and grandson of the Nasica who was pronounced the most virtuous man in Rome. He held the consulship with D. Brutus, A.U.C. 615, and had a very stormy period, having come into collision with the tribunes of the commons, and been imprisoned by them along with his colleague. His private character stood so high in the estimation of the people that he was the first, and probably the only Roman ever chosen Pontifex Maximus without being present at the time of election. While holding this latter dignity, he took an active part against the operations of the Gracchi, and headed the body of the nobility by whom Tiberius was slain. Some even ascribed the death of the latter to Nasica's own hand. The partisans of the aristocracy exalted the deed, while their opponents regarded it as nothing else but an act of open murder. So highly was the fury of the multitude excited, that Nasica could no longer appear in public without being exposed to their invectives and even menaces. A public prosecution was threatened, and as sovereign pontiff also he was regarded by his enemies as having been guilty of sacrilege. The senate, justly alarmed for a man whom they considered a benefactor to the state, found themselves obliged to remove him from Italy. This again was a violation of the pontifical duties, since no *pontifex maximus* could ever leave Italy. Nasica was sent, however, into Asia, under the pretext of appeasing some troubles which had been excited in Pergamus by Aristonicus. He did not live long in this honourable exile, but died of chagrin, A.U.C. 622. Cicero bestows on him the highest eulogiums, and declares that the best citizens regarded him as the deliverer of his country. Velleius Paterculus also praises him for having preferred the interests of his country to the ties of consanguinity, Tiberius having been his own cousin. CIC. Brut. 22.

Scipio, Lucius Cornelius, surnamed *Asiaticus*, elder brother of Africanus Major, enjoyed during life a degree of glory, which appears to have been in reality but little more than a reflection from the brilliant character of the conqueror of Hannibal. According to Polybius, Lucius Scipio was not a favourite with the people, but the historian is silent respecting the cause. He served under his brother in Spain, and the tender union which existed between them does more honour perhaps even to the elder than the younger brother, since it shows how little susceptible the heart of Lucius was of any feeling of jealousy toward one so far his superior, although younger in years. After distinguishing himself in Spain, he obtained the prætorship A.U.C. 561, (B.C. 194,) and the consulate A.U.C. 564. In this latter magistracy he was sent against Antiochus, the senate having given him the charge of this war, on his brother Africanus promising to go with him as his lieutenant. Africanus, however, soon after his arrival in Asia, was taken ill; or more probably, being desirous not to rob his brother of any share in the glory which he perceived was to be easily won against the present enemy, he affected indisposition, and remained at a distance from the camp. Lucius, thus left alone to command the Roman army, advanced against the king, attacked him in the post he had chosen, and, in a decisive victory, dispersed his numerous forces. This battle ended the war, and Lucius on his return was honoured with a triumph and the surname of *Asiaticus*. After the death of Africanus, he was violently assailed by some of the tribunes of the commons, particularly Cato and Petilius, and charged with having extorted, or else received, for his own private benefit, large sums of money from Antiochus and his subjects. In vain he protested his innocence; he was fined four millions of sesterces, ordered to be led to prison, and was now in the act of being conducted thither, when Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the Gracchi, who was then tribune, interposed his authority, and obtained his release. His effects, however, were sold, but the comparatively small sum obtained from them was a triumphant answer to the charge made against him. After this, the conqueror of Antiochus passed into the obscurity of private life, until at last he was sent as arbitrator to settle a difference which had arisen between Eumenes and Seleucus. On his return, the people, ashamed of their former severity, bestowed such recompences upon him, that he was enabled, at his own expense, to celebrate games in honour of his victory over Antiochus. The year of his death is unknown.

Sertorius, Quintus, a celebrated Roman commander. He distinguished himself at first at the bar, but soon quitted this profession to follow the career of arms. Sertorius made his first campaign under Cæpio, against the Cimbri and Teutones, and acted against the same enemy, under Marius. Entering Rome, at a subsequent period, with this latter commander, he could not but condemn his conduct, when he saw him fill the city with carnage and desolation. The acts of Sylla, in like manner, met with his severest censure. Proscribed by this latter individual, he fled to Spain, about 78 B.C., and maintained his authority for a long time in that country by his valour and address. Here he soon found himself surrounded by a numerous body of Romans, whom the cruelty of Sylla had driven from home. In imitation of the government established at Rome, he formed a senate out of these illustrious

exiles, and presided over it in capacity of consul. Every effort was also made by him to civilize the native tribes, public schools were established, and the young Spaniards of the higher class of families were instructed in all the arts of Greece and Rome. In order to strengthen his ascendancy over the lower orders, he called in the aid of superstition, and pretended to have, in a white fawn, which he said had been given him by Diana, a sure means of communication with the gods, and the organ of their will. The Romans, alarmed at the progress made by Sertorius, exerted their utmost endeavours to overthrow his power. Four armies, however, sent in succession against him, were defeated, and even Pompey himself had but little of which to boast. Metellus also, who had been despatched to co-operate with Pompey, found himself foiled and baffled; and though, after uniting their forces, they succeeded in defeating Sertorius at Saguntum, yet, a short time after, he was as powerful and active an opponent as ever. Mithridates, of Pontus, now formed a league with Sertorius, by which he engaged to supply him with 3000 talents and forty galleys, and to cede to him Bithynia and Cappadocia. Their plan was to attack the empire simultaneously on the east and west. This treaty inspired the Romans with fresh alarm, and the most vigorous efforts were made to crush the enemy in Spain. Private treachery, however, was more successful than their arms, and the assassination of Sertorius by the hand of Perpenna, one of his own officers, delivered Rome from one of her most formidable foes. Sertorius merits the greatest praises for his disinterestedness and love of justice, and in military talents deserves to be ranked above all his contemporaries. VELL. PATERC. 2, 29, *seq.*

Servilius, Caius. *Vid. Ahala.*

Servilius, Publius, surnamed *Isauricus*, from his conquest of Isauria, held the consulship B.C. 79. He was one of the advocates of the Manilian law. *Or. pro Manil. L. 23.*

Sextius, Publius, was quæstor to the consul Antonius in Macedonia. Sextius also filled the office of tribune, and while acting in this capacity, was very instrumental in procuring Cicero's recall from banishment. An accusation was afterward brought against him, which was in fact a consequence of his interposition in favour of the illustrious exile; for, when about to propose his recall to the people, he was violently attacked by the Clodian faction, and left for dead in the street. His enemies, however, though obviously the aggressors, accused him of violence and of exciting a tumult. Against this charge he was defended by Cicero in one of the longest and most elaborate of his harangues; which has moreover come down to our times. *Or. in Cat. 1, 8.*

Silānus, Decimus Junius, held the office of consul with Licinius Murena, B.C. 64. They succeeded Cicero and Antonius. Being consuls elect, when the case of Catiline and his associates came before the senate, Silanus was asked his opinion first, respecting the punishment of those who had been arrested, and was in favour of their being put to death. Subsequently, however, he embraced the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for strengthening the guards and adjourning over the debate till another day. SALLUST, *B. C.* 50.

Silvānus, the author of the Plautian law. *Vid. Legal Index.*

Statilius, Lucius, one of the accomplices of Catiline. *Or. in Cat. 3, 3.*

ius, Caius, held the prætorship while Cicero was consul. *Or.*, 3.

ius, Servius, an eminent Roman lawyer, the accuser of Murena, competitor in suing for the consulship. He was afterwards with M. Marcellus, and on laying down this office obtained the post of Achaia. In the civil contest he sided with Cæsar. We have an elegant epistle of his remaining, in which he seeks to console Murena for the loss of his daughter Tullia. *Or. pro Muren.* 3.

ius, Servius, son of the preceding, and one of the assistants of Murena. He was tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 706. *Muren.*

Lucius Cornelius, a Roman nobleman, who served at first under

His activity and address contributed greatly to bring the civil war to a successful termination. Marius became, at last, the first in Sylla's merit, and hence originated that quarrel between them which was productive of the most enormous cruelties, and contributed to the final extinction of Roman liberty. Being sent to Asia, to restrain the pride of Mithridates, though under a different pretext, he proved himself both a brave soldier and an able general. On his return, he applied his military talents to great advantage in the social war. So great were his soldiers attached to him, that when two tribunes were taken from the command of his army, and gave it to Marius, they stoned them to death. Marius, in revenge, put Sylla's friends in the city to death, upon which the latter marched to Rome, and compelled Marius to flee. The horrid proscription now began. A price was set upon the head of Marius, but he effected his escape. Sylla then set upon Mithridates, defeated his armies under different generals, and concluded a peace with him on very advantageous terms. Marius, after having butchered many of Sylla's friends at Rome, he fled to Italy to avenge their deaths. On his arrival, his conduct was marked by clemency and moderation; but no sooner were he wholly within his power, than he committed the most enormous and barbarous acts of cruelty. To aggrandize himself, to exalt himself above his equals, and to glut his desire of revenge upon his enemies, he caused Sylla to assume the reins of absolute government. He corrected the abuses introduced by popular and unprincipled demagogues, he revived the ancient laws, and enacted many that were salutary and useful.

Still, tyranny marked his whole conduct, and rendered his reign a scene of terror, by his personal enmities and insufferable egotism. Desire of revenge was a stronger passion in the mind of Sylla than love of power. After glutting his vengeance with the blood of thousands, and governing with despotic authority for three years, he resigned the reins of power, and lived undisturbed as a private man. He died in great torment of the *morbus pedicularis*, in the 78th year of his age, about 78, B.C. The perpetual intoxication to which he had recourse, to avoid the horrors of a guilty conscience, at last led to hasten his death. *PLUT. Vit. Syll.*

Cornelius Faustus, son of the preceding, followed the party of Cato in Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, and was put to death by Cæsar after the battle of Thapsus. *Liv. Epit.* 114.

T.

Thēōphānes, a Greek historian, a native of Mitylene, very intimate with Pompey, whose life he wrote, and who on his account granted great privileges to the Mityleneans. It was in accordance with the advice of Theophanes, that Pompey betook himself to Egypt, after the battle of Pharsalia. *Or. pro Arch.* 10.

Tigrānes, king of Armenia, B.C. 95—60, of the family of Artaxia, and son-in-law of Mithridates the Great. He was defeated by Lucullus; and his capital taken. Tigranes subsequently obtained peace from Pompey on the most humiliating terms. *Or. pro Manil.* L. 2.

Tongilius, one of the dissolute accomplices of Catiline. *Or. in Cat.* 2, 2.

Torquātus, Lucius, was consul with Cotta, A.U.C. 689. He obtained the province of Macedonia, through the aid of Cicero, and was honoured by the senate with the title of Imperator. *Or. in Cat.* 8, 8.

Triārius, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus, in the Mithridatic war. Being informed, on one occasion, of the approach of Lucullus, and being desirous of seizing the victory which he thought perfectly secure, he hazarded and lost a great battle. Above seven thousand Romans were killed, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four tribunes. Mithridates likewise took his camp. *PLUT. Vit. Lucull.* 35.

Tubēro, Quintus Ælius, nephew on the half-sister side to Africanus the younger. He was attached to the doctrines of the Stoic sect, and displayed his firmness on one occasion, in deciding against Africanus, when a case in which that illustrious individual was a party, had come before him as a judge. He signalized himself also by his zeal against Caius Gracchus, and prepared some harangues against him. *Or. pro Muren.* 36.

U.

Umbrenus, Publius, a freedman, who engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline, and endeavoured to prevail upon the ambassadors of the Allobroges to take part in that affair. He was committed to prison on the discovery of the plot, and most probably punished with death. *SALLUST, B. C.* 40.

V.

Vargunteius, Lucius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, who undertook, along with C. Cornelius, to murder Cicero at his own house. The consul was apprised of his danger by Curius, through Fulvia, and they were refused admittance. Sallust calls Vargunteius a senator, whereas Cicero says they were both knights. Vargunteius, probably, though a senator, was of equestrian origin. *SALLUST, B. C.* 28.

Z.

Zēno, the famous founder of the Stoic sect, was born at Citium, in Cyprus. He came to Athens when about thirty years of age, and first

tended the lectures of Crates the Cynic. He afterward passed to the schools of Xenocrates and Diodorus Chronus, and finally to that of Demetrius. Having made himself master of the tenets of others, Zeno determined to become the founder of a new sect. The place which he made choice of for his school, was called the *Ῥακίδα*, (*Ποικιλὴ*) or "Painted Porch," a public portico so called from the pictures of Polygnotus and other eminent painters with which it was adorned. This portico, which was the most famous in Athens, was called by way of excellence, *Στοά*, or "the Porch," and hence the followers of Zeno were called *Stoics*, i. e. "men of the Porch." Zeno lived to the extreme age of ninety-eight, and at last, in consequence of an accident, voluntarily put an end to his life. As he was walking out of his school, he fell down, and broke one of his fingers; upon which he was so much affected with a consciousness of infirmity, that, striking the earth, he said, "Why am I thus importuned? I obey the summons;" and immediately went home and strangled himself. He died B.C. 264.—The Stoic philosophy was, as it were, of heterogeneous origin, its founder having attended upon many eminent preceptors, and having compiled his system out of their various tenets. Cicero says, that Zeno was not so much an inventor of new opinions, as of new terms. ENFIELD, *Hist. Philos.* vol. i. p. 315, *seqq.*

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

A.

Achaia, I. A country of the Peloponnesus, lying along the Sinus Corinthiacus, to the north of Elis and Arcadia. It gave name to the famous Achæan league, of later Grecian history.—II. A Roman province, embracing, besides Achaia Proper, all the rest of the Peloponnesus, together with all the country south of Thessaly. This province was formed after the fall of Corinth and the destruction of the Achæan league, B.C. 146.

Ægæum Mare, that part of the Mediterranean which lay between Greece and Asia Minor; now the *Archipelago*. The modern name appears to be formed from *Egio Pelago*, which is itself a corruption of *Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος*.

Ætōlia, a country of Greece, to the east of Acarnania. *Ætolia* first began to acquire a degree of importance among the other states of Greece, after having repelled the formidable Gallic irruption, when these barbarians had penetrated into its territories. It is rarely, however, that history has to record achievements, or acts of policy, honourable to the *Ætolians*. Unjust, rapacious, and without faith or religion, they attached themselves to whatever side the hope of gain and plunder allured them. The *Ætolians* are memorable in Grecian history for having afforded the Romans the first opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece, they having sided with Antiochus III. against the Romans, on the defeat of that monarch; in B.C. 189 they became subjects of Rome. They perceived their error when it was too late, and fell with the rest of their countrymen under the yoke of Rome.

Allōbrōges, a people of Gaul, between the Isara, or *Isere*, and the Rhodanus, or *Rhone*, in the country answering to *Dauphiné*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*. Their chief city was Vienna, now *Vienne*, on the left bank of the Rhodanus, thirteen miles below Lugdunum, or *Lyons*. They were reduced beneath the Roman sway by Fabius Maximus, who was hence honoured with the surname of *Allobrogicus*. Their name is said to mean "Highlanders," from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (THIERRY, *Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 168 seqq.—ADELUNG, *Mithridates*, vol. ii. p. 50.)

Amisus, a city of Pontus, on the coast of the Euxine, north-west from the mouth of the river Iris. It was founded by a colony of Milesians, was the largest city in Pontus next to Sinope, and was made by Pharnaces the metropolis of his kingdom. It is now called *Samsoun*.

Antiōchia, a celebrated city of Syria, built by Seleucus Nicator, in memory of his father Antiochus, and deriving its name from him. It

as situated on the river Orontes, about twenty miles from its mouth, and was equidistant from Constantinople and Alexandria, being about 30 miles from each. It is now *Antakia*, and has suffered severely in modern times from earthquakes.

Apennīni, from the Celtic "*Pen*," a hill, or height. A large chain of mountains, branching off from the maritime Alps, in the neighbourhood of Genoa, running diagonally from the Ligurian Gulf (*Gulf of Genoa*) to the Adriatic, in the vicinity of Ancona, thence continuing nearly parallel with the latter gulf, as far as the promontory of Garganus, and again inclining to the Mare Inferum, till it finally terminates at the promontory of Leucopetra at Rhegium. The Apennines may be equal in length to 670 miles.

Appii Forum. *Vid. Forum Appii*.

Appia Via, the most celebrated of the Roman roads, both on account of its length, and the difficulties which it was necessary to overcome in its construction. It was hence called the "Queen of the Roman Ways." *Regina Viarum*, (*Stat. Sylv.* 2, 2.) According to *Livy*, (9, 29,) it was made by the censor Appius Cæcus, and at first was only laid down as far as Capua, a distance of about a hundred and twenty-five miles. From Capua it was subsequently carried on to Beneventum, and finally

Brundisium, when this port became the great place of resort for those who were desirous of crossing over into Greece and Asia Minor. This latter part of the Appian Way is supposed to have been constructed by the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, grandson of Cæcus, B.C. 504, and to have been completed by another consul, of the same family, thirty-six years after. According to Eustace, such parts of the Appian Way as have escaped destruction show few traces of wear and decay after a duration of two thousand years and upward. The same writer states the average breadth of the road in question at from 16 to 22 feet. (*EUSTACE, Class. Tour.* vol. iii. p. 177.)

Armēnia, a large country of Asia, answering nearly to the modern *Armenia*; lying south-east of mount Caucasus, and comprehending the Turkish pachalics of *Erze Roum*, *Kars*, or *Van*, and also the Persian province of *Iran* or *Erivan*. It was a rough, mountainous country, having Caucasus in part for its northern boundary, and being traversed by branches of Mount Taurus. The climate was cold, the soil only moderately fertile, and better fitted for grazing than for agriculture.—Armenia Minor was on the other side of the Euphrates, and formed originally part of Cappadocia.

Asia, one of the divisions of the ancient world. The name was applied by Homer and Herodotus to a district of Lydia watered by the Tæger. As their geographical knowledge of the continent increased, the Greeks extended the appellation to the whole of Asia Minor, and eventually to the other extensive countries of the east. When the Roman writers refer to Asia, specially, they mean the Roman province of Asia Minor, containing Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia.

Aurēlia Via, a Roman road, which followed the whole length of the Etrurian and Ligurian coasts, and led into Gaul by the Alpes Maritimæ. It was made by the consul Aurelius, about 605 A.U.C., and from him was called *Via Aurelia*. It seems to have been laid down in the first instance from Rome to Pisa, from which point it was subsequently continued under the name of the *Via Emilia*, by the consul

Æmilius Scaurus, as far as *Vada Sabata* : here it left the coast, and led as far as *Dertona*, now *Tortona*. At a later period, however, it was carried along the coast to the Maritime Alps, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as *Arelate*, now *Arles* ; when the name of *Via Aurelia*, as we find from the Itinerary of Antoninus, was commonly used to designate the route between that city and Rome. CRAMER'S *Ancient Italy*, vol. i. p. 35, *seqq.*—Compare GELL'S *Rome and its Vicinity*, vol. ii. p. 68.

B.

Bithynia, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Phrygia, on the east by Paphlagonia and part of Galatia, and on the west by the Propontis and Mysia. It was a well-watered and fruitful country. The earlier name was *Bebrycia* : the *Bithyni*, from Thrace, gave it the appellation of *Bithynia*.

Bospōrus, (Ox-ford,) a name given in ancient geography to two straits, known as the Thracian Bosphorus, and Cimmerian Bosphorus. The former of these is now the *Straits of Constantinople* ; and the latter the *Straits of Jenicali*. The name is thought to indicate the passage of agricultural knowledge from east to west, (*βοὸς πόρος*, i. e. "the passage of the ox.")

Brundisium, a celebrated city on the coast of Apulia, in the territory of the Calabri. By the Greeks it was called *Ῥεντίσιον*, a word which in the Messapian language signified a stag's head, from the resemblance which its different harbours and creeks bore to the antlers of that animal. The advantageous situation of its harbour, for communicating with the opposite coast of Greece, naturally rendered *Brundisium* a place of great resort, and it soon became a formidable rival to *Tarentum*. In Roman times it was the usual place of embarkation for Greece and Asia. Here the Appian Way ended. The modern name of the place is *Brindisi*. [The poet *Pacuvius* was born here, and *Virgil* died here on his return from Greece, B.C. 19.]

C.

Caiēta, a town and harbour of Latium, south-east of the promontory of *Circeii*. The Roman poets fabled that *Caieta*, nurse of *Æneas*, was buried here, whence the name of the place. According to *Strabo*, however, it comes from a Laconian term, *καῖάρρα*, denoting a hollow or cavity, in allusion, perhaps, to a receding of the shore in this quarter. It is now *Gæta*. The harbour of *Caieta* was considered one of the finest and most commodious in Italy.

Campus Martius, a large plain without the city of Rome, where martial sports and exercises were performed, and assemblies of the people often held. At the present day it forms the principal situation of modern Rome, and, according to modern authorities, lies at the foot of the Pincian, Quirinal, and Capitoline hills. BURGESS, *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. i. p. 59.

Cappādōcia, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Galatia and Pontus, east by the Euphrates, south by Cilicia, and west by Phrygia. Its eastern part was called *Armenia Minor*. The *Cappado-*

ans were regarded as of a dull and submissive disposition, and their moral character did not rank very highly. -

Carthāgo, a celebrated commercial city of Africa, and the rival, for long period, of the Roman power. It was founded by a colony from Tyre, according to the common account, B.C. 878. The Greeks called *Καρχηδόων*, and the inhabitants *Καρχηδόνιοι*. The name of the city in Punic was *Carthada*, or *Cartha Hadath*, i. e. "the new city," in contradistinction, perhaps, to the old or parent city of Tyre. Carthage was situate on a peninsula, in the recess of a spacious bay, formed by the promontory Hermæum, now Cape *Bon*, on the east, and that of Apollo, now *Zibb*, on the west. The river Bragadas flows into the bay, between the remains of Utica and the peninsula. The modern name of this river is the *Meierda*. Being an inundating stream, like the Nile, it has caused many changes in the bay. The circuit of Carthage was 12 miles, and when it was set on fire by the Romans, at the close of the third Punic war, it burnt for seventeen days. Julius Cæsar planted a small colony on the ruins of Carthage. Augustus sent three thousand men thither, and built a city at a small distance from the spot on which the ancient place had stood, thus avoiding the ill effects of the impressions, which had been pronounced by the Romans, according to custom, at the time of its destruction, against those who should rebuild it. This later Carthage was taken by Genseric, A.D. 439, and it was for more than a century the seat of the Vandal power of Africa. It was at last destroyed by the Saracens, during the caliphate of Abdel Melek, toward the end of the seventh century, and but very few traces of it now remain.

Chii, the natives of the island of Chios, now *Scio*. It was situate in the Ægean sea between Lesbos and Samos, off the coast of Asia Minor, and was probably once connected with the main land, from which it is separated by a strait only three leagues wide. The wine of this island was held in high esteem by the ancients; its marble also was in much repute. Modern *Scio*, until the late dreadful ravages of the Turks, contained 115,000 inhabitants, nearly all Greeks, and was the best cultivated and most flourishing island in the Archipelago.

Cilicia, a country of Asia Minor, on the sea-coast, south of Cappadocia and Lycaonia. It was surrounded inland by steep and rugged mountains, so that a few men might defend it against a whole army, there being but three narrow passes leading into it. The country was divided into rugged and level Cilicia, (*Trachea* and *Campestris*.) The former was subsequently considered as a termination of Isauria. The latter was one of the most fruitful provinces of Asia, excepting the eastern part, which however, though barren, was famed for its horses. Cilicia was the main seat of the formidable piratical power, which was finally crushed by Pompey, after having afforded so much trouble to the Romans, and been the occasion of so much disgrace to them.

Cimbri, a German nation, supposed to have been descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and occupying what was called Chersonesus Cimbrica, now *Jutland*. About 113 B.C., the Cimbri, leaving their territories, which were both narrow and barren, and being joined by the Teutones, or rather by several German nations, under this general name, moved through the intervening countries, entered and overran Gaul, and defeated four Roman armies in succession. Marius at last, in

his second consulship, was chosen to carry on the war. He met the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ, in Gaul, and after a bloody engagement, left 20,000 of the enemy dead on the field of battle, and took 90,000 prisoners. The Cimbri, who had formed another army, had already penetrated into Italy, where they were met at the river Athesis, by Marius and his colleague Catulus, a year after. An engagement ensued, and, if we believe ancient accounts, 140,000 were slain. Those who escaped the sword of Marius settled in that part of the Alps called *Sette Commune*, where their descendants still retain the Teutonic language, and a traditional account of their origin. They keep themselves quite separate from the surrounding states, by which means they have preserved the language of their ancestors, in a great degree, uncorrupted. The late king of Denmark visited these Alpine Cimbrians, and readily conversed with them, when both parties, speaking their native language, understood each other.

Colchis, a country of Asia, along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. It is now in part *Mingrelia*. According to Strabo, it was a productive country. Its linen manufacture was in high repute. Colchis was famous for the expedition of the Argonauts, and for having been the native country of Medea.

Colophōnii, the inhabitants of Colophon, one of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, near the sea, north-west of Ephesus. The Colophonians were famed for their cavalry, and so excellent in fact were they, that they generally turned the scale on the side on which they fought, and hence the proverb, *Κολοφῶνα ἐπιτιθέναι*, "to add a Colophonian," i. e. to put the finishing hand to an affair. This was one of the places that claimed to have given birth to Homer.

Cōmāna, a town of Pontus, on the Iris, south-east of Amasa, now *Almons*. There was another place of the same name in Cappadocia, on the Sarus, now *El Bostan*. Both were famous for temples of Bellona, but especially the latter of the two. Strabo makes the goddess worshipped at these places to have been Venus; and Procopius, the Tauric Diana. The temple of the Cappadocian Comana, which was famed for its riches, was plundered by Mark Antony. Each place is said to have had 6000 ministers, of both sexes, and the high-priest was next in authority to the monarch of the land, and was generally a member of the royal family.

Corinthus, a celebrated city of Greece, situate on the isthmus of the same name. Commanding by its position the Ionian and Ægean seas, and holding as it were the keys of the Peloponnesus, Corinth, from the pre-eminent advantages of its situation, was already the seat of opulence and the arts, while the rest of Greece was sunk in comparative obscurity and barbarism. The arts of painting and sculpture attained to the highest perfection here, and rendered this city the ornament of Greece, until it was stripped by the rapacity of its Roman conquerors. After its overthrow by Mummius, Corinth remained for many years in ruins, until Julius Cæsar, not long before his death, sent a numerous colony thither, by which it was once more raised from its fallen state. It became subsequently once more a large and flourishing city. Corinth was famed for its harbours, of which it had three, Lechæum on the Corinthian gulf, and Cenchrea and Schœnus on the Saronic. This city was celebrated for what was termed the "Corinthian brass," a metallic mixture nearly resembling aurichalcum. The common account is, that

when Corinth was destroyed by the Romans, all the metals that were in the city melted and mixed together during the conflagration, and formed the composition in question. Klaproth and others very properly reject the whole account as fabulous.

Corduba, now *Cordova*, a city of Hispania Bætica, on the river Bætis. It was the native place of both the Senecas and of Lucan.

Crete, now *Candia*, one of the largest islands of the Mediterranean, lying to the south of all the Cyclades. Crete was famous for its code of laws, the gift of Minos, from which the institutions of Lycurgus were closely copied. The private character of the Cretans, however, was any thing but fair, and they were chargeable with the grossest immorality and the most hateful vices.

Cyzicus, a city of Mysia, situate on an island, or according to others the neck of a peninsula. It was a very flourishing commercial place, and is called by Florus the Rome of Asia. The coinage of this city was very famous, and the *Κυζικηνοὶ στατήρες* were so beautifully executed that they were deemed a miracle of art. Cyzicus is famous for its siege by Mithridates, which Lucullus compelled him to raise. It continued a place of importance until a late period; now, however, it is only a heap of uninhabited ruins.

D.

Delos, a celebrated island in the Ægean sea, nearly in the centre of the Cyclades, and the natal place of Apollo and Diana. It was fabled to have been originally a floating island, moving to and fro beneath the surface of the sea, until Neptune ordered it to appear above the waves, and remain firmly fixed, in order to receive the offspring of Latona, who was about to become a mother. Hence the name *Delos*, from *δῆλος*, "manifest." The fable evidently points to a volcanic origin for the island. After the Persian war, the Athenians established at Delos the treasury of the Greeks, and ordered that all meetings relative to the confederacy should be held there; an order, however, that was not long acted upon. In the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, not being satisfied with the purifications which the island had previously undergone, in obedience to an oracle, in the earlier part of the contest, the same power removed the entire population to Adramyttium, where they obtained a settlement from the Persian satrap Pharnaces. They were restored to their homes, however, after the battle of Amphipolis, as the Athenians ascribed their ill success in the war to the anger of the god, on account of their treatment of the Delians. This island became a place of great commercial importance after the destruction of Corinth, as the merchants who had frequented that city then withdrew to this island, which afforded great facilities for carrying on trade, on account of the convenience of its port, its advantageous situation with respect to the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, as well as from the great concourse of people who resorted thither during the period of the stated festivals. It fell in importance and prosperity, however, during the Mithridatic war, for, on the occupation of Athens by the generals of Mithridates, they sent troops to Delos, and committed the greatest devastations, in consequence of the inhabitants having gone over to the Romans. After this calamity it remained in an impoverished and deserted state. The town of Delos was situate in a plain, watered by the little river *Inopus*.

The island is now called *Delo* or *Sdille*, and is so covered with ruins as to admit of little or no culture.

E.

Ecbātāna, the ancient capital of Media, now *Hammedan*. The editions of Cicero had (*pro Manil. L. 4*) *Ecbatanis*, until Matthiæ, Orellius, and others substituted *ac literas*. Consult note 4, page 218.

Etruria, a large country of Italy, lying north and west of the Tiber. The inhabitants were called by the Romans Etrusci or Tusci; by the Greeks Tyrrheni or Tyrseni, i. e. Tara seni, "tower builders." The origin of the Etrurian nation is unknown, although many erroneously suppose the basis of the population to have been Celtic. Their civilization came in with the Tyrrheni, who appear to have been a branch of the Pelasgic race, and to have migrated from the shores of Lydia, whence, according to Müller, they were driven out by the great Ionic migration. Many modern authorities think that the Tyrrheni were Pelasgian, and were overrun by the Raseni, an Alpine tribe; from their union arose the name Tar, raseni. The Etrurians appear to have been quite distinct from the Greeks in both language and religion. They excelled in the knowledge of augury and sacrificial rites and ceremonies, and the Romans, in these respects, did little more than borrow from them. Etruria was divided into twelve states, each independent of the other, though united in a common confederacy; but this union was far from being a strong one, the want of a closer bond contributed very materially to their final subjugation by the Romans.

Euripus, a narrow strait dividing Eubœa from the mainland of Greece, and remarkable for the fluctuation of its waters. Several of the ancient writers have reported that the tide in this strait ebbed and flowed seven times in the day, and such too was the popular belief. From this rapid movement of the current, the Euripus derived its ancient name, (εὐ, *bene*, and πίπτω, *jacio*.) Livy's account, however, is the more rational. "A more dangerous station for a fleet," observes this writer, "can hardly be found; besides that the winds rush down suddenly and with great fury from the high mountains on either side, the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day, at stated hours; but the current changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain, so that, night or day, ships can never lie quiet." (Liv. 28, 6.) This strait is now called, by a corruption of the ancient name, the straits of *Negroponti*, through the modern Greek mode of pronunciation, (*Etripo*, *Egripo*, *Negroponte*;) at least such is the common opinion. The last change from *Egripo* to *Negroponte* appears to owe its origin to a nautical source, just as mariners sometimes call the Archipelago the "Arches," and Corunna in Spain, "the Groin."—Hobhouse, who visited the Euripus, compares it to a mill-race.

F.

Feslæ or *Fesillæ*, now *Fiesoli*, a town of Italy, in Etruria, south-east of Pistoria. Here Catiline raised the standard of rebellion. The *oths*, when they entered Italy, under the consulate of Stilico and

Aurelian, were destroyed in the vicinity of this place. In modern times it is rather a village than a town.

Forum Appii, a town of Latium, on the Appian Way, about 23 miles from Aricia, and 16 from Tres Tabernæ. It is mentioned by St. Paul in the account of his journey to Rome *Acts* xxviii. 15,) and is also well known as Horace's second resting place in his journey to Brundisium. D'Anville places the site at the modern *Borgo Lungo* near *Treponi*.

Forum Aūrēlii, or *Aurēlium*, a town of Etruria, above Tarquinii, on the Aurelian Way, now *Montalto*.

G.

Gallia, an extensive country of Europe, lying between the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, and the ocean. It was more extensive, therefore, to the north and east than modern France. The name Galli, given to the inhabitants by the Roman writers, is the Celtic term *Gael* Latinized. The Greeks called them *Κέλται*, and their country *Κελτική* and *Γαλατία*.

Gallia Citerior, called also *Gallia Cisalpina*, a name given by the Romans to that part of Italy which lay between the Alps and the rivers Rubicon and Macra. It was occupied by various Gallic tribes, which had poured over the Alps into this extensive tract of country. Livy assigns to these migrations the date of 600 B.C.; but in all probability they were much earlier.

Gallia Transalpina, Gaul beyond the Alps, or Gaul Proper.

Gallicus Ager, a name applied by Cicero to Cisalpine Gaul, especially that part of it from which the Galli Senones had been driven out.

H.

Heraclēa, a city of Lucania, in Lower Italy, situate between the Aciris and Siris. It was founded by a colony of Tarentines, after the destruction of the ancient city of Siris, which stood at the mouth of the latter river (B.C. 428). This city is rendered remarkable in history, as having been the seat of the general council of the Greek states. Antiquaries seem to agree in fixing its site at *Policoro*.

Hispania, an extensive country, forming a kind of peninsula, in the south-western part of Europe. It was divided into *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*. *Hispania Citerior* was also called *Terraconensis*, from Tarraco, now *Tarragona*, its capital, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Durus, (now *Douro*,) on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with the south, as far as a line drawn below Carthago Nova (now *Carthagera*) and continued in an oblique direction to the river Durus, passing by Salamantica, now *Salamanca*. *Hispania Ulterior* was divided into two provinces; Bætica, in the south of Spain, between the Anas, (now the *Guadiana*,) and Citerior; and above it Lusitania, corresponding in a great measure to modern *Portugal*. Bætica answers to modern *Andalusia*.

I.

Illyricum Mare, that part of the Adriatic which washes the shores of Illyricum.

Issuria, a country of Asia Minor, north of, and adjacent to Pisidia. The inhabitants were a rude mountainous race, remarkable for the violence and rapine which they exercised against their neighbours. P. Servilius derived, from his reduction of this people, the surname of *Issauricus*. A conformity in the aspect of the country, which was rough and mountainous, caused Cilicia Trachea, in a subsequent age, to have the name of Issuria extended to it, and it is thus denominated in the *Notitia* of the Eastern empire.

L

Lanuvium, a town of Latium, about 16 miles from Rome, situate, according to Strabo, to the right of the Appian Way, and on a hill commanding an extensive prospect towards Antium and the sea. Lanuvium seems to have been treated with more moderation than the other Latin towns, when it fell into the hands of the Romans; for, instead of being punished, the inhabitants were made Roman citizens, and their privileges and sacred rites were preserved, on condition that the temple and worship of Juno Sospita, which were held in great veneration in their city, should be common to the Romans also. Lanuvium then became a municipium, and it remained ever faithful to the Romans, particularly in the second Punic war. Murena was a native of this place, and so also was Milo, the antagonist of Clodius. The famous comedian Roscius was also born, or, according to others, educated near it. The ruins of Lanuvium still bear the name of *Civita Larinia*, or *Città della Vigna*.

Locri, a city of Magna Græcia, or Southern Italy, near the Zephyrian promontory, at the lower extremity of Bruttium, and founded by a colony of Locrians from Greece. The city was mainly indebted for its prosperity and fame to the institutions of its great legislator Zaleucus. His laws, which, according to the assertion of Demosthenes, continued in full force for the space of 200 years, are said to have been a judicious selection from the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Areopagitic codes, to which, however, were added several original enactments. From its greater proximity to Sicily, Locri appears to have been involved in the politics of that country at a more early period than the other Italian cities, and at one time fell under the tyrannical sway of the younger Dionysius, who gave loose here to all the vicious propensities of his nature. It suffered severely also from Pyrrhus, whose cause it had deserted for that of the Romans; but the heaviest blow it received was in the time of the second Punic war. Having followed the example of the other Greek colonies in siding with Hannibal, it again fell into the hands of the Romans, who left in it a garrison under the command of Q. Pleminius. The conduct of this officer and his troops towards the inhabitants of Locri, seems to have far surpassed in licentiousness and wanton cruelty all that the rage of an enemy could have inflicted on a conquered city. He was at length recalled, and ended his days in prison.

M

Massilia, a celebrated colony of the Phœceans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul, now Marseilles. It became at an early period a power-

flourishing city, and was famed for its extensive commerce. Its prosperous period in its history would seem to have been the period from the fall of Carthage, with which city it had frequent commerce, to the commencement of the contest between Cæsar and Pompey.

This city was always the firm ally of Rome. It suffered in the civil wars from its attachment to the party of Pompey, and was compelled to sustain a severe siege, in which its fleet was destroyed, and, after surrendering, to pay a heavy exaction. Massilia afterward, in the days of Augustus, famous as a seat of science, was the rival of Athens.

Stabiam, a town and harbour of Campania, on the promontory of the *Stabian* name. In the reign of Augustus it became one of the first military stations of the Roman empire, being intended to guard the coast of the Tuscan sea. Pliny the elder was stationed here, as commander of the fleet, at the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius, in which he perished.

Monte Sacro, a low range of sandstone hills, extending along the right bank of the Anio, and about three miles distant from Rome. It is recorded in history for the secession that was made to it by the people.

Pons Sublicus, now *Ponte Molle*, one of the bridges over the Tiber. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus, from a corruption of whose *nomen* (Sublicus), the appellation Mulvius is thought to have originated. At the time he commenced the *Via Flaminia*, which led from Rome to Ariminum. Situated at a little distance from the city, surrounded by the most beautiful places of public resort, it became the rendezvous of nightly revels and debauchees in the licentious age of Nero. The battle between Constantine and Maxentius, which decided the fate of Rome and the empire, was also fought in this quarter. The *Ponte Molle* is reared upon three arches of Travertine stone, and is about 350 feet in length. It was entirely rebuilt (A.D. 1450) by Pope Nicholas V., that it cannot be seen; indeed, the old bridge is probably a few paces farther up the river, and some vestiges of its foundations may be discovered when the waters are very low. *Topography and Antiquities of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 227.

N.

Neapolis, a celebrated city of Campania, on the Sinus Crater, now called *Napoli*, in Italian, *Napoli*. Its earlier name is said to have been *Nepe*, from a Siren who was cast upon the shore in this quarter; the appellation of Neapolis appears to have been given to it when the Cumæans settled here, and so changed the aspect of the city, as to give rise to the name Neapolis, i. e. New City. Many, however, think that the Cumæans founded it in the first instance. Neapolis was famed for the beauty of its situation, and its inhabitants were distinguished by all the indolence and luxury of Grecian manners.

Numantia, a town of Spain, near the sources of the river Durius, famous for the brave resistance which it made against the Romans for the space of fourteen years. It was built upon an eminence of no great height, between two branches of the Durius, and surrounded by thick wood on three sides. One path alone led down into the

plain, and this was defended by ditches and palisades. The great length of time it withstood the Romans may be easily accounted for by its difficult situation, and the circumstances of its circuit being large, that within it were even pastures for cattle. This place was last reduced by Scipio Africanus Minor, the conqueror of Carthage. The remains of Numantia may be still seen near *Puente de Garay*.

Numidia, a country of Africa, east of Mauritania, and corresponding, in a great measure, to the modern *Algiers*.

O.

Ostia, a celebrated town and harbour, at the mouth of the Tiber. It was the port of Rome, and its name even now remains unchanged, though few vestiges are left of its former importance. All historians agree in ascribing its foundation to Ancus Martius. When the Romans began to have ships of war, Ostia became a place of great importance, and a fleet was constantly stationed there to guard the mouth of the Tiber. The place, however, was taken by the pirates during their ascendancy in the Mediterranean, and Cicero alludes to the circumstance with great indignation in his oration for the Manilian law. Ostia is thirteen miles from Rome. Great changes, however, have taken place since ancient times, and the port of Ostia is now two miles, or nearly so, from the sea. The cause of this, in a great measure, seems to be that the extreme flatness of the land does not allow the Tiber to carry off the great quantities of earth and mud brought down by its turbid waters, and the more that is deposited, the more sluggishly it flows, and thus the shore rises, the sea recedes, and the marshes extend.

P.

Palatinus Mons, a celebrated hill, the largest of the seven on which Rome was built. It was upon this that Romulus laid the first foundation of the capital of Italy, in a quadrangular form, and here also in a later age dwelt Augustus and the succeeding emperors. On this same hill, too, stood the famous Palatine library. The Palatium was secured on account of its importance, by a nightly guard during the alarm attendant upon the first rumours of Catiline's conspiracy.

Pamphylia, a province of Asia Minor, lying along the sea from Lycia to Cilicia, and having Pisidia to the north. The inhabitants are said to have been an intermixture of the mountaineer races of the interior with Phœnicians and Greeks, and the latter are reported to have settled here after the overthrow of Troy, under the guidance of Ajax and Calchas. Under the Syrian dynasty, this country was a part of the kingdom of Syria; it then became a part of the kingdom of Pergamus; and was finally absorbed in the Roman empire. The pirates had several castles along the coast, which were all destroyed by Pompey.

Picēnus Ager, another name for Picenum, a district of Italy, east and south-east of Umbria. The inhabitants were of Sabine origin. The country was considered one of the most fertile parts of Italy, and the produce of its fruit-trees was particularly esteemed.

Pons Mulvius. *Vid. Mulvius Pons*.

Pontus, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Cappadocia, on the west by Galatia and Paphlagonia, and on the east by Armenia. This country was originally a part of Cappadocia, and a satrapy of the Persian empire. A son of Darius Hystaspis, Artabazes, held this satrapy as a vassal, with the right to transmit it as an inheritance to posterity. Its rulers, however, eventually made themselves independent of any foreign control, and under Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, Pontus attained to a high degree of glory, and extended its arms far and wide over Lower Asia and Greece, until reduced by the Roman arms.

Præneste, now *Palestrina*, an ancient city of Latium, south-east of Rome. Strabo makes the intervening distance twenty-five miles (200 stadia); but the Itineraries give more correctly twenty-three miles. Its citadel is described by Strabo as remarkable for its strength of position, and Catiline therefore attempted to seize upon it, but was frustrated by Cicero. Præneste was famed for its temple of Fortune.

R.

Reâte, an old Sabine town, on the river Velinus, a branch of the Nar. Its modern name is *Rieti*. Reate was only a præfecture in Cicero's time. In the days of Suetonius, however, it held the rank of a municipium. It was famed for its breed of mules. The valley of the Velinus, in which this place was situated, was so delightful as to merit the appellation of Tempe, in imitation of the beautiful vale, of the same name, in Thessaly.

Rhêgium, one of the most celebrated and flourishing cities of Magna Græcia, at the extremity of the peninsula, and in the territory of the Brutii. It is supposed to have been founded nearly 700 B.C. by a party of Zancleans from Sicily, together with some Chalcideans from Eubœa, and Messenians from the Peloponnesus. Its name is supposed to allude to the great catastrophe by which Sicily was broken off, in early days, from Italy. (Ῥήγιον, a ῥήγνυμι, *frango*.) Some, however, consider the name of the place as of Oscan origin. The modern appellation is *Reggio*.

Rhœtëum, a promontory of Troas, on the shore of the Hellespont, in a north-east direction nearly from Sigæum. On the sloping side of it the body of Ajax was said to have been buried, and the tumulus that stands there was thought to mark the spot. Between this promontory and that of Sigæum was the position of the Greek camp. According to Leake, *Palæo Castro*, near the Turkish village of *It-gelmes*, marks the probable site of Rhœteum.

Rudiae, a city of Italy, in the territory of the Calabri, and below Brundisium. It was rendered famous by being the birth-place of Ennius. The remains of this place are still known by the name of *Ruge*.

S.

Salamîni, the inhabitants of the island of Salamis, who are mentioned by Cicero as among the number of those that claimed to have had Homer born among them. Salamis lay in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite Eleusis in Attica, and the intervening strait was famous for

the naval conflict between the Greeks and the Persians. It is now called *Colouri*, which is also the name of its principal town.

Sāmōs, an island in the *Ægean* sea, off the lower part of the coast of *Ionia*, and nearly opposite the *Trogilian* promontory. The intervening strait was about seven stadia. *Samos* was the most important and powerful island of the *Ionians*. It was the birth-place of *Pythagoras*, and claimed also to be the natal place of *Homer*.

Sicilia, a well-known island in the *Mediterranean*, separated from *Italy* by the *Fretum Siculum*, or *Straits of Messina*. Its triangular shape gave it the name of *Trinacria* and *Triquetra*, (*τρῆς ἄκραι*, and *τρῆς ἑδραι*.) The promontory nearest *Italy* was called *Pelorum*, now *Cape Faro*. The one to the south of this was *Pachynum*, now *Passaro*; and the remaining one, *Lilybæum*, now *Boeo*. This last, however, is, in truth, not a mountain-promontory, but a low, flat point of land, rendered dangerous to vessels by its sand-banks and concealed rocks. *Sicilia* derived its name from the ancient *Siculi*, who came into this island from *Latium*.

Sigæum, a celebrated promontory of *Troas*, near the mouth of the *Scamander*. The modern name is *Cape Jenischehr*, or, as it is more commonly pronounced, *Cape Janissary*. The promontories of *Sigæum* and *Rhœteum* formed the limits, on either side, of the station of the *Grecian* fleet. *Achilles*, *Patroclus*, and *Antilochus*, were buried on *Sigæum*, and three large tumuli, or mounds of earth, are supposed to mark their tombs; though from a passage of *Homer* (*Od.* 24, 75, *seqq.*) it would seem that one mound or tomb covered the ashes of all three.

Sinōpe, a city of *Paphlagonia*, on the eastern coast, and a little below its northern extremity. It was the most important city, in a commercial point of view, on the shores of the *Euxine*, and was founded by a *Milesian* colony at a very early period, even prior, it is said, to the rise of the *Persian* empire. The situation of *Sinope* was extremely well chosen. It was built on the neck of a peninsula; and as this peninsula was secured from any hostile landing along its outer shores by high cliffs, the city only needed defending on the narrow isthmus connecting it with the main land, while at the same time it had two convenient harbours on either side. *Sinope* soon increased in wealth and power, and became possessed of a dependent territory, which reached as far as the *Halys*. Its flourishing condition, of course, excited envy, and it was frequently besieged by the neighbouring satraps of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*. It was at last reduced by *Pharnaces*, and became the residence of the monarchs of *Pontus*, until *Lucullus* took it from the last *Mithridates*. It suffered severely on this occasion, and the *Roman* commander stripped it of many fine statues and valuable works of art. *Sinope* was the birth-place of the *Cynic* *Diogenes*. Its modern name is *Sinub*, and it is still one of the most important cities along this coast.

T.

Tarentum, (in Greek *Τάρας*, -*αυρος*,) now *Taranto*, a celebrated city of *Lower Italy*, situate in the north-eastern angle of the *Sinus Tarentinus*, and in the territory of *Messapia* or *Iapygia*. Placed in the

centre, as it were, it obtained the whole commerce of the Adriatic, Ionian, and Tuscan seas. The adjacent country was fertile in grain and fruit, the pastures were excellent, and the flocks afforded a very fine wool. Its navy also was superior to that of any other Italian colony. Luxury, however, the sure concomitant of wealth, eventually undermined all this fabric of power and greatness, and Tarentum passed, after a long struggle, under the yoke of the Romans, although upheld for a time by the talents and energies of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus.

Tenēdos, a small but fertile island of the Ægean, opposite the coast of Troas, at the distance of about 12 miles from Sigæum, and 56 miles north from Lesbos. It was here that the Grecian fleet were said to have concealed themselves, the more effectually to make the Trojans believe that they had returned home without finishing the war. Tenedos declined in power after the fall of Troy, and became subject to the city of Alexandria Troas, on the continent. The position of Tenedos, so near the mouth of the Hellespont, has always rendered it a place of importance in both ancient and modern times.

Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia, built by Tigranes. It was situate to the east of the Tigris, on the river Nicephorius, and, according to Tacitus, stood on a hill surrounded by that river. Lucullus took it during the Mithridatic war, and found in it immense riches. The modern *Sered* on the *Chabur*, indicates the ancient site.

Teutōnes. *Vid.* *Cimbri*.

LEGAL INDEX.

A.

Lex ÆBUTIA, proposed by the tribune Æbutius, but at what time is uncertain. It prohibited the proposer of a law concerning any charge or power, from conferring that charge or power on himself, his colleagues, or relations. AGR. 2, 8. [*Licinia est lex atque altera Æbutia, quæ non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac potestate, sed etiam collegas ejus, cognatos, affines exceptit, ne eis ea potestas curatione mandetur.*]

Leges AGRARIÆ. Vid. *Lex SEMPRONIA*.

Leges ANNALES, laws fixing the ages for enjoying different offices. A law was passed for this purpose, A.U.C. 573, which had been proposed by L. Villius, a tribune of the commons, whence he obtained the surname of *Annalis*, which descended to his family. (LIV. 40, 44.—MANUT. *de Leg.* c. 6.) There seems, indeed, to have been some regulation on the subject, even before the Villian law, (LIV. 25, 2,) but the particular ages for particular offices were not designated, as in this law; it was only settled how old a person must be before he could begin to be an applicant for office generally. (DUKER, *ad Liv.* l. c.) The years fixed by the Villian law were as follows: for the quæstorship, 31; for the ædileship, 37; for the prætorship, 40; and for the consulship, 43. This estimate is founded upon Cicero's movements, who obtained these offices at the periods just mentioned, and, as he himself informs us, each in its proper year, (*suo anno*,) i. e. as soon as it could be obtained by law.—Another *Lex Annalis* was introduced by M. Pinarius Rusca, a tribune of the commons, (CIC. *de Orat.* 2, 65,) but nothing is known of its provisions.—These laws are also called *Leges Annariæ* by Festus and Lampridius. *Vit. Comm.* c. 2.

Lex AURELIA, (*judiciaria*) by L. Aurelius Cotta, prætor, A.U.C. 683. It ordained that *judices*, or what we would call jurymen, should be chosen from the senators, equites, and tribuni ærarii. These last were officers chosen from the plebeians, who kept and gave out the money for defraying the expenses of the army.—The history of this law is as follows: The *judices* at first were chosen from the senators, until, on account of the corruption of that order, Caius Gracchus brought in a law (*vid. Lex SEMPRONIA*,) by which the right of acting as *judices* was taken from the senators and given to the equites. The latter, however, indulged in great harshness and actual unfairness, towards the members of the senate who happened to be accused before them, especially if they had opposed, either in the senate, or during some provincial magistracy, any of the unreasonable demands of the *publicani*

of the day. (Cic. *in Verr.* 1, 13.) In every other respect, however, they judged with great impartiality. The Livian and Plautian laws were therefore enacted, by which it was ordained that *judices* should be chosen in common from among both senators and equites. But these statutes were found ineffectual to remedy the evil, and Sylla, therefore, by one of the *Leges Corneliae*, took away the right of judging from the equestrian order and restored it to the senate. Not even after this, however, was there complete fairness in judging. The lower orders complained of the existing state of things, and therefore, through fear lest some seditious tribune might make this matter a handle for exciting sedition, Cotta proposed the Aurelian law. Compare Cic. *Phil.* 1, 8.—AGR. 1, 2. [A very important change was made even in Cotta's law by Julius Cæsar. He rendered the *tribuni ærarii* no longer eligible and confined the judicial power exclusively to the members of the senate, or equestrian order. Antony endeavoured to render the office of *judex* open even to the centurions.]

C.

Lex CALPURNIA, by C. Calpurnius Piso, A.U.C. 686, when he and M. Acilius Glabrio were consuls. It was aimed against bribery in suing for office, which had become very marked and open. Some idea of its provisions may be obtained from the language of Cicero, in the oration for *Murena* (c. 32), "*Si mercede corrupti obviam candidatis issent,*" &c. The reference to be sure is to a *senatus-consultum*, but Cicero adds a little farther on, "*Si factum sit,* (sc. *hujusmodi quid,*) *quin contra legem sit, dubitare nemo potest.*"—This law is sometimes called *Lex Acilia-Calpurnia*, from the names of both consuls, but Cicero merely styles it *Lex Calpurnia*. It was subsequently abrogated by a *senatus-consultum* (*Pro Corn. Fragm.* 1, p. 631.—*ASCON. ad loc.*) It is alluded to by SALLUST, *B. C.* 18. Compare DIO CASS. 36, and *vid. Lex TULLIA*.

Lex CARBONIS et SILVANI. *Vid. Lex PLAUTIA.*

Lex CORNELIA, (*judiciaria*), by L. Cornelius Sylla. It took away from the equites the right of being *judices*, and restored it to the senate. Consult remarks under *Lex AURELIA*.

Lex CORNELIA, (*de veneficiis*), by the same. It was aimed, in the first instance, at those guilty of secret assassination, and then at those who took away the life of another by poison, false accusation, &c. The law ordained that these should be regarded as "*quæstiones capitales*," and the punishment was to be banishment and confiscation of property. Consult Cic. *pro Cluent.* 56, and SIGONIUS, *de Judiciis*, 2, 31.

Lex CORNELIA, (*testamentaria*), by the same, against those who forged or altered wills. As it, however, contained other provisions against various kinds of false and dishonest conduct, it is sometimes called *Lex Cornelia de Falso*. For example, it was aimed also at those who debased or counterfeited the public coin. J. PAULLI *Recept. Sententiarum*, L. V. Tit. 25.

Lex CORNELIA (*de libertinorum suffragiis*), by Cornelius, a tribune of the commons. This law was the same with the Manilian. (*Vid. Lex MANILIA de suffragiorum confusione.*) In other words, the accuser of

ORNELIUS alleged that the Manilian law had been passed by the joint operation and efforts of him and Manilius.

F.

Lex FALSA *de summo sacerdotum*, limiting the number of *secessiones* that attended candidates, when canvassing for any office. A large attendance was forbidden by the law, as coming under the head of "*convivia*." It was never a popular statute, for the people could be deterred by no penalties from this mode of expressing their regard for a candidate.—The *secessiones*, who always attended candidates, were distinguished from the *adlectores* who only waited on them at their houses in the morning and then went away; and from the *deductores*, who also went over with them to the *forum* and *Campus Martius*. [See *pro Muræna* chap. 34 § 73, 71.]

G.

Lex GALLICA by **ANIMUS GALLICUS** about conferring on Pompey the management of the war against the pirates. For an account of its provisions consult note in page 242.

J.

Lex JULIA *de maritandis ordinibus*, this was the famous law of Augustus for the encouragement of matrimony, offering rewards to those who should enter the married state, and imposing a penalty on those who should remain in a life of celibacy. It met with great opposition according to Suetonius *Oct. 34*. and Augustus was compelled to soften down its most obnoxious features, and then allow an exemption from its provisions for three years. At the expiration of this period a full fifteen exemption of two years was granted, and at length the law went into full operation *anno 737*. It was remodelled, however, under the **Lex PAPIA-PŒPPÆA** *anno 762*. Sueton. *Oct. 82*.—*Lex Julia* 34.—*Enchiridion* *De iur. Sen. 17. de iur. Precept. 2, 6, 1*.—*Dio Cass. 58. 11*. Consult remarks under **Lex PAPIA-PŒPPÆA**.

L.

Lex LÆTINA *contra transvectores adolecentium*, against the seduction of minors passed *anno 491*. It ordained that no one under 30 years of age could make a legal bargain fixing therefore the limit of minority in that period of life. Hence it was also called **Lex QUINQUAGENARIA**. Plaut. *Pseud. 1. 1. 68*. It was proposed by M. LÆTIUS PATERCULUS tribune of the commons. *Or. de Agr. 3. 15*.

Lex LÆTINA by L. LÆTIUS CRASSUS the orator, similar in its provisions to the *Lex LÆTINA* *De iur. Sen. 17. 1*.

Lex LÆTINA *de convitiis* *de iur. Sen. 17. 1*, passed in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius and M. LÆTIUS CRASSUS *anno 693*. It was enacted against feasts and the assembling of societies and companies for the purpose of canvassing for office. In a trial for this crime the accuser was allowed to name the parties from the people in general. *Or. pro Clodio 13*.—*Id. 17*.—Suetonius *de iur. Sen. 17. 1*. *De iur. Sen. 17. 1*.

M.

Lex MANILIA (de libertinorum suffragiis), proposed by C. Manilius, the tribune, who also introduced the law giving Pompey charge of the war against Mithridates. An account of the provisions of this statute respecting the votes of freedmen will be found under note 5, page 442.

Lex MANILIA, by the same Manilius, giving the charge of the Mithridatic war to Pompey. (*Or. pro Man. L. 29.*) The Manilian law, according to Plutarch, gave Pompey all the provinces and forces under Lucullus, and added likewise Bithynia, which was at that time governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, for which purpose he was also able to retain his naval command. This was subjecting, at once, the whole Roman empire to one man. For the provinces which the Gabinian law did not give him, viz. Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this; together with all the forces which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. *PLUT. Vit. Pomp. 30.*

Lex PAPIA-POPPEA (de maritandis ordinibus), proposed by the consuls Papius and Poppæus, at the desire of Augustus, A.U.C. 762. Its object was to enforce and enlarge the Julian law, and to promote population, and repair the desolation occasioned by the civil wars. This statute, like the Julian ordinance, proposed certain rewards for marriage, and penalties against celibacy. Whoever in the city had three children, in the other parts of Italy four, and in the provinces five, was entitled to certain privileges and immunities. Hence the famous *jus trium liberorum*, so often mentioned by Pliny, Martial, and other ancient writers. The privileges of having three children were, an exemption from the trouble of guardianship, a priority in bearing offices, and a treble proportion of corn. Those who lived in celibacy could not succeed to an inheritance, except of their nearest relations, unless they married within 100 days after the death of the testator; nor receive an entire legacy. And what they were thus deprived of fell as an escheat to the exchequer or prince's private purse. (*HEINECC. Antiq. Rom. 1, 25, 7, seqq.*)

Lex PAPIA, by C. Papius, tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 688. It ordained that all foreigners should be expelled from Rome, and that the allies of the Latin name should return to their respective cities. (*CIC. pro Arch. 5.—Pro Balb. 23.—Ep. ad Att. 4, 14.—De Off. 3, 11.*)

Lex PAPIRIA, the same with the *Lex PLAUTIA*.

Lex PLAUTIA, or *PLUTIA (judiciaria)*, proposed by M. Plautius Silvanus, and C. Papirius Carbo, both tribunes of the commons at the time. The provisions of this law are given in the oration for Archias (c. 4). It was passed A.U.C. 664.

Lex PORCIA, by M. Porcius Læca, tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 556, that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen, but that the alternative of exile be allowed him. Manutius errs in assigning this law to M. Porcius Cato, the censor.

Q.

QUÆSTIONES. The *prætor urbanus* and *prætor peregrinus* dispensed justice only in private or less important causes. But in public cases,

and those of any magnitude, the people either judged themselves, or appointed persons, one or more, to preside at the trial, who were called *quaestores* or *questores*, and whose authority lasted only till the trial was over. But A.U.C. 604, it was determined, that the *prætor urbanus* and *prætor peregrinus* should continue to exercise their usual jurisdictions; and that the four other prætors should, during their magistracy, also remain in the city, and preside at public trials; one at trials concerning extortion; another concerning bribery; a third concerning crimes committed against the state; and a fourth about defrauding the public treasury. These were called *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*, because they were annually assigned to particular prætors, who always conducted them for the whole year, according to a certain form prescribed by law; so that there was no need, as formerly, of making a new law, or of appointing extraordinary inquisitors to preside at them, who should resign their authority when the trial was ended. But still, when any thing unusual or atrocious happened, the people or senate judged about the matter themselves, or appointed inquisitors to preside at the trial; and then they were said *extra ordinem quaerere*; as in the case of Clodius, for violating the sacred rites of the *Bona Dea*; and of Milo, for the murder of Clodius. —Sylla increased the number of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, by adding those *de falso*, concerning forgers of wills, &c., and coiners of base money; *de sicariis et veneficiis*, about such as killed with a weapon or poison; and *de parricidiis*; on which account he created two additional prætors. [The institution of these courts gave great impulse to the study of eloquence at Rome, as the appointment of the dicasts did in Greece.]

R.

Lex ROSCIA (theatralis), by L. Roscius Otho, determining the fortune of the equites, and appointing them certain seats in the theatre. By this law, fourteen rows of seats, immediately behind the senators, were appropriated to the knights. This ordinance excited a great tumult in the theatre on the first appearance of its proposer after the law had been passed. Consult Historical Index, s. v. *Otho*.

S.

Lex SEMPRONIA (agraria), by Tiberius Gracchus, A.U.C. 620, that no one should possess more than 500 acres (*jugera*) of land; and that three commissioners should be appointed to divide among the poorer people what any one had above that extent. This is the famous Agrarian law, which cost its proposer his life. It was in fact little more than a revival of the Licinian law of Stolo. This ordinance was passed, but never carried into effect. (PLUT. *Vit. Gracch.*—*Vell. Patere*. 2, 2.—*Liv. Epit.* 58.)

Lex SEMPRONIA (judiciaria), by Caius Gracchus, that the judges should be chosen from among the equites, and not from the senators, as formerly. Consult remarks under *Lex AURELIA*.

Lex SEMPRONIA (de libertate civium), by the same, that sentence should not be passed on the life of a Roman citizen, without the order

he people. This was merely declaratory of one of the laws of the
ve tables. (*Pro Rab. c. 4.—In Verr. 5, 63.—In Cat. 1, 11.*)

T.

ex TITIA (*de quæstoribus*), by C. Titius, tribune of the commons,
3. 448, about doubling the number of quæstors, and that they
uld determine their provinces by lot. (*Or. pro Muren. 8.*)

ex TULLIA (*de ambitu*), by M. Tullius Cicero, A.U.C. 690, adding to
former punishments against bribery. Previously to the passing of
law, if persons were convicted on trial of having employed bribery
ing for office, they were deprived of that office, in case they had
ined it, and their competitors who accused them were nominated
eir place. They were also, besides being fined, deemed incapable
earing any office for the time to come, or of appearing in the
te, by the Calpurnian and other laws; and now by the Tullian law
shment for ten-years was added. It was also ordained by this
e statute that no one should exhibit shows of gladiators for two
s before he stood candidate for any office, unless that task was
osed upon him by the testament of a friend. DIO CASS. 37, 29.—
in Vat. 15.—Pro Muren. 32, seqq.)

THE END.



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